SKIN DRUMS, SQUEEZE BOXES, FIDDLES AND PHONOGRAPHS: MUSICAL INTERACTION IN THE WESTERN ARCTIC, LATE 18TH THROUGH EARLY 20TH CENTURIES

A

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By

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SKIN DRUMS, SQUEEZE BOXES, FIDDLES AND PHONOGRAPHS:

MUSICAL INTERACTION IN THE WESTERN ARCTIC,

LATE 18TH THROUGH EARLY 20TH CENTURIES

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores the nature of early globalization in the Western Arctic with a focus on musical interaction between indigenous and foreign populations during the late 18th through the 20th centuries. The region experienced an unprecedented amount of cultural contact represented by various cultural groups including Native Alaskan, Canadian, Chukotkan, European American, African American, Latin American, Asian American, Oceanic peoples and others. Numbering in the thousands, natives and non-natives developed continuous and long-term relations working as explorers, whalers, traders, missionaries, miners, hunters, trappers, seamstresses, educators, law enforcement officials, and scientists. The Western Arctic's ethnically diverse population, relatively harsh physical surroundings, and absence of a common language allowed musical activity to serve as an important means of communication and increase awareness of the world. Music and dance helped to promote social bonding, trade, and religion. They also expressed cultural identity and contributed to ethnic differentiation. An examination of this musical interchange forms the first part of this study.

Local indigenous communities during the late 18th, 19th, and early 20th centuries interacted most extensively with the influx of explorers, commercial whalers, traders, and missionaries. Throughout the year but especially during the long winter season, these groups often participated in formal, informal, and impromptu gatherings featuring various types of music such as indigenous drum dance and song, folk, popular, church, and classical. Musical instruments including frame drums, fiddles, accordions, harmonicas, organs, pianos, guitars and devices such as phonographs, organettes, and music boxes played an essential role in musical exchange. Just as significantly, these objects also ranked as some of the region's more popular trade commodities.

Perceptions of northern indigenous peoples through music and dance constitute a second part of this study. Outside fascination with the Arctic and its inhabitants as reflected in the many examples of late 19th and early 20th century sheet music, piano rolls, and recordings suggest that cross-cultural interests, though often superficial and caricatured, were also reciprocal. Early musical representation of Arctic culture via southern compositions and performances shares crucial links to the expansion of globalization in North America and beyond.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Major newspapers are abbreviated in citations as follows:

AC	Atlanta Constitution
BDG	Boston Daily Globe
CDT	Chicago Daily Tribune
CSM	Christian Science Monitor
LAT	Los Angeles Times
NYT	New York Times
WP	Washington Post

DEDICATION

To loved ones lost,
to all past, present, and future musicians who share their art,
and, above all,
to my loving parents, Helene and Rudolph Krejci,
without whom none of this would have been possible.

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CHAPTER 1:
INTRODUCTION

Initial Interest

My interest in the ethnohistory of Western Arctic musical interaction stems from a reading of ethnomusicologist Maija Lutz's dissertation about the effects of acculturation on the Inuit music of Pangnirtung, a community located in southeastern Baffin Island in eastern Canada. Referring to her fieldwork experience during the 1973-1974 winter, Lutz made the following observation:

> I was nevertheless surprised to discover that in this particular village the terms "Eskimo music" and "Eskimo dance" refer to something completely different from what I had envisioned. Traditional Eskimo dancing done to the accompaniment of a shallow frame drum is no longer to be found in the community. Instead, people are doing various combinations of the reel, the country dance, and the square dance and calling this accordion-accompanied genre 'Eskimo dance'. (Lutz 1981: 8)

This type of music persists throughout the eastern and central Canadian Arctic, primarily where whaling and trading activities flourished. Lutz attributed the change of Inuit music in Pangnirtung to two cultural factors: a sustained passive influence (whaling) and an aggressive prohibitory one (missionary) that created the conditions for a gradual replacement of Inuit drum dance with that of accordion-accompanied "Eskimo dancing" (Lutz 1978).

Since the Western Arctic experienced very similar conditions, it was yet surprising to observe that Alaskan Eskimo drum dance music has endured while an accordion-accompanied "square" dancing and jigging tradition has not. Instead, a strong tradition of square dancing and jigging featuring the fiddle and guitar developed throughout much of Interior Alaska, the Mackenzie Delta and the Kitikmeot region stretching eastward into the central Canadian Arctic. No comparable tradition exists among the Iñupiat of northern and northwestern Alaska, however. In southwestern Alaska, on the other hand, the Yup'ik and Unangan peoples cultivated a tradition of Western-derived dance music that included Russian-influenced accordion playing and American fiddle-accompanied jigging and "square" dancing. Furthermore, across the Bering Strait, Siberian Yupik and Chukchi groups adopted Russian and some American styles of music for at least 150 years. The comparative dearth of such musical dance forms in northern Alaska is

puzzling. Addressing this significant difference will constitute a recurring theme in the following chapters.

The variation of musical styles across the Western Arctic poses a fascinating problem for investigation. What was the role of the exchange of music and dance in the early stages of cultural contact between indigenous peoples of the Western Arctic and various categories of others – explorers, traders, whalers, missionaries, etc., arriving from the south – and what were the longer term effects of this exchange both in the communities of the North and on the global stage? My dissertation serves to answer this overarching question.

Synopsis

The Western Arctic, encompassing northwestern Canada, northern Alaska, and the Chukchi Peninsula (Figures 1.1 and 1.2), experienced an unprecedented onslaught of cultural contact during the 19th and early 20th centuries. A wide array of culturally disparate groups including Native Alaskan, Canadian, Chukotkan, European American, African American, Latin American, Asian American, and Oceanic individuals and groups developed continuous and long-term relations along the Arctic coast and interior. Numbering in the thousands, members of these groups worked as explorers, whalers, traders, missionaries, miners, hunters, trappers, seamstresses, educators, law enforcement officials, and scientists.

Recent literature relating to the region's historical, social, religious, economic, and medical connections between local and foreign populations is rather extensive (Alunik, Kolausok and Morrison 2003, Bockstoce 1995, Bockstoce 2009, Burch 1994, Burch 1998, Cassell 1988, Cassell 2000, Damas 1996, Gregg 2000, Nagy 1994, Ray 1992, Saxberg 1993, Stone 1981, Vanast 1996), but ethnomusicological research is remarkably lacking. Music as both an artistic endeavor and a social phenomenon can provide a unique window for examining cultural expression and transmission, identity, and exchange. The region's ethnically diverse population, relatively harsh physical surroundings, and absence of a common language allowed musical activity to serve as an important means of positive social interaction, especially in the close contact situations of socializing, entertainment, ritual, and trade. In turn, music and dance also expressed cultural identity and helped mark ethnic groups as distinct from one another.

Local indigenous communities during the late 18th, 19th, and early 20th centuries interacted most extensively with the influx of explorers, commercial whalers, traders, and

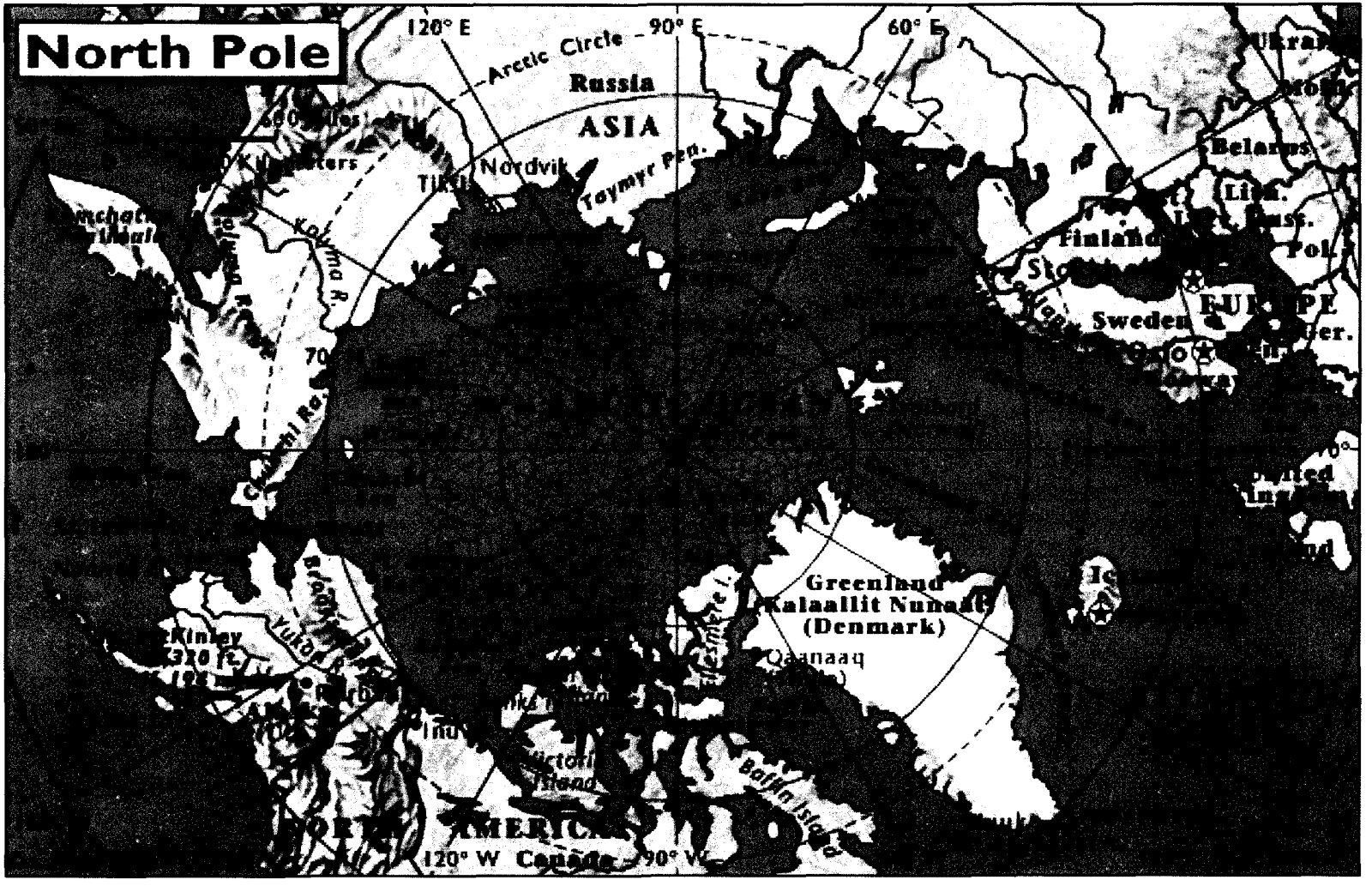

Figure 1.1: Map of the Arctic

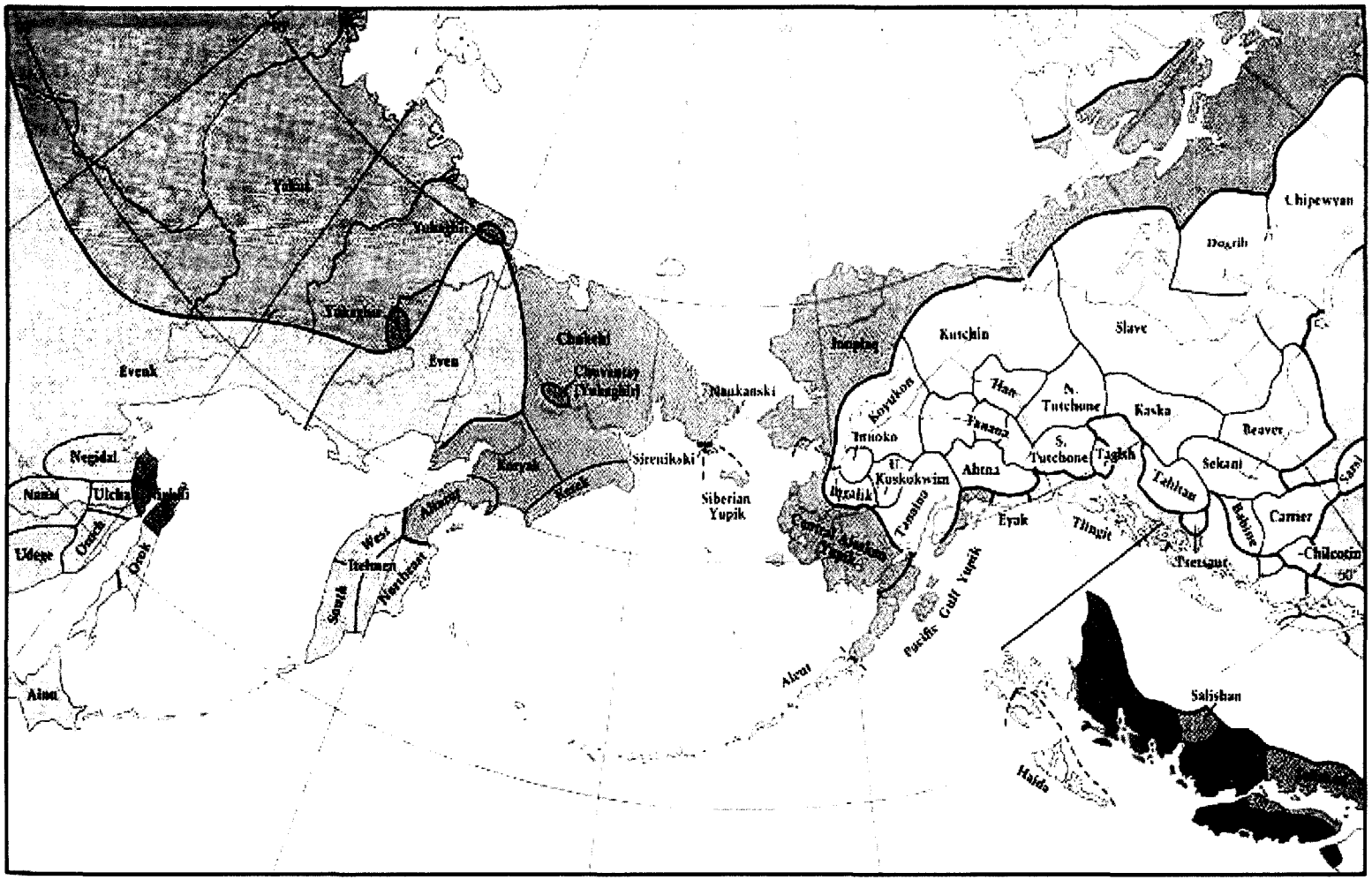

Figure 1.2: Western Arctic Language Map circa 1900 (Krauss 1988: 144)

missionaries. Throughout the year but especially during the long winter season, these groups often participated in formal, informal, and impromptu gatherings featuring various types of music such as indigenous drum dance and song, folk, popular, church, and classical. Musical instruments including frame drums, fiddles, accordions, harmonicas, organs, pianos, guitars, and devices such as phonographs, organettes, and music boxes played an essential role in musical exchange. Just as significantly, these objects also ranked as some of the region's more popular trade commodities. Such items, seemingly of little practical value, were in high demand among the local populations. In turn, southern fascination with the Arctic and its inhabitants as reflected in the many examples of late 19th and early 20th century sheet music, piano rolls, and recordings suggest that cross-cultural interests, though often superficial and caricatured, were also reciprocal.

The main thrust of my dissertation is to investigate the nature of musical interaction in the Western Arctic during the late 18th, 19th, and early 20th centuries. I will focus on how music and dance operated in cross-cultural settings and how individuals used them as a means of communication, as a way to build both cultural bridges and walls, and as strategizing tools to promote trade and religion. In a global sense, musical interaction was also crucial in creating an ever-expanding awareness of the world. Much of the argument is inspired by contemporary globalization theory while at the same time recognizing that musical processes of globalization occurred in the Western Arctic well before the 1900s. Globalization operates along both economic and sociocultural lines. Like the flow of capital and goods across economic boundaries, people and ideas also transcend cultural boundaries (Nederveen Pieterse 2004). Music bridges both these realities by serving as an important cultural and economic commodity. By the turn of the 20th century, musical interaction in the form of live performances, recordings, notation, instruments and machines were important in surpassing ethnic, national, and gender frontiers.

My study will be both broad and deep, first focusing on musical encounters between those key players in early Western voyaging and colonization – explorers, whalers/traders and missionaries – and northern indigenous peoples stretching eastward from the Chukchi Peninsula to the central Canadian Arctic. Adhering to the broad scope of globalization, I then examine the nature of late 19th and early 20th century musical interactions that took place in the United States between Western Arctic natives and southerners as well as the southern perceptions of northern indigenous peoples via various forms of musical media. An examination of the late 18th, 19th, and early 20th century ethnohistorical record, musical recordings and transcriptions, and ethnographic

fieldwork results – both mine and others' – will provide insights and conclusions concerning musical and cultural exchange. Studying the musical aspects of cross-cultural interaction from this period and region yields a greater understanding of the interaction of the local and the global, of how indigenous and foreign populations negotiated differences and shaped one another both musically and culturally.

Definition of Terms

The various terms contained in my title require some elucidation. First, the original research material is based extensively on primary and secondary written documents and, to a more limited extent, oral sources. The terms *European American, African American, Latin American, Asian American, Oceanic*, *Western, Indigenous/Native*, and others represent, at best, approximate sociocultural groups from specific regions in the world. *European American* refers to peoples or entities that either originated from Europe (including Russia) or are of European extraction. Similarly, *African American*, *Latin American*, *Asian American*, and *Oceanic* refer to their geographical origins. The usage of the word *Western* is a somewhat broader designation indicating any individual or institution raised, developed or functioning within the context of a European American sociocultural and political milieu; it does not directly relate to a specific race or ethnic group. For example, African Americans and Hawaiians who worked as Arctic whalers in relatively large numbers may be considered Westerners under this interpretation but not as European Americans. The terms *southern* and *southerner* are synonymous with *non-native* or those living in regions far to the south of *indigenous* Arctic territories. The use of the words *native* or *indigenous* refers to those who share cultural and biological ties to the peoples of North America and the Chukchi Peninsula prior to Western contact. The term *Inuit* indicates those Eskimo groups who have traditionally inhabited Greenland, Canada, as well as northern and northwestern Alaska prior to Western contact. *Yuit* refers to those Eskimo groups from southwestern Alaska, Saint Lawrence Island, and various spots along the Chukchi Peninsula. Whenever circumstances require a more specific group appellation, names such as *Iñupiaq* (Alaskan Inuit), *Inuvialuit* (Mackenzie Inuit), and *Inuinnait* (Copper Inuit) are employed. *Yuit* groups including *Siberian Yupik* and *Central Yup'ik* to a lesser degree will also be used. I also make use of the terms *Chukchi*, *Unangan* (Aleut), *Athabascan* and other non-*Eskimo* designations where relevant. *Eskimo* represents any non-Indian group occupying the northern regions of North

America and the Chukchi Peninsula. With regard to non-Athabascan Arctic groups from western Alaska and the Bering Strait region, for instance, the occasional lack of distinction between *Iñupiaq*, *Yup'ik* or *Siberian Yupik* groups, will call for the need of the term *Eskimo*. I employ the term *native* to refer to those groups living along the Chukchi Peninsula where difficulty in differentiating between Siberian Yupik and Chukchi peoples occurred. Along the same lines of thought, the geographical designation *Western Arctic* in my dissertation refers to those parts of Alaska, Canada, and Chukotka where Indigenous peoples, primarily the Chukchi, Siberian Yuit, Central Yupiit, Iñupiat, Mackenzie Inuit or Inuvialuit, and Copper Inuit or Inuinnait have lived for centuries. My dissertation will concentrate mainly on the Iñupiat and Inuvialuit of northern Alaska and northwestern Canada. In order not to over-reify these various groups, I will generally use those terms with which the majority of people in the region identify themselves. Using this approach it is important to recognize that problems of identity and distinction still arise with regard to the definition of groups, their mixing, as well as frequent misidentification by visitors.

Background of Cultural Contact

Much of my investigation concentrates on the influential activities of the three main Western groups mentioned above: explorers, whalers/traders and missionaries. Although these various agents of cultural change may appear on the surface to be separate and distinct from one another, in actuality, they earnestly engaged in each other's occupations. For instance, many explorers, missionaries, and scientists participated in trade while some whalers/traders pursued scientific and exploratory work. Therefore, the lines distinguishing one group from another were generally blurry. Furthermore, it is just as important to note that as contact increased over time, these very Western groups, originally of European influence, included natives as well. The indigenous peoples of the Western Arctic, of both full and mixed heritage, played an active role as whalers, traders, and missionaries during the early periods of contact; they also frequently served as members of exploratory and scientific expeditions as well as assisting with police investigations. Also, to some extent, northern indigenous cultural groups influenced Westerners by introducing them to native dress and mode of travel, their subsistence hunting practices, and, in some cases, even their spiritual outlook. Therefore, the history of Western and Native contact involved a two-way exchange of material and intellectual ideas, not the one-directional

acculturative process so often presented in anthropological and historical treatises of much of the 19th and 20th centuries.

Early Westerners and Natives shared common motives and fears in a majority of their cross-cultural encounters. Both groups had a desire to promote their own economic, political and territorial interests by way of trade or war or other means. Factors such as the opponent's numerical strength, attractiveness of trade goods, legitimate claims to land resources, availability of spouses, and effectiveness of military strategy and weapon technology often determined whether it was advantageous to establish friendly or hostile relations, or to settle or avoid particular areas. Closely intertwined with these uncertain conditions were elements of suspicion and distrust, which often went hand-in-hand with first-contact situations. With the lack of a common language and shared cultural background, it was challenging for visitors and inhabitants to read each other's behavior. When misunderstandings intensified, the possibility of hostility also greatly increased. Acting without caution, patience, or self-restraint, both parties created potentially dangerous encounters that often resulted in violent conflict. Only after several sustained attempts at establishing positive contact, did the Western and Native peoples gain the necessary experience to understand each other's ways and improve their ever-fragile relations. As shown in my dissertation, the performance of music and dance was an effective tool in bridging cultural and linguistic gaps between the locals and foreigners.

Adding to the confusion, and what amounted to a longstanding degree of mistrust between the two groups, were the preconceived biases inherent in each other's culture. Some Native groups, often by their very name (e.g., Inuit, Yup'ik, and Iñupiaq), perceived themselves as the 'real people' and others as strangers. Europeans tended to view indigenous groups as "primitive pagans" and sometimes relegated their status to that of children or even animals. Such prejudicial attitudes proved to be a severe obstacle in bridging any gaps in understanding between the two groups.

Finally, with the exception of the Norse and Thule Inuit (proto-Inuit group) in Greenland and perhaps one or two other cases, Westerners and Natives represented intruding and pre-established societies, respectively. Rather than the indigenous people imposing their culture on the inhabitants of Europe by way of exploration and trade, Westerners were the ones who encroached on Native territory and inflicted their way of life on its inhabitants. As a result, the historical perspectives of each group would naturally differ not only in terms of their content but, more importantly, their motives or interpretations surrounding such content. Due to certain

constraints iterated above, this dissertation mainly addresses Western points of view. Native perspectives emerge primarily through the filtered medium of Western language, writing, and cultural perceptions. Despite these limitations, it is necessary to point out that although I was unable to present an equal, let alone, purely independent Native view of culture contact, it was my wish to at least provide a "critical" account of Western and Native relations, one that attempts to include wherever possible the perspectives of various indigenous peoples and others.

Theoretical Framework – Globalization and Cultural History

My study has drawn heavily on the theoretical insights of globalization theory, a set of concepts that vary considerably across the academic spectrum. Jan Nederveen Pieterse argues that within the disciplines of anthropology and history, globalization involves "a long-term historical process of growing worldwide interconnectedness" (Nederveen Pieterse 1995: 45). In sociology, on the other hand, Roland Robertson defines globalization as "the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole" (Robertson 1992: 8). Thirdly, economist H. Peter Gray explains globalization as a "similarity of economic conditions and policies across national boundaries" (Gray 1993: 38).

Taking these three definitions into account, globalization may operate on economic and sociocultural levels. Like the flow of capital and goods across economic boundaries, people and ideas transcend cultural boundaries. Music bridges both of these realities by serving as an important cultural and economic commodity. At the turn of the 20th century, musical exchange in the form of live performances, recordings (cylinders, records, piano rolls), notation (sheet music), and its accompanying instruments (drums, violins, accordions, harmonicas, guitars, pianos, and organs) machines (music boxes, organettes, phonographs and gramophones), and other technology such as radio, played a role in transcending ethnic, national, and gender frontiers. Ethnomusicology, a field that emerged to document and analyze the world's music within a given cultural context, is therefore a useful tool to understand the links between musical cultures and the forces of globalization.

In agreement with Nederveen Pieterse, I argue that processes of globalization are not a recent phenomenon. Consequently, it is more revealing to examine them over the *longue durée*, prioritizing long-term historical structures over particular events. One central assumption underlying my thesis is that processes of globalization have taken place in both the recent and

distant past and, further, have endured over long stretches of time. According to Nederveen Pieterse, historical data limited to the most recent decades do not provide a basis to sufficiently understand local and global interaction. He further contends that the scope of such research should be carried out over a much longer period of time. Taking into account the impact of technology on cultural groups, Nederveen Pieterse admits that the world is presently shrinking at an increasingly faster rate of time, but he tempers the claim by arguing that cultural mixing has occurred throughout history. Only the "scope and speed of mixing" has accelerated (Nederveen Pieterse 2004: 100).

A major part of the globalization argument revolves around whether its effects produce a state of homogenization, heterogenization, or hybridization. Whereas aspects of homogenization are associated with global processes, heterogenization is predominantly concerned with that of the local. The mix of the global and local leads to hybridization, which is essentially the integration of a combination of elements from different cultural, ethnic, national, or other groups. All three concepts accommodate deep and widespread processes of global change largely brought by technological advances in communication and transportation.

The argument for homogeneity as a byproduct of globalization in the present day is connected to the perceived worldwide expansion and integration of Western-derived culture by way of communications technology and commodities exchange. Shedding light on the problem in terms of music, ethnomusicologist Max Peter Baumann argues that "the strong influence of this media in spreading Western music over the globe could be likened to a kind of cultural neo-colonialism, if the economic power of the mass media is not able to integrate the plurality and diversity of the traditional musics of the world (Baumann 1992: 11). According to the concept of homogenization then, the effects of globalization, largely due to telecommunications and market forces, have weakened geopolitical boundaries and lessened the importance of national and ethnic identities both on the large-scale and localized levels. A similar case can be made for the transforming cultural effects of globalization on the small-scale communities of the Western Arctic during the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Whether indigenous societies ultimately became homogenized, that is, whether they are losing their cultural identities to Western sociopolitical and economic expansionism is open to debate. Appadurai opposes the notion of Western cultural hegemony = homogenization and instead views Western influence as but one node in a complex system of transcultural and transnational relationships (Appadurai 1990). Following Appadurai's view that "globalization of

a culture is not the same as its homogenization" (Appadurai 1990: 17), I will make the case that heterogenization and hybridization processes instead paint a more prominent picture of *musicultural* [1] change in the Western Arctic during the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Heterogenization and the closely related concept of hybridization concern processes that naturally oppose the forces of homogenization. Heterogenization as a concept parallels the ideas of coexistence or compartmentalization. In Iñupiaq music and dance, for instance, drum dance and Western forms of social dancing and singing are normally compartmentalized. Features of hybridity may be evident, though, in the rhythmic and melodic commonalities shared in both Iñupiaq and Canadian Inuit drum dance. Elements of drum dance music such as rhythm may also be fused into indigenous forms of popular music originating in southern mainstream culture. The use of the term hybridity echoes back to earlier concepts in anthropology and ethnomusicology such as 'transculturation' and the concepts of 'syncretism' and 'synthesis' contained in acculturation theory. All terms including those associated with heterogenization resist the idea of inevitable and whole-sale assimilation.

In order to accommodate both homogenization and its opposing ideas of heterogenization and hybridization, some writers have used the concept known as glocalization, a neologism of globalization and localization, which is defined in two ways: 1) "the interpenetration of the global and local resulting in unique outcomes in different geographical areas" (Rizter 2004: 73); and 2) "the ability of a culture, when it encounters other strong cultures, to absorb influences that naturally fit into and can enrich that culture, to resist those things that are truly alien and to compartmentalize those things that, while different, can nevertheless be enjoyed and celebrated as different" (Friedman 1999: 295). A term popularized by Roland Robertson in the 1990s, glocalization represents a middle ground between homogenization and heterogenization; it is a complementary concept whereby the dual aspects of the global and the local work to reconstruct and redefine each other (Robertson 1995: 30-31). Although the concept is useful towards my study, glocalization as a term has unfortunately entered the field of scholarly jargon to such a degree that the name has overshadowed its meaning. Instead, I will continue to employ the term globalization with the understanding that localized entities play a crucial role in shaping global influences.

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[1] "Musicultural" is a relatively new term used by ethnomusicologists such as Michael Bakan to describe a "phenomenon where *music as sound* and *music as culture* are mutually reinforcing, and where the two are essentially inseparable from one another" (Bakan 2007: 10).

Focusing on my interpretation of globalization allows me to examine Western Arctic musical relations during the turn of the 20th century in terms of coexistence, reciprocity, and negotiation. It allows room for compartmentalization as well as creative opportunities to emerge in the form of synthesis or hybridity. By using the idea of hybridity as one part of my working thesis, I argue that mixing, integration and boundary crossing were important and unavoidable elements in northern musical exchanges. Localized variants of globalization are based on processes that transcend various kinds of boundaries representing ethnic, national, gender, or other identities.

According to ethnomusicologist Bonnie Wade (Wade 2004: 145-146), diverse groups that sustain contact with one another often rely on music as a means of negotiating differences. At the ethnic level, negotiation may take the form of musical competitions such as song duels, drumming, and dance contests. At the national level, ever since the emergence of nation-states in the 17th and 18th centuries, societies have employed music and other art forms as a way to promote their national identities and at times reinforce their superiority over others. In the past few decades, female musicians and composers have transcended gender boundaries by actively participating in once male-dominated musical activities. With regard to my study, for instance, gender plays an important role in how music from outside was absorbed into Eskimo culture. Through sustained intimate relationships with whalers, traders, and the like, Alaskan Iñupiaq and Canadian Inuit women quickly learned newly released popular songs from the South and passed them on to other members of their community.

Localized emphasis on globalization has its share of critics. For instance, Ritzer has argued that Robertson and his supporters have framed the concept of glocalization in such a way that it tends to deemphasize the significance of homogenization. In order to provide a more balanced approach to the global/local dichotomy problem, Ritzer has formulated a concept called grobalization (*grow* + *globalization*), a process that creates homogeneity due to the global expansion of common forms and practices. Whereas glocalization, involving the interaction of many global and local cultural forms, leads to hybridization and various forms of heterogeneity, grobalization operates in a unidirectional manner that causes groups to lose the ability to innovate or operate in a local manner (Ritzer 2004: 77). Remarkably, as the above description shows, grobalization echoes various overtones of the acculturation theory, especially as it was practiced during the middle of the 20th century. Rather than downplay or ignore the transforming effects of large power structures, however, Ritzer focuses his concept on the "imperialist ambitions of

nations, corporations, organizations, and the like and their desire, indeed need, to impose themselves on various geographical areas. Their main interest is in seeing their power, influence, and in some cases profits grow ... throughout the world" (Ritzer 2004: 73).

Ritzer, therefore, resurrects earlier concepts of colonization, boundaries, power relations and negotiation into his theory. He adds, though, a fresh approach to the problem by examining homogeneity in light of recent global changes, which are primarily economic in nature. In order to better understand grobalization, Ritzer concentrates on three subprocesses each of which has firmly entered the domain of popular discourse for some time: capitalism, McDonaldization, and Americanization (Ritzer 2004: 73, 79). Following in the footsteps of Ronaldson, Ritzer attempts to understand these very mechanisms that drive grobalization. He concludes that grobalization ends up contributing to the spread of 'nothing' or what he refers to as "social forms which are centrally conceived, controlled and comparatively devoid of distinctive substantive content" (Ritzer 2004: 3). Examples demonstrating the pervasiveness of the 'nothing' are the emergence of fast-food franchises like McDonalds and Starbucks as well as shopping mall conglomerates such as Wal-Mart, which have largely replaced local cafes and markets in recent years. Examples describing the musical effects of grobalization are the arguably watered-down and standardized pop music styles produced, marketed, and distributed worldwide by the Big-4 record companies *Sony BMG*, *EMI*, *Universal*, and *Warner*. The generic commercialized forms of music streamlining through Clearchannel stations across North America also represent another example of uniformity-induced grobalization.

Nederveen Pieterse and others take the position that homogenization is a very real outcome of intercultural interaction, but that hybridization or localized variants of globalization is a much more common occurrence, and therefore worthy of more study. Reminiscent of earlier concepts stretching back to acculturation theory, Nederveen Pieterse's approach to understanding globalization is based on the three following paradigms: culture clash, McDonaldization, and finally hybridization. The first one relates to the original idea of 'clash of civilizations' expressed by writer Samuel Huntington. The latter two concepts are essentially synonymous with those discussed in previous paragraphs. Again, similar notions concerning resistance or the absence of coexistence, assimilation, amalgamation, and synthesis hearken back to early systematic studies of acculturation starting with Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits (Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits: 1935). The perennial themes of: 1) homogenization = assimilation, McDonaldization; 2) heterogenization = differentiation, clash, or its opposite, coexistence; and 3) hybridization =

synthesis, syncretism, amalgamation, creolization, crossover, transculturation continue to wield their influence in the social sciences.

Nederveen Pieterse devotes much of his work to the theme of hybridization rather than homogenization and culture clash. He argues that hybridization is actually the "solvent" between the other two paradigms and that it derives its existence and meaning only in relation to them (Nederveen Pieterse 2004: 53). He adds that hybridization is an integral aspect of globalization because it "problematizes boundaries", that is, hybridizing processes cross borders originally defined by national, ethnic, cultural, and other identities (Nederveen Pieterse 2004: 86, 88). It is at these border crossings where entirely new creative opportunities arise and where the problems associated with essentialisms of racism, ethnocentrism, fervent nationalism, religious revivalism, and uncontrolled commercialism fade away.

The central assumption underlying Nederveen Pieterse's thesis is that processes of globalization, glocalization, and hybridization have taken place in both the recent and distant past and that they have endured over long stretches of time. According to him, historical data limited to the most recent decades do not provide enough of a basis to satisfactorily understand local and global interaction. Nederveen Pieterse contends that the scope of research should involve a much longer period of time, that is, within the context of the 'longue duree'. Taking into account the impact of technology on the cultural groups, Nederveen Pieterse admits that the world is presently shrinking at an increasingly faster rate of time but he tempers the claim by arguing that "not recent times are the yardstick ... but evolutionary times. A distinctive feature of contemporary times is that they are times of accelerated mixing. Thus, not mixing is new but the scope and speed of mixing" (Nederveen Pieterse 2004: 100). A comprehensive investigation of hybridization, not only in different geographical areas but also differing historical contexts, sheds important insight into the nature of globalization.

The concept of "world music" serves as a musical counterpart to the general process of cultural globalization. An important area of research in popular music studies, "world music" is often viewed as either a by-product of worldwide homogenization, or as an entirely novel creation resulting from hybridization. Adopting the latter position, popular music scholar Reebee Garofalo emphasizes the power and influence of the local to constructively respond to the forces of globalization. According to Garofalo, hybridization opens up new opportunities for innovation: "it is in this dialectic of the global and the local ... that new ethnic identities begin to emerge – identities conceived not as essential, stable, static representations tied to a fixed place,

but as a moveable, developing, relational process of identification that links traditions of the past with all the dislocations of the world system" (Garofalo 1993: 25).

The history of European classical and American popular music is replete with examples of musical hybridization. Early 19th century American popular song, for instance, was closely connected to English strophic forms. After 1815, however, Italian opera companies began to introduce the music of Rossini, Donizetti, and Bellini to American audiences, dramatically changing the repertoire of American popular song. The florid aria-like writing of the Italian style gained as much appeal as the English-derived songs. After coexisting for a decade or so, American songwriters began to gradually fuse the English forms with Italian-influenced melodies. Finally, the American composer Stephen Foster successfully synthesized both English and Italian elements with African American idioms to create some of the greatest popular songs of the 19th century, including "Camptown Races", "Oh! Susanna", "My Old Kentucky Home", and "Old Folks at Home".

Musical hybridization is also evident in the music of the Baroque composer Johann Sebastian Bach. Living a generally insular life, Bach never stepped a foot outside his native Germany. Strictly trained in the German tradition, he nevertheless became exposed to several other European national styles by faithfully studying their scores. He familiarized himself especially with the Italian style by playing, copying, and rearranging the music of Vivaldi and others. Much of his early work was imitative, although his later more mature works demonstrated a masterful synthesis of various national styles. As a composer noted for his German identity, it is important to emphasize the international influences that played an integral role in shaping his music.

The European Renaissance period from two centuries earlier also reflects a strong case for hybridization. Known for their cosmopolitan outlook, 15th and 16th century Renaissance composers traveled extensively around the continent studying and working in several different countries during the lives: Franco-Flemish instructors taught in Italy, German and Austrian composers were employed in Spain, Italians directed choirs in Poland, the English studied under their Franco-Flemish masters in Italy. The Franco-Flemish composers created a common international musical language throughout Europe, but each country therein still developed its own distinctive musical dialect. Over the course of the 16th century, the national idioms rose to prominence and eventually modified the Franco-Flemish style in turn. This example shows very well how the local and the global, or more accurately translocal redefined and reconstructed one

another. It is reasonable to believe that globalization and glocalization were very real phenomena to European inhabitants during this time. Musical crossovers such as these have occurred in all styles of music and in all periods of history. From a global perspective, these forms of hybridization exhibit a distinctly European quality. They show how music contributed to the hybridized cultural identity that is "the West". The processes that make globalization possible reveal themselves early on in this historical period. The examples I present show how active a role such forces played in the musical developments of Europe. Respective developments occurred in China and other regions of the world (see Chanda 2007).

Jazz provides one of the most convincing cases for localized responses to globalization. Its development not only in the United States but also throughout the world shows how a particular art form reflects both the global and the local. The classic American jazz styles of New Orleans, big band, bebop, cool, free, fusion and others have migrated to countries all across the globe. According to jazz critic Stuart Nicholson, local musicians in Europe, Africa, and Asia in turn may choose either to play in the globalized jazz style, which lends itself to a more rigorous evaluation standard, or they may decide to play in a hybridized style, which combines elements of the globalized style with those of a local interpretation or influence (Nicholson 2006).

What eventually emerges as a result of this hybridization is something closely akin to a language made up of numerous dialects. Comparing jazz to the lingua franca English, Nicholson draws some insightful comparisons:

> [They] show very similar properties in the sense that when they both are taken into a given community, the community that absorbs them and uses them doesn't actually have any reverence for, or need to pay heed to, the way jazz is played or English is spoken in their parent cultures; there is no notion of "authenticity." In choosing to use English or play jazz, the adopting culture makes English or jazz all its own, just as we no longer think of pasta as being Chinese or Rubik's Cube being Czech. (Nicholson 2006)

Since languages and musics are not the sole property of its native practitioners, the future of both forms of expression subsists in their practical use. In the case of hegemonic languages or musics, it is the local that plays a decisive role in determining whether the effects of globalization will operate according to a process of homogenization or its opposite. Contrary to initial expectations, globalization has not necessarily resulted in linguistic and musical homogeneity. Ample evidence has shown that the ability of the local to counter global influences often leads to heterogeneous or hybridized outcomes. Of course, languages and musics can and do fall into disuse. The power of

homogenization to replace or assimilate cultural forms is all too real especially in those circumstances where there is a lack of local initiative to maintain them.

The relationship between culture contact and the maintenance and loss of music and language together is relatively limited in comparison with studies of language loss. Herskovits noted the importance of independently investigating linguistic and musical expression for the purpose of better understanding the acculturation process, but made no mention of combining the two (Herskovits 1958: 127-128). The Social Science Research Council committee that presented a revamped theory of acculturation in its 1953 paper "Acculturation: An Exploratory Formulation", wrote a section on the links between language and acculturation, but offered nothing significant about music (Broom et al. 1954: 994-995). On the other hand, Kartomi drew important parallels between music and language especially as they relate to syncretism and transculturation. Keying in on the phenomenon of pidgin and creole languages, she postulated:

> ... the early stages of musical transculturation may resemble the initial stages of linguistic syncretism. In the early days of contact adjustment, the music and language of one, usually the more dynamic power, generally predominates over the other and contributes by far the larger amount of ideas for the newly emerging musical and linguistic syntheses. The conflicts begin to be resolved by unequal compromise between the interacting groups. (Kartomi 1981: 242)

When two groups of people with no common language make contact with one another, they may create a pidgin language in order to communicate with one another. Similarly, people in contact situations often use the opportunity to make music together as well. In those cases where an imposing culture assumes a dominant and prohibitory position, the process of musical transference may be largely one-sided and acculturative. The process according to Kartomi, though, may still be very gradual for she contends that "no group of people in the first or even second generation of contact would be sufficiently motivated or able to comprehend another musical culture so completely that it would completely forget its own musical concepts and tendencies and replace them entirely with the newly-imposed ones" (Kartomi 1981: 242).[2] The process quite often leads to eventual musical loss and replacement. In order to better understand the nature of such outcomes, particularly those involving language destruction, an important study called language shift emerged to address the problem.

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[2] This point is debatable especially in societies where music is quasi-professionally practiced.

One of the pioneers in the field is the sociolinguist Joshua Fishman. Since the 1960s, he has worked on ways to preserve and revitalize dying languages. One of his most important contributions is a theory of language shift and a methodology for reversing it. Language shift occurs in "speech communities whose languages are threatened because their intergenerational continuity is proceeding negatively, with few and few users ... or uses every generation" (Fishman 1991: 1). Cases vary as to how groups respond to the threat of language loss, but without some form of intervention, language shift most likely leads to the extinction of the endangered language.

Fishman proposed a methodology called Reversing Language Shift (RLS) that aims to achieve an appropriate balance between the dominant language and the one in jeopardy. Determining this balance depends on discerning what kind of context each language covers or should cover. In many bilingual societies where the indigenous language is threatened, the dominant language can serve as the tool of communication within the governmental, political, and business domains. As a challenge to the RLS objective, it is imperative for the indigenous language to remain at least vibrant inside the local community, especially in the home setting. Therefore, Fishman and other supporters of RLS are most concerned with those cases where the dominant language is beginning to take over as the primary form of communication in the home. For it is in the home where the intergenerational transmission of language operates at its most fundamental level and where it is potentially most at risk.

Establishing a proper equilibrium between the dominant and threatened languages requires constant vigilance and often results in setbacks along the way. Forces operating along the local, national, and global levels influence whether languages and other cultural forms remain relevant and viable. According to Fishman:

> ... it is very difficult to resist selectively and partially both state and global integration, which is exactly what is called for, and that, again, is why it is ultimately so hard to strengthen a weaker language on a permanent basis ... We are, therefore, left with a human struggle which defies the complete victory of either the old or the new. The complexity of human motives and identities is rarely better illustrated than via the RLS scene, where neither total triumph nor total resignation, neither total reason nor total irrationality are in the offing and where particularism and globalisation [sic] cohabit in a sometime antagonistic as well as in a sometime cooperative marriage. (Fishman 2001: 9, 480)

Hybridization is usually presented as a positive form of interaction between the global and the local. In contrast, globalization (especially grobalization) is generally interpreted as a system that breaks down cultural boundaries and threatens cultural and ethnic identity loss. Hybridization responds to this threat by asserting local power, interpretation, and identity, but it may not be especially effective where numerically small cultures are concerned. The process may reveal how such groups hybridize outside influences but it may not adequately address the problem of cultural, in this case, language or music loss. In light of the emphasis on hybridization and heterogenization, it is important to consider whether a small social group even has the intrinsic ability to retain its indigenous cultural traits while at the same time adopting new ones either in separate or amalgamated form. Without resorting to essentialism, it is also equally important to investigate whether products of hybridization actually contain a significant degree of the local content or merely disguise a largely homogeneous nature. Of course, ideas such as these relate to the issues of identity (how is identity defined?) and authenticity (what is authentic and who decides?).

The question arises as to why it is necessary to save languages and musics particularly when the affected people themselves may not show any concern about their potential loss. After all, the apparently strong and infectious desire to learn English or Western music among culturally threatened groups contradicts the enormous effort involved in maintaining their indigenous languages and musics. Attempting to convince people to preserve and revitalize cultural forms they no longer care about, just because researchers see a value in continuing them, raises important ethical dilemmas.

To counter the above criticisms, the linguists Michael Krauss and later David Crystal cite several important reasons for saving dying languages (reasons that could very well be applied to musics as well): 1) they provide necessary diversity; 2) they express identity; 3) they retain history; and 4) they contribute to the sum of human knowledge (Krauss 1992: 4-10 and Crystal 2000). Particular attention will be given to the first point. Diversity is integral to protecting not only the health of humanity but also that of the planet. In their book *Vanishing Voices: The Extinction of the World's Languages*, Daniel Nettle and Suzanne Romaine introduce a concept called "biolinguistic diversity" that closely connects languages to ecosystems (Nettle and Romaine 2000). They argue that there is a one-to-one correspondence between language concentration and biodiversity in the world. In areas where the flora and fauna are many and varied, one can expect to find a large number of languages, and vice versa. Since languages

represent unique systems of human understanding (related to reasons #3 and #4), their destruction combined with that of biodiversity may result in the loss of human knowledge, and the loss in ability to sustain human life on earth.

The construction and reconstruction of identity as expressed through language and music is another reason why such cultural forms should be rescued from oblivion. The assertion that language and music act as repositories of history and that they contribute to the sum of human knowledge is highly important. Human habitat, knowledge of human habitat, culture, language and music are all interconnected. The loss of one component contributes to the loss of or a certain amount of loss in other components. For instance, a cultural group's historical knowledge of regional medicinal plants or social bonds is normally retained in their language or music. The loss of the language or music may very well lead to social breakdown, disease, war, environmental destruction, and cultural deterioration. Preserving the totality of human knowledge, retaining history, constructing boundaries of identity, and maintaining diversity all factor into keeping a culture healthy and strong.

Returning to the area to be presented here, a close study of the historical processes involved in music loss, music shift, heterogenization and hybridization in the Western Arctic can contribute to understanding the meaning and value of loss in a specific case and to an understanding of the problems associated with loss as it occurs. Several important factors to be examined in the following chapters, for instance, the eventual abandonment of the ceremonial house, the severity of religious strife, the music and dance-related decisions of elders and village councils, and the impact of individual choice, were instrumental in determining whether a particular musical form persisted or faded away. Appreciating the significance of these factors can help provide a model for responding effectively to contemporary problems of music maintenance.

The Cultural-Historical Dynamics of Music in the Western Arctic: Further Questions

In addition to the general question I presented at the beginning of this chapter, my dissertation aims to address a number of more specific questions based on the following three areas: the music itself, cultural influence on the music, and musical influence on the culture. Regarding the first one, the music itself: What types of music were shared cross-culturally in the Western Arctic during the late 19th and early 20th centuries? What role did musical instruments,

machines, and recordings play in the exchange of music and musical styles? How did musical forms and styles change over time?

In the second area, questions about the cultural influence on music arise: In terms of musical globalization, how did "local" entities respond to "global" forces? How did individuals transcend ethnic, cultural, and gender boundaries in music? How did the absorption of music into indigenous culture, both in amount and content, compare between explorers, whalers, traders, and missionaries? What was the musical influence of other indigenous peoples on local cultures? What value did local peoples of the Western Arctic place on southern musical instruments and phonographs? Was local interest in music from the outside reciprocal to southern fascination with northern Alaska Native culture as expressed through music? How does the production of southern music featuring northern indigenous imagery relate to the southern exposure of "Eskimo" entertainers at world's fairs and expositions? What are the underlying cultural factors responsible for musical change and persistence in the North?

Finally, in the third area concerning the musical influence on culture, I pose the following questions: How did local and foreign peoples use music to negotiate foreign influences such as religion? What role did music and dance play in promoting awareness and knowledge of other cultures?

Overview of Sources

The number of publications focusing on the nature of cross-cultural musical interactions in the Western Arctic during the late 18th, 19th, and early 20th centuries is virtually zero. The writings of historians and anthropologists devoted to the exploring, whaling, trading, and missionizing days of the Western Arctic such as Foote (Foote 1964, Foote 1965), Leet (Leet 1974), Bockstoce (Bockstoce 1977b, Bockstoce 1995, and Bockstoce 2009), Cassell (Cassell 1988 and Cassell 2000), Ray (Ray 1992), and Vanast (Vanast 1996) contain limited musical references. In the few cases that do, the citations rarely relate to cross-cultural interaction. On the other hand, several works concerning the role of music in the eastern Arctic have been published. The historian Ross (Ross 1984) and ethnomusicologist Lutz (Lutz 1978 and Lutz 1982) have both written specifically about historical musical interactions between local eastern Canadian Inuit groups and foreign explorers, whalers, traders, and missionaries. Lutz especially explored in depth the role of whaling and church music among the Inuit of Cumberland Sound in

Baffin Island. With regard to ethnomusicological and anthropological research based on the music of the Western Arctic, however, studies at least since the 1960s have largely concentrated on contemporary drum dance song styles, not on earlier musical forms either of native or non-native origin (Koranda 1964, 1968, 1972, 1980), (Johnston 1976a, 1976b, 1976c, 1978a, 1978b, 1990, 1991), (Binnington 1973, Binnington and Liang 1974), (Williams 1996), (Ikuta 2004). One important exception is Thomas Miller's dissertation, which focused on early 20th century shamanic music from Siberia (Miller 2004). Though his work covered a different geographical region and time period, its emphasis on tracing the legacy of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition (1897-1902), the role of museum collecting from northern Asia to the Aleutian Islands and the Pacific Northwest, as well as the early history of the phonograph complements my study well.

Mishler's research concerned the Gwich'in musical culture of Subarctic Alaska and Canada, but gave little attention to that of the Inuit (Iñupiaq and Inuvialuit) along the Arctic coast (Mishler 1981 and Mishler 1993). Nonetheless, he applied a thorough ethnohistorical method to his study and scoured many primary sources dealing with musical relations between the Gwich'in and European Americans from the mid-19th to the mid-20th centuries. Kingston's work on the King Island Wolf Dance also involved some ethnohistorical research on the nature of Iñupiaq musical performances during the 1900s (Kingston 1999). Its focus, however, is mainly on recent musical practices of the past couple of decades. There are even fewer works relating to popular forms of music in the Western Arctic, let alone popular forms from the turn of the 20th century. Mishler's writings largely pertaining to Gwich'in Athabascan fiddling and a much smaller degree to country and rock music rank among the only serious works concentrating on the ethnohistory of Alaska Native popular music.

My ethnohistorical sources are based on written documents, both primary and secondary, photographs, historical musical recordings, archeological and oral sources. I have consulted the Yukon North Slope Inuvialuit, Barrow Iñupiaq, and University of Alaska Fairbanks Oral History collections as well as autobiographies and collaborative biographies of Native individuals such as Nuligak for relevant information (Nuligak 1966). Furthermore, my research has examined a broad range of primary and secondary sources written by anthropologists, historians and ethnographers that cover the period of local and foreigner musical contact. From these I am seeking to find a common ground of understanding, a core body of knowledge upon which to base comprehensive observations and conclusions.

Among the early ethnohistorical sources that I have examined are writings of Cook, Sarychev, Kotzebue, Choris, Beechey, Franklin, Dease, Thomas Simpson, and other explorers who spent a brief amount of time interacting with indigenous peoples between 1778 and 1837. I also analyze in more detail the accounts of later explorers such as Hooper, Maguire, John Simpson, and Collinson, members of the first Western expeditions to overwinter on the Arctic coasts of the Chukchi Peninsula, northern Alaska and northwestern Canada beginning in the late 1840s. Ship logs, journals, and publications of Western Arctic whalers and traders starting from the same period are also included in my research. The majority of these sources are related to seasonal voyages, shipwrecked experiences, and the first overwintering voyages at Herschel Island and vicinity, as well as turn-of-the-20th century trading documents including those of Bodfish, Pedersen, Bernard, and others. In addition, I have consulted the missionary writings of Stringer, Whittaker, Marsh, the Lopps, the Sammses, Driggs, Hadley, Greist, and others, relevant reports prepared by the U.S. Revenue Cutter Service and the Canadian Mounted Police, as well as music-related accounts by scientists such as Murdoch, Stefansson, Jenness, and other members of the Canadian Arctic Expedition. Historical newspapers and periodicals also represent an important source of information. Finally, interviews with individuals or descendants of those who played a role in the history of musical interaction in the Western Arctic provide a valuable body of knowledge.

Ethnohistorical and Ethnomusicological Approaches

My qualitative study involves ethnohistorical and ethnomusicological research and fieldwork. For methodological references in ethnohistory, see, e.g., sources by Galloway 2006, Barber and Berdan 1998, and Wiedman 1986; those concerning ethnomusicology, see Post 2004, Manuel 1995, Porter 1995, and Myers 1992. The ethnohistorical component closely examines historical documents containing descriptions of musical interaction and various musical forms such as indigenous drum dance song, Western popular, folk, church, and classical music. Some of the descriptions contain musical transcriptions and other forms of analysis. For the purpose of presenting an historical timeline upon which to compare and contrast musical relations, functions, and forms, I have collected ethnohistorical research data from various archives, libraries, and historical societies. Some of the primary documents I utilized include the Bernard, Koenig, Van Valin, and Hadley collections housed at the University of Alaska Fairbanks Archives; the

Pedersen collection stored in the University of Alaska Anchorage Archives; whaling ship logs, journals, and letters of correspondence relating to Western Arctic voyages between 1848 and 1910 and housed at the Harvard University Baker Library, Dukes County Historical Society, New Bedford Whaling Museum, New Bedford Free Public Library, Mystic Seaport, and Providence Public Library in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut; records of the Canadian Arctic Expedition stored at the Canadian Museum of Civilization, War Museum, and Museum of Nature in Ottawa and Gatineau; various denominational church records stored in the Yukon Archives in Whitehorse and Presbyterian Historical Society in Philadelphia; sources of information on the representation and practice of Native musical entertainment at American world's fairs and expositions from the Library of Congress and various newspaper databases; Eskimo-themed sheet music and related material from university libraries, the sheet music collections of Candace Waugaman and Jean Murray, and personal possessions. Data from this ethnohistorical portion of the study consists not only of archival notes and pictures, but also musical recordings and transcriptions from the Diamond Jenness Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-1916. Where available and applicable, visual and audio recordings in the form of photographs, video, and music represent some of the source material for analysis. Secondary sources consisting of published books, articles, letters and other items are also included as part of the ethnohistorical research. Lastly, the on-line Hubert Wenger Eskimo Database was a useful source of information, especially in the initial stages of my research.

The ethnomusicological component of my fieldwork provides the means of identifying vestiges of early musical types that still persist across the Western Arctic. The bulk of this data is from the Mackenzie Delta, primarily from the communities of Tuktoyaktuk, Inuvik, Aklavik, Tsiigehtchic, and Fort McPherson. Field observations are in the form of written notes, photographs, and analog/digital audio- and video recordings, and interviews. I am applying the triangulation method to crosscheck my fieldwork results with the ethnohistorical and ethnomusicological data and determine themes of consistency or conflict. By comparing the ethnohistorical record of musical change based on early ethnographies to oral histories passed down from those who witnessed the process, or to early musical recordings from the period in question, I am trying to gain a more comprehensive understanding of past musical exchanges, one that is composed of multiple perspectives.

Research on the musical cultures of the North American Arctic, especially during the last few decades, has focused primarily on perceived "traditional" or pre-contact forms of indigenous

music. Much less attention, on the other hand, has been devoted to those musical styles that northern indigenous groups absorbed from outside their cultural areas, particularly folk, popular, classical, and church music. Starting already in the contact-traditional period, cultural groups from around the world sustained long-term relations along the coastline northern Alaska and northwestern Canada. By probing into the musical aspects of this exchange, I aim to gain a greater understanding of how indigenous and foreign populations, and by extension, the local and the global negotiated differences and shaped one another both musically and culturally. Ethnomusicology, which describes and compares the rich diversity of the world's music, serves as a critical tool to understanding globalization and its effects.

An examination of the ethnohistorical record, early musical recordings and transcriptions, and personal ethnographic fieldwork results will yield general patterns from which to derive insightful conclusions regarding musical and cultural change. Studying the region's historical interplay of musical relations within the framework of current globalization theories will help shed light on how musical styles and practices developed and disappeared according to the processes of homogenization, heterogenization, and especially hybridization. Finally, by investigating more closely the nature of cross-cultural musical interaction in the Western Arctic during the late 18th, 19th, and early 20th centuries, I hope to partially fill a gap in the body of cultural knowledge and also provide a foundation upon which to base further historical studies of musical interchange.

Dissertation Outline

In Chapter 2, I provide an early history of musicultural contact in the Western Arctic between indigenous populations and explorers, covering both the major sea and land expeditions of the late 18th through the middle of the 19th centuries. I examine how music and dance were used in close contact situations and what the consequences of such encounters were. The relationship between music and trade represents an important part of this chapter, as well as the nature of mimetic performance expressed through dance and song. I explore how music and dance helped to not only form social bonds but articulate cultural identity and boundaries. I also consider factors such as whether musical exchange took place aboard ships or on land and what influence such spatial settings had on interaction.

In Chapter 3, I continue with the next phase of Western Arctic musicultural contact with the arrival of commercial whalers and traders. This historical period spans the years between the 1840s and the 1930s. Similar to Chapter 2, I present a discussion about musical interaction in the region and how cross-cultural relations developed in the context of expanding globalization processes. I explore the musical legacy of the whalers and how their multicultural make-up and respective styles of music and dance contributed to the early stages of globalization in the Western Arctic. The extent of musical trade in the region is an important part of the study. I present data related to the distribution of musical instruments and phonograph-related accessories over a course of three decades. Circulation of musical trade items and song into the central Canadian Arctic is addressed as well.

Chapter 4 concerns an early cultural contact case study in musical interaction. Covering the years 1910-1920, I focus on the musical relations between a southern sailor, his Iñupiaq crew, and the Inuinnait people. Joe Bernard was a pioneering Arctic trader who amassed large collections of native artifacts from Canada, Alaska, and Chukotka during the early part of the 20th century. His experiences mark some of earliest sustained episodes of southern Inuinnait culture contact in the region. Information from his diary and other sources show the diverse ways in which music and dance functioned in social settings and how they articulated cultural identity. The consequences of such musicultural interaction are also considered.

In Chapters 5 and 6, I investigate early musical relations between Western Arctic native peoples and missionaries, the first one concerning the Iñupiaq region of western and northern Alaska between the years 1890 and 1920, the second one involving the Mackenzie Delta Inuit of northwestern Canada from the 1850s and 1910s. How missionaries used music as a strategizing tool to attract the native population to the church and how the latter responded to the music form the core of this study. I examine the role of local natives, particularly youths in negotiating local and foreign religions during the early stages of missionization. The influence of neighboring Iñupiat and Gwich'in communities is also important to consider for understanding the spread of musico-religious practices.

In Chapter 7, I turn the tables and present an early history of northern indigenous experiences in the United States, with a particular emphasis on the representation of Western Arctic Eskimo musical culture at world's fairs and expositions during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Comparisons of music and dance performances by Alaskan and Chukotkan Eskimos to that of eastern Arctic Inuit are made. Appropriation of Eskimo identity by non-native entertainers

represents a curious aspect to this chapter. The early transformation of "Eskimo Village" performances into cultural commodities constitutes part of the discussion as well. Descriptions of performances and their role, if any, in conditioning southern perceptions of the Arctic peoples follow. I also briefly touch on native boarding school experiences and the earliest records of native travel in the country.

Chapter 8 serves as an extension of Chapter 7. Musical examples in the form of late 19th and early 20th century sheet music, sound recordings, film, radio advertisements, musicals, and other live performances serve as source material for understanding southern perceptions and conceptions of "Eskimo" culture and music. I employ a classification system in order to flesh out differences in the way composers approached Eskimo music and imagery. These differences shed light on the issue of authenticity, a topic of discussion for the following chapter. I conclude this section with an example of musical reciprocity from an Eskimo perspective and how northern indigenous shaping of foreign music contrasts with the previous material.

In Chapter 9, I analyze Diamond Jenness's early recording collection of Eskimo songs from Canada and Alaska and discuss its influence on performers and composers alike. I examine the dissemination of music within the context of globalization and new technologies. I assess the role of the French Canadian singer Juliette Gaultier who prepared ethno-performance recitals based on transcriptions of the Eskimo song. Southern treatment of the music in terms of concepts related to authenticity and cultural identity constitute the main body of this chapter. I apply my classification system from the previous chapter to this section to draw distinctions between various types of Eskimo performance. I finish with a brief look at the potential repatriation of such recordings and an examination of outside musical influences and reflections of globalization.

In Chapter 10, I pick up from the findings made in the missionary chapters. I present the recent state of music in the Western Arctic with a focus on the Mackenzie Delta. I discuss the Squeezebox Problem, which concerns the absence of the instrument in much of the Western Arctic and possible factors to explain it. I also examine and provide reasons for the persistence of drum dancing and the lack of a strong jigging and square dancing tradition in northern Alaska. A look at subsequent waves of missionization in the region and the relations between religious and educational institutions with regard to northern indigenous culture are another topic of discussion.

Chapter 11 is a summary of how musical interaction reflected and contributed to the processes of globalization, how contact shaped musical culture both of the indigenous peoples

and outsiders, and how music and dance expressed perceptions of other peoples as well as cultural identities. I readdress the correlation between music and dance on one side and the emergence of social bonding, trade, cultural mixing, missionization, and other phenomena on the other. I conclude by assessing the role of music in the history of the Western Arctic and presenting insights for resolving contemporary problems concerning the effects of globalization and the maintenance of musical traditions.

One final point to make is my decision to include lengthy quotations in the body of the dissertation, though it goes against standard practice. I have chosen to leave them in because the quotations are essential to my subject. My dissertation focuses on a little known phenomenon – music in the remote Arctic, most of it over a hundred years ago. Because of the scarcity of published data, I felt that providing a richness of description that can only come from first-hand observers is the most effective way to furnish the context the music deserves. Without knowing how the music actually sounded, inserting such long contextualized passages is arguably the only way to experience the musical interaction. I decided to keep the quotations in the body rather than relegate them to an appendix to maintain a proper reading flow and prevent the reader from having to move back and forth within the work.

CHAPTER 2:
MUSICAL INTERACTION IN THE WESTERN ARCTIC: INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND EXPLORERS

To properly understand the nature of early musical exchange, particularly indigenous appropriation of foreign musical styles in the Western Arctic, and examine its legacy in the present day, I present a historical sketch of cross-cultural musical interaction in the region beginning with the period of first contact between explorers and native peoples in the late 18th and 19th centuries, and continuing with the activities of whalers, traders, and missionaries in the 19th and early 20th centuries. An assessment of the current state of traditional musical styles will follow in Chapter 10, including a discussion of the possible factors accounting for the absence of accordion-based "Eskimo dancing" throughout Alaska and western Canada and traditional "square" dancing and jigging in northern Alaska.

Early Exploration from the Chukotkan and Alaskan Side

Crews on board exploration and research vessels contributed early on to musicultural interaction in the Western Arctic. In the last few decades of the 18th century, both Russia and Great Britain began to operate large expeditions into the northern reaches of Alaska.[1] In his search for the Northwest Passage in 1778, the Englishman Captain James Cook and his party observed Eskimo[2] (Iñupiaq, Central Yup'ik, or Siberian Yupik) and Chukchi[3] peoples on

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[1] Russian expansionism into Siberia had already started around the late 1500s. Primarily motivated by the fur trade and its associated system of collecting taxes from the region's indigenous peoples, the Russians advanced rapidly eastward, reaching the Pacific shores by the middle of the 17th century. English translations of reports from the voyages of Dezhnev and Alexeev (1648), Popov (1711), Bering (1728), Gvozdev and Fedorov (1732), Bering and Chirikov (1741), Daurkin (1765), Sindt (1767) and Kobelev (1779), yield no useful musical information of the region, particularly that of the Bering Strait and northwestern Alaska. Ivan Kobelev, on a second trip to Big Diomede Island in June of 1791 reportedly observed gatherings where "the women customarily sang songs, and men and women danced in couples..." (Ray: 1992: 53). His remark about couple dancing is curious since such styles are unknown among native cultures of the Western Arctic prior to sustained Russian contact. What Kobelev actually meant by couples is unclear.

[2] According to Ray (Ray 1992: 39), Cook and his men were the first Europeans to set foot on the Alaskan mainland north of the Aleutian Islands. The word "Eskimo" was not present in the writings of the Bering Strait region at the time. Cook called the local people "natives" while Russian exploring parties mistakenly referred to them as Chukchi. The English explorer Frederick W. Beechey, who explored northwestern Alaska in 1826 and 1827, was the first to consistently employ the word "Eskimo" in his 1831 publication

different occasions along the Asian and American sides of the Bering Strait. On August 10, 1778, in Saint Lawrence Bay on the Chukchi Peninsula, the explorers spotted the settlement of Nunyamo and headed to shore. There they encountered a group of about thirty or forty armed men intent on defending their village. Through signs, gestures and the exchange of presents, the two groups soon developed friendly yet circumspect relations. The native people engaged in brisk trade but remained cautious of the foreigners' movements. According to Cook, the locals let their guard down only once when they sang and danced for the explorers:

> In exchange for knives, beads, tobacco, and other articles, they gave us some of their clothing, and a few arrows. But nothing that we had to offer could induce them to part with a spear, or a bow. These they held in constant readiness, never once quitting them, except at one time, when four or five persons laid theirs down, while they gave us a song and a dance. (Cook and King 1784: 2: 448)

Only spending a few hours on shore, the expedition proceeded to explore other parts of the Siberian coastline for several weeks before sailing to the Alaskan side of Bering Strait. On the morning of September 16, 1778, the Cook expedition experienced a musical encounter with native inhabitants near the mouth of the Sineak River, located along the southern stretch of the Seward Peninsula. Following a day of friendly offshore trade, the crew noticed nine men in kayaks come alongside their ship. Cook made the following comment:

> They approached the ship with some caution; and evidently came with no other view than to gratify their curiosity. They drew up abreast of each other, under our stern, and gave us a song; while one of their number beat upon a kind of drum, and another made a thousand antic motions with his hands and body. There was, however, nothing savage, either in the song, or in the gestures that accompanied it. (Cook and King 1784: 2: 484)

Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait (Ray 1992: 34). Since both Iñupiaq and Yup'ik peoples have historically inhabited the Seward Peninsula region, it is difficult to determine which group the Cook expedition encountered.

[3] The Chukchi traditionally resided in a large region stretching from the Kolyma River in the Siberian interior to the Bering Sea. The population historically consisted of the following two closely related groups: the sedentary Maritime (Nemelan) and nomadic Reindeer Chukchi (Chauchen). The former group lived along the Chukchi and Bering Seas and depended on marine mammals as a primary food source. The Reindeer Chukchi, on the other hand, adapted to a tundra environment, engaging in reindeer herding and relying on its meat as a primary resource (Krupnik 1995: 26-27). When circumstances adversely affected the Reindeer Chukchi reliance on reindeer, they adopted a maritime way of life. On the other hand, it was uncommon for the seafaring people to resort to reindeer herding. Both groups engaged in significant trade; often the Reindeer Chukchi bartered hides for blubber from the Maritime Chukchi (Vate 2005: 336), a transaction similar to that of the inland and coastal Iñupiat of northern Alaska.

The above descriptions show that initial musical interaction between explorers and Western Arctic natives took place both on shore and on ships. Due to their small numbers and concerns over safety, expedition crews normally conducted affairs with the local people offshore. Perhaps aware of prior contact between the Chukchi and Russians, Cook was less concerned about incurring hostilities with the Asian inhabitants than with those in Alaska who were less familiar with exploring parties. The cross-cultural exchanges described above demonstrate an important link between trade and music among the indigenous people of the region.

Such a connection also occurred on the Russian expedition led by the Englishman Joseph Billings and his second-in-command, the navigator and surveyor Gavriil Sarychev.[4] On July 29, 1791, while exploring the southwestern part of the Seward Peninsula near Cape Rodney, the party engaged in peaceful trade after a group of Eskimos boarded the Russian vessel and expressed a great interest in the strangers' goods. When upon leaving the ship, the Eskimos listened intently to the singing of a Russian tune after which they responded in kind with a song, dance, and drumbeat of their own, marking an early example of musical exchange (Sarychev 1806-1807: 45).

In the following month, the expedition entered Saint Lawrence Bay and spent a number of days with the local inhabitants. Relations between the two groups developed amicably, especially after the Cossack-educated Chukchi interpreter Nikolai Daurkin arrived with a large group of Reindeer Chukchi. During his visit, Sarychev recorded some cultural information about the native people, including their music and dance. On one occasion, he observed the following:

> At Billing's request they gave us a specimen of their dancing, which was very similar to that of the Americans at Cape Rodney, with this difference only, that they hopped more, and sprang from place to place. After they had done dancing, the men seated themselves on the bare earth, and the women also, but in a semicular [sic] line, drawing their vests off the right shoulder, and thus exposing the arm that was punctured in various forms. They then began their song, to which they made a suitable motion with the right arm, one time as if they would take up something from the ground, and another time as if they would lay it on their knees, and then again bending their head and body to one side. The first in the rank took the lead, and was followed by the rest, who, keeping their eyes fixed on her, strove to imitate her movements in the exactest manner possible. (Sarychev 1806-1807: 51)

[4] Concerned about Cook's incursion into the Bering Strait, Tsarist Russia hired one of his crewmembers to obtain detailed geographical information about the region and to secure greater domain over its territory.

In this example, the Russian drew an immediate comparison between the dance styles of the natives living on opposite sides of Bering Strait. Despite many apparent surface similarities between the two groups, he noted much more spatial movement among the Asian inhabitants, an observation quite remarkable considering the vigorous acrobatic displays normally found in traditional Alaskan Eskimo male dance. Less surprising, Sarychev observed the important element of synchronous motions commonly featured in the region's dance styles, in this case, of the women.

Reports of subsequent Russian expeditions in the region also contain some cursory references to the music and dance of the Eskimo and Chukchi peoples but nothing about musical exchange. On July 27, 1816, an exploration party led by Otto von Kotzebue[5] reached Saint Lawrence Island where they witnessed the performance of drum dance songs on shore and later from their ship a ceremonial song sung by a large number of men in umiaks (Kotzebue 1821b: 192, 196 and VanStone 1960: 146). Both events either preceded or followed a friendly exchange of trade and Kotzebue's descriptions of the events are largely neutral in tone. Kotzebue's expedition artist Louis Choris drew the following sketch of a Saint Lawrence Islander playing a drum inside one of the homes (Figure 2.1).

[5] A Baltic German serving under Tsar Alexander I, Kotzebue's primary purpose was to search for the Northwest Passage. Stopped by the ice pack, he instead discovered a large sound named after him. Kotzebue made several contacts with the Iñupiat living along the northern shore of the Seward Peninsula. Ray argues that a number of these encounters were adversarial and marked by Iñupiaq dissatisfaction with the expedition's trade goods (Ray 1992: 59). Kotzebue viewed the Iñupiat he met as cunning tradesmen who often resorted to deception in order to get what they wanted (Kotzebue 1821b: 262). He likely based this opinion on the attitudes shared by the Chukchi, a people who had a long history of war against their neighbors across the strait, and who saw them as potential competitors in the Siberian trade system.

Figure 2.1: Siberian Yupik man playing a drum inside a hut on Saint Lawrence Island, late July 1816, sketch by Louis Choris, Yale Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Image ID Number 3728149

The man is striking the drum frame from underneath, a style characteristic of the Siberian Yupik people. The individual standing next to the drummer may be dancing. The fact that the scene depicts the interior of a native home as well as musical performance shows that relations between the two groups seem to have been trusting.

The next month, however, during a series of hostile encounters with the Iñupiat of Kotzebue Sound, Kotzebue framed the native singing and drumming as expressions of "savages" or in the original German "Wilden" (Kotzebue 1821b: 232-233 and Kotzebue 1821a 151-152).[6] For Kotzebue, the music seemed to represent a palpable sign of cultural primitiveness. Even under such intense conditions, however, music helped to ease tensions. Choris recorded a musical incident that immediately led to brisk trade. Comparing his writings with that of Kotzebue, one can observe a difference in their attitudes towards the indigenous peoples – whereas Kotzebue wrote in a more judgmental and ethnocentric manner, Choris projected a more sensitive and respectful understanding of the people he was observing. Referring to the local peoples simply as "Indians", he wrote in the August 11 entry:

[6] In describing this tense episode, Kotzebue twice used the term "savages", both times in the context of native drumming and singing. The wide gamut of terms used to describe the 'Other' in first contact settings is seemingly common in the literature of exploration. In the reports related to Frobisher's late 16th-century expeditions to Greenland, for instance, references to the Inuit ranged from 'friend', to 'men', to 'savage', depending on the contextual nature of interaction. (see Symons 1999).

> Arriving at the place where we had recently anchored and where we had seen so many boats, it was not long before we were again surrounded. There was one of them that approached closer than the others; all the Indians [Eskimos] who manned it were singing. One of them, standing upright in front, struck a tambourine. Near the helm was set up a pole from which was suspended the skin of a black eagle. These Indians [Eskimos] hailed us; we called to them, and they ended by coming alongside the ship to trade with us. (VanStone 1960: 149)

The description appears to match another of Choris's sketches shown below (Figure 2.2). While the central purpose of the singing and drumming was presumably to propitiate the spirits, the body language of the man standing in the middle of the umiak with outstretched hands and the music served to express a desire for a peaceful encounter.

Figure 2.2: Kotzebue Iñupiat in umiak, August 1816, sketch by Louis Choris. Yale Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Image ID Number 3724481

Both explorers' accounts reveal an important insight about the location of musical interaction. Unlike previous reports on northern expeditions, Alaskan references to on-shore music-making and dancing began to increase in number, especially in those cases where a friendlier rapport developed. Whenever contentious situations erupted, musical incidents tended to still take place primarily on the water. As cross-cultural contact intensified during the first half of the 19th century, however, the setting of musical exchange gradually shifted from the ship to the shore, that is, from the stage of the outsider to that of the local. Revell Carr, in his 2006 dissertation *In The Wake of John Kanaka: Musical Interactions Between Euro-American Sailors and Pacific Islanders, 1600-1900,* borrows Greg Dening's concept of the 'Beach' (see Dening

1980 and Dening 2004) and frames it as an musicultural interstice, a zone of space where cultures confront one another, a place where pre-established systems of music and dance intervene and impinge on such cultural worldviews, and where an intersection or collision of such opposing entities, creates new and often unpredictable outcomes (Carr 2006: 39, 49). The move from the space of the ship to the shore pressured the local inhabitants to negotiate their position and set of interests while at the same time understand the foreigners' ways, particularly in terms of motives and needs. Music and dance served as largely non-confrontational mechanisms geared towards achieving cross-cultural understanding.

In contrast to the Alaskan side, contemporary musical encounters with the native inhabitants of the Chukchi Peninsula often occurred on shore. When members of the local population went aboard ships, they also tended to do so without fear, revealing a strong enough bond of trust with the foreigners. Sustained contact with Westerners over the previous decades had created an atmosphere of familiarity that facilitated a special expansion of cross-cultural interaction, a comfort zone conducive to musical expression. Kotzebue and Choris's writings show evidence of this. After completing its exploration of western Alaska, the Kotzebue expedition sailed to the Chukchi Peninsula and dropped anchor at East Cape on August 19, 1816. Reports of musical interaction do not exist but the local population amicably traded with the explorers both ashore and aboard the ship (Kotzebue 1821b: 244-248 and VanStone 1960: 150-151).

Over the course of the next few days, Kotzebue and Choris observed a series of native music and dance performances at Nuniagmo (Nunyamo) in Saint Lawrence Bay, the village Cook and his party had visited 38 years earlier. Upon the expedition's arrival on August 20, twenty men in two baidarkas approached the ship, singing loudly. Keeping a safe distance at first, they accepted Kotzebue's invitation to board the vessel (Kotzebue 1821b: 248). Meetings between the two groups alternated between the ship and the shore. The following day, inhabitants of the village, including women, visited the ship in six large boats. Music and dance were important components of this cross-cultural exchange:

> Before they came on board, they rowed several times slowly round the ship, constantly singing; in each baydare was one beating the tambourine, while a second danced to it, making, at the same time, the most ludicrous motions with the hand, and the whole body. They all came on board the Rurick, (except the women, of whom only one ventured, and of her we took a drawing;) they conducted themselves without showing the slightest distrust; were uncommonly friendly; embraced the sailors; sang and danced with them;

> and a dram which I gave them increased the already high spirits of the Tschukutskoi. One among them had quite a Russian physiognomy, on which account he was called by the others, the Russian: some of us were of my opinion, that he was such, and would not acknowledge it: he was distinguished from the others by a thick beard, which, without any fear, he suffered one of the sailors to have off. I told my guests, that I wished to see their dance on shore, because there was not room enough on board the ship; this was immediately made known to those in the boats, who left the Rurick with the loudest expressions of joy, to make the necessary preparations on shore. (Kotzebue 1821b: 253-254)

The presence of women on or near the ship demonstrates the high degree of trust the villagers shared with the crew. Their eagerness to engage in song and dance aboard the ship and to prepare a dance on shore shows how musical interaction functioned as a sign of and a catalyst for good rapport. References to the native consumption of alcohol[7] and the possibility of Chukchi and Russian ethnic intermixing reveal that extensive cultural contact between the indigenous peoples of eastern Siberia and Europeans had already taken root by the early 19th century.

Kotzebue proceeded to describe the dance held on shore. Despite its ethnocentric overtones, the description points to a diversity of dances, the varied skills of the performers, the use of a drum, choral singing, and pantomimic movements:

> Before the dance began, I gave the women some needles and beads, and the men tobacco-leaves, and the general joy was much increased by the importance of these presents. The ball now commenced with a solo dance: an old dirty, frightful, ugly woman stept forward, making the most curious, and certainly most fatiguing, motions with the whole body, without stirring from her position; she distorted her eyes, and made such strange grimaces as excited general laughter. The music consisted of a tambourine, and a chorus of many voices, but had few charms for an European ear. After this followed several men and women, who exhibited themselves separately; but none could equal the skill of the old woman. The conclusion of the ball was distinguished by a very particular dance; twelve women placed them-selves close to each other in a half circle, turning their backs upon each other; the whole group sang, and tried to express the contents of their song by motions of the hands and body. After the conclusion of this dance we returned to our ship. (Kotzebue 1821b: 254-255)

In describing the Chukchi drum, Choris remarked that it was the same as those used among the Unangax, Iñupiat, and the Siberian Yupiit of Saint Lawrence Island: "It consists of a circle of wood covered with a bladder and furnished with a handle so that it can be held in one hand; in the

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[7] Kotzebue also noted a native fondness for alcohol at East Cape (Kotzebue 1821b: 248), but did not observe its use among the Alaskan Eskimo. Tobacco, on the other hand, was highly sought after by both peoples (Kotzebue 1821b: 209).

other, they hold a rod which serves to strike it. The sound that is produced appears very agreeable to all these people" (VanStone 1960: 151). The drums, beaters, and styles of playing them are similar from a cursory perspective, but upon closer examination, differences in the size, material, and the location of the drum strike can vary considerably. Choris also drew a somewhat superficial comparison of the region's songs, citing a strong resemblance of Chukchi, Unangan, and Siberian Yupik melodies. Again, on the surface, vocal styles may have shared common characteristics but deeper analysis would have reflected greater differentiation. Finally, the expedition artist briefly commented on the performance of music and dance following the slaughter of some reindeer (VanStone 1960: 146, 151). Early on, ethnographers like Choris observed that respect for the animal spirits as expressed through song and dance was a vital component of native religions and cultures throughout the Western Arctic.

Before their departure on August 28, 1816, the expedition received many visitors from Saint Lawrence Bay and beyond. Much of this social interaction involved trade, and music and dance continued to play a part in it. On August 24, Kotzebue made an interesting observation:

> We were to-day visited by several Tschukutskoi [Chukchi], who tried to dispose of their goods amidst constant singing and capering. A boy in particular distinguished himself by his lively dancing; and when I gave him several tobacco-leaves for some hazardous leaps, he repeated them again, for which he also demanded to be paid, and made the most frightful grimaces when he was refused. (Kotzebue 1821b: 258-259)

As relations between the villagers and sailors became more familiar, expectations intensified as well. Initially, the Russian readiness to give away Western goods without expecting something in return was a foreign concept for the indigenous population. As time went by, the locals negotiated these new kinds of economic relationships. Having observed this behavior likely the past few days, the native boy tested Kotzebue to see what he could acquire from his performances. Whereas in earlier references, the performance of music and dance served as a means to promote social harmony, a condition conducive to trade, the above description suggests that the performance of music and dance operated also as a trade good, an early example of cultural commodification.

Following Kotzebue, several more expeditions commenced under the support of the Russian imperial government and its auxiliary Russian-American Company. Their purpose was to find a viable route through the North American Arctic, map out the coastline of western and northern Alaska, and learn more about the expansive network of trade among the native

inhabitants. Two such Russian expedition commanders, Gleb Shishmarev and Vasilii Khromchenko both made note of Eskimo dances from the northern and southern sides of the Seward Peninsula.[8] On July 14, 1820, landing near Elephant Point at Kotzebue Sound, Shishmarev and his crew observed Iñupiaq dancing and a demonstration of the "blanket toss" (Ray 1992: 68), a common feature of the important Nalukataq ceremony, which marks the end of the bowhead whaling season on the northern Alaskan coast. Literally meaning "blanket toss", this large trading event traditionally takes place around the middle of June, lasts for several days and features drum dancing. Since Shishmarev noted the entry date in his journal as July 14, it is unlikely that the Iñupiat were celebrating Nalukataq at the time of his visit.

Two years later in early August, 1822, Khromchenko and his party went ashore and attended the performance of an Eskimo ceremonial dance near Golovin Bay. Informed that the dance was normally only offered on special occasions, the Russians perhaps expected more from their hosts; they regarded the music and dance as repetitive and unpleasant to the ear. A description of the pantomimed rendition follows:

> First, men formed a circle, then one of them beat a tambourine and started to sing in a mournful voice. Another stepped into the middle, leaning forward somewhat; with every gesture he stamped his foot and looked in all directions as if apprehensive, and stealthily drew a bow and shot an arrow. All this was repeated in the same sequence four or more times, always accompanied by a few words pronounced in a frightened voice. (Ray 1992: 75)

Judging by the above description, it is possible that the Russians witnessed a Central Yup'ik dance rather than an Iñupiaq one. The mention of foot stomping and the four-fold or more repetition of the same sequence provides clues that the performance was of a men's stomping dance, a style that Johnston refers to as "part of the pualla tradition" (Johnston 1976a: 107). Both Yup'ik and Iñupiaq populations traditionally inhabited the Golovin Bay area. Here is an example of where ethnomusicology can help to determine cultural identities and settlement patterns contained in the ethnohistorical record.

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[8] According to Shinkwin, members of the Shishmarev party probably made contact with Point Hope Iñupiat in 1820 (Shinkwin 1978: 24).

In 1826 and 1827, the British *H.M.S. Blossom* expedition led by Frederick Beechey explored the region of northwestern Alaska as far north as Point Barrow.[9] Landing at several points along the coast, including Choris Peninsula in Kotzebue Sound, Cape Thompson, and Point Hope, the crew engaged in a significant amount of trade as revealed by the expedition's noteworthy collection of native artifacts (Bockstoce 1977a).[10] On August 2, 1826, following brisk trade and an offering of the local food, locals from Cape Thompson further welcomed the sailors with a dance:

> An old man then braced a skin upon a tambourine frame, and striking it with a bone gave the signal for a dance, which was immediately performed to a chorus of Angna aya! angna aya! the tambourine marking time by being flourished and twirled about against a short stick instead of being struck. The musician, who was also the principal dancer, jumped into the ring, and threw his body into different attitudes until quite exhausted, and then resigned his office to another, from whom it passed to a lad, who occasioned more merriment by his grimaces and ludicrous behaviour than any of his predecessors. His song was joined by the young women, who until then had been mute and almost motionless, but who now acquitted themselves with equal spirit with their leader, twisting their bodies, twirling their arms about, and violently rubbing their sides with their garments, which, from some ridiculous association no doubt, occasioned considerable merriment. (Beechey 1831: 361-362)

The use of a tambourine frame, "angna aya" vocables in the chorus, body movements, and humorous behavior are very familiar characteristics of contemporary Point Hope dance, all the more, Eskimo dance in general. The description of the first dance given by the elderly man, however, is curious. The twirling motion of the drumming and the fact that the performer both drummed and danced, places the dance in the category of the contemporary Eastern and Central Arctic style, that is, from the eastern Mackenzie Delta to Greenland. References to solo drum dancing among the Alaskan Eskimo of Alaska are rare in the ethnographic literature, but according to Burch, such a dance style is known by the Iñupiaq term *mumaaqqiq-* (Burch 2006: 380fn31), a verb stem meaning 'to dance alone with a drum, of man' in the Point Hope dialect

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[9] Unable to penetrate the ice pack near Icy Cape, Beechey's *H.M.S. Blossom* returned to Kotzebue Sound for the remainder of the summer of 1826. A small barge crew attached to it continued northward until it reached Point Barrow (VanStone 1977: 8 and Bockstoce 1977a: 13-14). The party led by Thomas Elson reportedly encountered hostile locals so they hastily retreated in their craft back to the *H.M.S. Blossom*.

[10] Captain Beechey sketched drawings of artifacts including Iñupiaq frame drums (Bockstoce 1977a: 24).

(Kaplan 2010).[11] Such a feature suggests a cross-cultural connection between Alaskan and Canadian Inuit, possibly a vestige from the distant past or a more contemporary phenomenon. Ronald Brower supports the former possibility arguing that mumaaqqiq was an ancient style of drum dancing common throughout the Arctic from Alaska to Greenland (Ronald Brower, email message to the author, December 10, 2010).[12]

Almost a month later at Choris Peninsula, one sees another close link between music and trade taking place on land, as revealed in Beechey's August 30, 1826 entry:

> The whole village then assembled, better dressed than they had been on their first visit, and ranged themselves in a semicircle in front of us, preparatory to an exhibition of one of their dances...The dancers were dressed for the occasion in their best clothes, which they considered indispensable, as they would not sell them to us until the performance was over. When the dance was over, they presented us with dried salmon, and each person brought his bag of goods, which produced a brisk barter, with great fairness on all sides... (Beechey 1831: 394-397)

The remark about the dancers suspending the barter of their fine clothes until the end of the performance indicates that they valued the dance as an integral part of the cultural exchange. Presentation of the dance in this case was a necessary precondition for trade.

Not all musical encounters revolved around trade, however. Traveling northwestward towards Point Hope in early August 1826, the Beechey expedition made contact with a group of natives who provided food and a dance performance, without engaging in any form of trade:

> After some few exchanges, the advantage of which was on the side of our acquaintances, who had nothing curious to part with, an old man produced a tambourine, and seating himself upon the roof of one of the miserable hovels, threw his legs across, and commenced a song, accompanying it with the tambourine, with as much apparent happiness as if fortune had imparted to him every luxury of life. The vivacity and humour of the musician inspired two of the old hags, who joined chorus, and threw

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[11] The Nunamiut or inland Iñupiaq dialect contains the verb stem *mumaaqi-* and noun *mamaaqun* meaning, respectively, 'to do a Canadian Inuit dance' and 'Canadian Inuit dance song'. All three constructions, including the Point Hope term are based on the noun stem *mumiq* meaning 'drumstick' (Kaplan 2010).

[12] Brower claims that mumaaquiq "was most common in the earlier century but had fallen out of use in Alaska as we began to form dance groups that led to modern group Eskimo dancing we see today. Mumaaqqiq is not new and is not Canadian but was the same all across the Inuit homeland. In some areas East of Mackenzie it became a shaman song and dance, but it is now performed mostly in Greenland as it faded away from Alaska. It was for the most part not a shamanic practice and anyone could mumaaqqiq when it behooved the person to do so at the spur of the moment or for some small ceremony or to mark an event (Ronald Brower, email message to the author, December 10, 2010).

> themselves into a variety of attitudes, twisting their bodies, snapping their fingers, and smirking from behind their seal-skin hoods, with as much shrewd meaning as if they had been half a century younger. Several little chubby girls, roused by the music, came blinking at the daylight through the greasy roofs of the subterranean abodes, and joined the performance; and we had the satisfaction of seeing a set of people happy, who did not appear to possess a single comfort upon earth. (Beechey 1831: 365-366)

This passage suggests that Beechey interpreted the elderly women's movements as sexually playful, the kind of behavior that corresponds to similarly erotic dance motions featured in Eskimo dancing (Burch 2006: 359). The question arises as to whether relations between the sailors and local females became sexual. According to Lowenstein (Lowenstein 2008: 5, 9-14), there is evidence to suggest such a possibility. Sexual overtones contained in the journal writings of Beechey's men (Bockstoce 1977a: 109) as well as an illustration depicting a scene of trade in a skinboat where a sailor is allegedly making sexual advances towards a native woman (Beechey 1831: 360f). Indirect evidence from earlier expeditions shows that sexual relations between sailors and indigenous women were a concern. Almost fifty years before, Captain Cook wrote:

> A connection with women I allow, because I cannot prevent it; but never encourage, because I always dread its consequences. I know, indeed, that many men are of the opinion, that such an intercourse is one of our greatest securities amongst savages; and perhaps they who, either from necessity or choice, are to remain and settle with them, may find it so. But with travelers and transient visitors, such as we were it is generally otherwise; and in our situation, a connection with their women betrays more men than it saves. What else can be reasonably expected, since all their views are selfish, without the least mixture of regard or attachment? (Lloyd 1949: 269).

Many of the journals written by Cook and his crew contain references to sexual activity, particularly in the Hawaiian islands (Sahlins 1985: 1-10 and Sahlins 1981: 38-39).[13] Even in the North Pacific, though, two months after the expedition made contact with the Iñupiat of northwestern Alaska, members of the expedition experienced intimate encounters with Unangan women at Unalaska. In late October 1778, Cook recorded the following:

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[13] One of Cook's crewmembers, the surgeon's mate David Samwell, for instance, made the following remark during his stay at Kauai in January 1778: "... the Young Women, who were in general exceedingly beautiful, used all their arts to entice our people into their Houses, and finding they were not to be allowed by their blandishments they endeavored to force them & were so importunate that they would absolutely take no denial ... it was known that some of those who were on the shore had intercourse with the Women" (Beaglehole 1967: 1083). It is unclear whether the Hawaiian women used music and dance as some of their "arts" to attract the sailors. Further research would be needed to draw a stronger link between music/dance and sexual intimacy during this early period of exploration.

> They are remarkably cheerfull [sic] and friendly amongst each other and always behaved with great civility to our people. The Women grant the last favour without the last scruple; young and old, Married or Single, I have been told, never hisitate [sic] a Moment. The Russians told us they never had any connections with the Indian Women, because they were not Christians; our people were not so scrupulas [sic], and some were taken in, for the venereal distemper is not unknown to these people... (Price 1971: 248)

The Russians were certainly less than truthful about avoiding sexual encounters with the indigenous people of Alaska. According to Fortuine, they had introduced syphilis and gonorrhea to the Unangan and Koniag peoples by the mid-1740s (Fortuine 1992: 242). Further evidence and examination of other sexual encounters between outsiders and the indigenous women of the Western Arctic will follow in later sections. The degree to which music and dance created conditions for intimacy to develop will serve as a backdrop of this discussion. Just as importantly, the potential outcome of such intimate interactions – children of mixed parentage – which reflected the seeds of globalization both in terms of biological but also cultural mixing, is another theme that I will address throughout this dissertation.

It is unknown whether the Beechey crew engaged in any significant musical exchange with the northern indigenous population but one can assume that at least some such form of interaction took place. Since the *H.M.S. Blossom* did not overwinter in the region, the impact of any musical encounter was likely inconsequential. At this stage of cultural contact, the relationship between natives and foreigners in terms of musical exchange probably favored that of the locals, since they were able to meet the visitors on their own terms. As the frequency, duration, and intensity of cultural contact increased, however, local populations began to lose ground to foreign encroachment.

It is important to keep in mind that many of the indigenous groups inhabiting the Western Arctic had known about Westerners before the arrival of the *H.M.S. Blossom* and previous expeditions. Trade in the Western Arctic was part of an expansive network that ranged thousands of miles from Siberia in the west to the Mackenzie Delta in the east and beyond (Bockstoce 2009, Chaussonnet 1995, Damas 1996: 357). Western articles of trade passed from one indigenous group to another. Therefore, many native peoples possessed and exchanged Western goods long before they made direct contact with Westerners.

One musical illustration of this involves the distribution of bells across the region. Beechey made the following observation of several women on Chamisso Island in Kotzebue Sound on September 6, 1826:

> When they moved, several bells were set ringing, and, on examining their persons, we discovered that they had each three or four of these instruments under their clothes, suspended to their waists, hips, and one even lower, which was about the size of a dustman's bell, but without a clapper. Whether they had disposed of them in this manner as charms, or through fear, it was impossible to say; but by their polished surface, and the manner in which they were suspended, they appeared to have long occupied these places. They were certainly not hung there for convenience, as the large one, in particular, must have materially incommoded the ladies in their walking. (Beechey 1831: 406).

The metal bells most likely made their way via trade routes from central Siberia to Alaskan side of the Bering Straits by way of the Chukchi people. Judging by the number of bells worn and their distribution around the body, such items were not mere trifles. According to Andreas Lommel, who wrote a pioneering work on shamanism,[14] the symbolic purpose of iron among the shamans of Siberia is to protect against evil spirits while bells are "regarded as living beings who call the good spirits with their ringing" (Lommel 1966: 125). One could make the case that the women wore the bells not only as ornamentation, but that their ringing may have served a similar religious purpose.

Early Exploration from the Canadian Side

In conjunction with Beechey's expedition, Lieutenant John Franklin and his party explored the Arctic coastline of Alaska and northwest Canada from the eastern side during the summer of 1826.[15] With the goal of rendezvousing with Beechey at Kotzebue Sound in

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[14] For essential reading on shamanism, see the works of Mircea Eliade, particularly *Myths, Dreams and Mysteries* (Eliade 1967) and *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy* (Eliade 2004).

[15] During the latter half of the 18th century, European penetration of the northern interior of Canada commenced as trading company networks expanded westward. In 1771 and 1789, two parties each led by Samuel Hearne and Alexander Mackenzie reached the coast of the central Arctic by way of the Coppermine and Mackenzie rivers, respectively. Before reaching the northern sea, Hearne's group of Chipewyan guides attacked and killed a small group of Copper Inuit near the present-day site of Bloody Falls. Because of such hostile relations with Indians, the Inuit in the region long avoided subsequent encounters with Europeans. In contrast, Mackenzie made no direct contact with the Inuit much to the satisfaction of his Indian guides who feared traveling through their lands (Damas 1996: 349). However, Mackenzie did record an interesting incident where his Dene guide imitated the Inuit via song and dance: "Two of his companions, whom he represented as his brothers, followed us in their canoes; and they amused us not only with their native songs, but with others, in imitation of the Esquimaux; and our new guide was so enlivened by them, that the antics he performed, in keeping time to the singing, alarmed us with continual apprehension that his boat must upset: but he was not long content with his confined situation, and paddling up alongside our canoe, requested us to receive him in it, though but a short time before he had resolutely refused to accept our invitation. No sooner had he entered our canoe, than he

northwestern Alaska,[16] Franklin followed the Mackenzie River down to its delta and westward along the coast to Alaska by small boat.[17] Upon reaching the sea on July 7, the small party encountered a large group of antagonistic Mackenzie Inuit intent on pilfering their trade goods. Fortunately for Franklin and his crew, their Inuit interpreter, a man from the Hudson Bay region named Augustus (or Tattanoeuck), communicated with the aggressive locals and helped to defuse an increasingly hostile situation (Damas 1996: 357).[18] Severely outnumbered, any bloodshed would have most likely resulted in their deaths. After successfully securing a number of stolen items, Augustus further solidified his relationship with the Mackenzie Inuit by joining them for a dance. Franklin relates the experience as follows:

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began to perform an Esquimaux dance, to our no small alarm. He was, however, soon prevailed upon to be more tranquil; when he began to display various indecencies, according to the customs of the Esquimaux, of which he boasted an intimate acquaintance. On our putting to shore, in order to leave his canoe, he informed us, that on the opposite hill the Esquimaux, three winters before, killed his grandfather" (Mackenzie 1903: 253). Having such familiarity with another culture's songs and dance suggests that the Dene and Inuit experienced peaceful encounters. The mimicking of another people's via musical means is a theme that I will explore throughout the dissertation. Michel Taussig's work *Mimesis and Alterity* will feature prominently in my discussion (Taussig 1993).

[16] VanStone writes that the primary purpose of the combined Franklin and Beechey expeditions was to further geographical knowledge of the North American Arctic (VanStone 1977: 7). Governmental and private sponsors and promoters of such large exploratory undertakings also shared an economic incentive to map out the vast unknown land. By expanding the fur trade into the northwestern reaches of the continent, the British sought to acquire more territory and subsequently greater amounts of commercial wealth. By increasing their presence in the region, they also sought to curb the power of Russia, whose sovereign interests in Siberia and North America, especially its northern lands and their close proximity to the highly prized Northwest Passage, were well known.

[17] Franklin's second-in-command Dr. John Richardson led a second party to proceed eastward to the Coppermine River. Franklin and his party managed to travel as far west as Return Reef, about 200 miles short of Point Barrow and five days before Beechey's barge crew led by Elson reached the village. As Franklin traveled farther westward he observed that the people maintained close trading relations with the Eskimos of northwestern Alaska and with Athabascan Indians groups to the south. These connections represented just a portion of an expansive network of trade ranging from Siberia to the Mackenzie Delta (Damas 1996: 357). Franklin and Richardson led two expeditions through the Canadian interior, 1819-1822 and 1825-1827.

[18] Augustus had already assisted Franklin as an interpreter on a previous expedition through the northern interior of the Canadian Arctic. Between 1819 and 1822, he traveled with Franklin and his second-in-command Dr. John Richardson along Samuel Hearne's route down the Coppermine River to Coronation Gulf and eastward mapping out new territory along the coast. They had very limited encounters with Inuit groups, however. On one occasion near Bloody Falls, a number of Copper Inuit apparently ran away in fear, probably in response to the lingering memory of a bloody massacre that had occurred fifty years before on Hearne's northern journey (Oswalt 1999: 186-187).

> [Augustus] was, for upwards of an hour, engaged in dancing and singing with all his might in the midst of a company who were all armed with knives, or bows or arrows. He afterwards told us that he was much delighted on finding that the words of the song, and the different attitudes of the dances, were precisely similar to those used in his own country when a friendly meeting took place with strangers. (Franklin 1828: 109-110)

Originally from the Churchill area on the western side of Hudson Bay, Augustus was in all likelihood Caribou Inuit. His observations, if accurate, regarding the remarkable similarity between Mackenzie and Caribou Inuit songs and especially dances are insightful. In the traditional eastern Arctic dance style including that of the Caribou Inuit, a single individual simultaneously dances and drums while others sing. Western Arctic Mackenzie Inuit drum dancing is traditionally of two types: 1) the eastern Arctic style and 2) a style similar to that of the Alaskan Iñupiat and Yupiit where a large ensemble of singing drummers accompanies the dancer or dancers. It is surprising that no mention is made about the latter. One possible explanation is that the Mackenzie simply may not have performed such a style for Augustus. Another interpretation is that the Mackenzie Inuit themselves may not have practiced such a dance tradition in the 1820s, but may have adopted it from the Iñupiat later in the century. It is also possible that Augustus observed such a style but failed to mention it or that Franklin simply disregarded such an observation in his journal. What is important is that the musical encounter was cross-cultural from a dual Inuit perspective and that it created, perhaps for the first time, an opportunity for Augustus and the local inhabitants to observe and participate in another Inuit culture's performance art form. Moreover, at least for Augustus and Franklin who tells the story, such an exchange revealed the unity of an Inuit culture spread across thousands of miles of territory.

Prior to this encounter, Augustus had already experienced a diversity of musical cultures traveling with the expedition. For instance, on Christmas Day, 1825, Franklin wrote about the enthusiasm shared by various native and non-natives at newly built Fort Franklin, located on Great Bear Lake:

> Christmas Day falling on a Sunday, the party were regaled with the best fare our stores could supply; and on the following evening a dance was given, at which were present sixty persons, including the Indians, who sat as spectators of the merry scene. Seldom, perhaps, in such a confined space as our hall, or in the same number of persons, was there greater variety of character, or greater confusion of tongues. The party consisted of Englishmen, Highlanders, (who mostly conversed with each other in Gaelic,) Canadians,

> Esquimaux,[19] Chipewyans, Dog-Ribs, Hare Indians, Cree women and children, mingled together in perfect harmony. The amusements were varied by English, Gaelic, and French songs. (Franklin 1828: 72)

Augustus and his party also had the opportunity to hear various types of Western instruments played. When Fort Franklin was completed a few months earlier in September 1825, the expedition celebrated the occasion with a ceremony and dance:

> The men then fired two volleys and gave three hearty cheers, after which Wilson the piper struck up a lively tune, and placing himself at the head of his companions, marched with them round to the entrance of the hall, where they drank to His Majesty's health, and to the success of the Expedition. In the evening the hall was opened for a dance, which was attended by the whole party, dressed in their gayest attire. The dancing was kept up with spirit to the music of the violin[20] and bag-pipes,[21] until day-light. (Franklin 1828: 65)

On another momentous occasion, the day before the expedition embarked on their journey northward to the Arctic sea, Franklin and his party celebrated in the following way: "This interesting day was closed by the consumption of a small quantity of rum, reserved for the occasion, followed by a merry dance, in which all joined with great glee, in their working dresses" (Franklin 1828: 85).

The Beechey expedition of 1826-1827 showed that navigation and mapping of northern Alaska by large ship was too problematic (VanStone 1977: 5-6). Instead, exploration by small watercraft was a much more effective strategy as demonstrated by the success of the Franklin and Beechey crews. In 1837, the Hudson's Bay Company hired its governor's cousin and one of its employees – Thomas Simpson and Peter Dease, respectively – to finish charting the remainder of the Alaskan Arctic coastline by boat and umiak.[22] Heading westward from the Mackenzie River

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[19] A fellow Inuit guide named Ooligbuck accompanied Augustus from Churchill. He joined Dr. Richardson's party, which traveled eastward from the mouth of the Mackenzie River to the Coppermine (Franklin 1828: 24, 85, 162). Ooligbuck also worked for the Hudson Bay Company and later expeditions.

[20] The individual who played the violin was probably the Hudson Bay Company employee Peter Dease, who spent a number of years working for the trading company and participating in subsequent expeditions, as discussed in the following pages.

[21] The bagpipes were used on at least one other occasion to accompany dancing. A Jews' harp was also present (Franklin 1828: 29).

[22] As the Russian-American Company slowly expanded its territory northward by establishing trading posts at Saint Michael, Nulato, and Unalakleet in 1833, 1839, and circa 1840, respectively, the Hudson's Bay

delta with a motley crew of twelve,[23] they made contact with a number of Eskimo groups and engaged in several musical exchanges along the way. On July 17, they encountered a large group of Iñupiat or Mackenzie Inuit camped near Konganevik Point in Camden Bay, Alaska, the location of the annual trade fair where northern Eskimos and Athabascan Indians from all over the Western Arctic exchanged goods and participated in dance festivals. After a morning of friendly communication and trade, the two groups danced for each other. Simpson described the scene as follows:

> At our request, they gave us a specimen of their dances, accompanied by a somewhat monotonous chorus; and we could not help admiring their activity in leaping from side to side, when imitating their manner of avoiding the weapons of their enemies. In return for this exhibition, four of our men danced a Scottish reel in very spirited style, with which the strangers were highly delighted. (Simpson 1843: 120)

Whether the exploring party employed a musical instrument as accompaniment to the dance is mere speculation. Dease played the violin and flute (Barr 2002: 13)[24] but there is no evidence in

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Company began to increase its presence westward from Canada's Mackenzie River into Alaska. The 1847 establishment of the Fort Yukon fur trading post, located well in Russian territory, and the fact that the British trading company actively organized and sponsored the Dease-Simpson expedition shows that economic incentives played a decisive role in Europe's exploration of the Arctic. The Russian-American Company, in turn, sought to expand its knowledge of northern Alaska's geography and indigenous trading networks. In 1838, a year after Simpson completed his survey of Alaska's northern coastline, the Russian trading company hired A.F. Kashevarov to lead an expedition to northern Alaska and map out the assumed unexplored section of land between Point Barrow and Return Reef (see VanStone 1977). Retracing the steps of Beechey's men and not knowing of Simpson's accomplishment, the party departed from Cape Lisburne in a number of Aleut kayaks and a large umiak (Burch 1998: 11). Their preference of using native watercraft over that of European-style wooden boats reflected a relatively new approach to Arctic exploration – adopting the ways of the native peoples could better adapt oneself to the environment. Kashevarov presented some notes on the region's music but only as very basic summaries. He compared ever so briefly northern Eskimo song to southern Eskimo and commented favorably about the dance style of the Icy Cape Iñupiat. He further detailed northern Eskimo dance and cursorily described the construction of the frame drum (VanStone 1977: 90-91).

[23] According to Simpson's crew list (Simpson 1843: 97), the members were made up of 3 Scottish Islanders (4 including Simpson), 2 Orkney sailors, 2 French Canadians, 1 Canadian Scottish Islander, and 4 "half-breeds" or Métis (possibly 5 if Dease's mother was Mohawk). No Eskimo interpreter was hired, which Simpson regrets at one point (Simpson 1843: 171); the party resorted to written Eskimo vocabularies, sign language, and music and dance to communicate with the local population.

[24] Known as a fine musician, Dease did have his violin with him at Fort Confidence on Great Bear Lake during the winter, spring and summer of 1838-1839. Simpson noted how well the Dene population responded to his music: "Our men and the natives played at ball, and other out-of-door games. In the evening Mr. Dease's violin was oftener heard than during the long dreary winter, and to its enlivening strains the Indian youths danced and capered in the hall" (Simpson 1843: 341). Gwich'in and Hare

the written sources that he brought them along on this particular voyage.[25] The juxtaposition between the two dance styles is interesting to ponder: vocally-accompanied, programmatic, mimicry-based story-dancing contrasted against a purely abstract, measured, formalistic pattern of dance steps perhaps accompanied by a melodic instrument. Each group interpreted the other's dance through their own music-centric perspective. Whereas the Inuit seemingly enjoyed the rhythmic energy behind the Scottish reel, they may have sought the extra-musical meaning in the dance movements and subsequently questioned the lack thereof. The foreigners, on the other hand, fascinated by the mimetic and athletic elements of the local dance, may have found the performance wanting due to its lack of a Western-based harmony.

A later musical incident seems to support this notion. After reaching Point Barrow with a smaller party on August 4, Simpson and his men headed back to rejoin Dease and the rest of the contingent. On the way, the foreigners met a small group of natives who had lent them an umiak. Needing the craft a little longer, both parties agreed to travel together until they rendezvoused with Dease. While on the water, the locals enthusiastically demonstrated their kayaking and hunting skills. Simpson and his crew responded in song:

> We ourselves struck up some French and Highland boat-songs, which probably for the first time resounded from an Esquimaux baidar, and undoubtedly for the first time assailed the ears of our auditory. These evinced their love of harmony, indifferent as it was, by instantly relinquishing their sports, bending their heads down to the water, and beating on their breasts, whilst their little sparkling eyes shewed [sic] the gratification they felt. The Loucheux possess the same sensibility, and have often entreated Mr. Dease

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exposure to Western music and dance had probably occurred by the time a trading post at Good Hope was established in 1805. Over twenty years later, traditional drum dancing continued among these northern Dene groups. During the month of June in 1826 and 1827, for instance, a trader at Fort Good Hope observed Gwich'in and Hare dancing and its vital link to trade: "1826, 06, 23. Traded with the party that arrived yesterday the following, viz. 34 large beavers, 4600 muskrats, 2 martins. After the trade was over, about 20 of the young men amused us for some time with a specimen of their dancing. The chief told me it indicated their being satisfied with their treatment." This was followed a year later with the following journal entry: "1827, 06, 28. Barbue and 12 of his tribe cast up from below; another party are expected soon, but I fear will turn back on finding the late establishment abandoned. The party brought 33 beavers, 3 martens, and 7040 rats. Some of the Hare Indians came down to see the Loucheux and have a dance, which is their custom of showing a friendly disposition (HBC n.d. Good Hope journal, NAC tape IM80/B/80/a/5 from Vanast 2009b).

[25] It is not far-fetched to believe that Dease may have brought his violin with him on the voyage along northern Alaska. One of the crew members on the Collinson *H.M.S. Enterprise* expedition (1850-55) carried his fiddle with him to a distant supply depot: "We got amongst the hummocky ice at 10; saw a seal and some geese, and reached the depot at 5.45, which we found had been visited by a bear, who had dug up the *Resolution's* depot, and scattered their boots about. The only thing belonging to us that he took a fancy to was Davidson's fiddle..." (Collinson 1976 [1889]: 201).

> to entertain them with his violin. The morose Chipewyans, on the other hand, seemed almost devoid of this taste, and their only attempts at singing are borrowed from the Cree. (Simpson 1843: 164-165)

The Western fascination with the perceived native fascination of Western-based harmony is a common theme in exploratory literature.[26] The "positive" comparison to the Gwich'in (Loucheux) and the negative remark about Chipewyan musical aesthetics are not entirely arbitrary. Apparently to Simpson, Western music had potential appeal because of its harmonic element. For those cultural groups who showed an appreciation for European melodies and harmonies, the Westerner regarded them as promising and their response as a straightforward reaction to natural beauty. For those who demonstrated a lack of "sensitivity" to the musical system, on the other hand, the Westerner wrote them off as uncultured and aesthetically stunted.

Two other musical references contained in the Dease-Simpson expedition writings concern the allure of the "opposite sex", either directly or indirectly. Music and dance in Western and other traditions share obvious links to sexuality and desire. Shortly after Simpson and his men arrived at Point Barrow, they engaged in trade with the locals.[27] Simpson wrote descriptively about what followed:

> When the means of buyers and sellers were at length exhausted, some of the women and girls ranged themselves in a circle, to gratify us with an exhibition of their national dances. Each of the damsels successively figured in the midst; while the remainder, joining hands, danced round her and sung in unison, some of their airs being by no means unmusical. The lady in the centre who performed most extravagantly elicited the highest applause; and one bold dame imitated, with great success, the violent gestures of the men when encountering their enemies, or when engaged in mortal combat with the monsters of the deep. As they waxed warm in this exercise, the whole of the fair dancers doffed their upper garments, retaining only their deer-skin breeches, and thus disencumbered these land mermaids renewed their amusement. (Simpson 1843: 158)

As shown, Simpson commented positively about the female members of the Point Barrow village. His use of the terms 'damsel', 'lady', 'dame', 'fair', and 'mermaid' reveal an elevated

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[26] Taussig keys in on this circular notion of fascination and the related concept of mimesis with regard to the use of the phonograph, which will be discussed in a later section (Taussig 1993).

[27] For the first time in his travels along the coast, Simpson observed a great desire for tobacco among the Iñupiat of the Point Barrow area, including the children (Bockstoce 1988: 5-6). Although the leaf product had reached them almost certainly through indirect trade with the Russians, it is interesting to note that Inuit farther to the east expressed no familiarity with it. A possible explanation is that tobacco may have only recently arrived in the Point Barrow area.

respect for them that is rare in the rest of his writings. Ever the critic, he deemed at least some of songs as musical and found the imitative abilities of at least one performer as effective. Apparently unbothered by the dancers' topless display, Simpson eventually left the festivities to resume his survey of the area.

A week later on August 11, after reconnecting with Simpson and his party, Dease made an oblique comment concerning the behavior of some women at a large Inuit camp near Demarcation Point:

> They were very desirous of selling any thing they could dispose of. The Ladies appeared no less so of attracting our notice by the most bewitching and significant Smiles and gestures. Whether any of them were Successful in their Endeavors I know not. Some of them passed the night near the Tents with their Husbands at various Amusements, the females occasionally Singing & the men leaping & playing at games in use among them. (Barr 2002: 88)

Unfortunately, Simpson offered little detail in his journal writing that "in the evening, the Esquimaux had a leaping match with our people, in which one of the former bore away the palm. A guard was set during the night" (Simpson 1843: 178). Whether the apparent flirtatious advances on the part of the Inuit women led to any level of intimacy with the expedition members is purely speculative. Similar to the experiences shared between the Beechey party and the Iñupiat of northwestern Alaska, the convivial nature of the above encounter characterized by a mixing of trade, song and playfulness suggests that cross-cultural bonding did not necessarily end at the exchange of material goods. Further discussion of the intimate relations between expedition crewmembers and indigenous peoples will continue in later sections.

Later Exploration: The *Plover* and William Hooper

In the late 1840s, the tragic disappearance of John Franklin's third expedition led to a multi-national search that resulted in a more comprehensive exploration of the North American Arctic region. The increase in contact between exploring parties and indigenous populations created greater opportunities for musical exposure. According to at least one account, foreign musical instruments did not immediately appeal to the northern inhabitants. In September 1848, the German naturalist aboard the *H.M.S. Herald* Berthold Seeman made the following remark about the people of Kotzebue Sound: "Music, indeed, seems to have little effect — at least our

fiddles and flutes made no impression whatever. The accordion was an object of curiosity, rather on account of the manner in which the sounds were produced than for the sounds themselves" (Seeman 1853: 63). This is the earliest reference to the presence of the accordion in the Western Arctic that I have found in my research.[28] The circumstances in which the explorers introduced such instruments are unknown but it is clear that the Kotzebue Iñupiaq appeal to Western instrumental music was not necessarily immediate but instead developed over time.[29] The greater interest in the construction of the accordion compared to that of the fiddle and flute reflects a common observation of the "mechanically-inclined Eskimo" in Western Arctic literature.

Another expedition participating in the search for Franklin was the *H.M.S. Plover* under the command of Captain T.E.L. Moore. Marking the first successful overwintering of a vessel in the Bering Sea region, the *Plover* spent ten months during 1848-1849 in Plover Bay, located on the southeastern coast of the Chukchi Peninsula. An officer on board named William Hooper published a descriptive account of the crew's experiences along with valuable ethnographic observations of Siberian Yupik and Chukchi inhabitants in a book entitled *Ten Months among the*

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[28] The first accordions were made in Europe during the early 19th century. The Viennese Cyriil Demian is credited with patenting the instrument in 1829. However, the German Christian Friedrich Ludwig Buschmann is known to have patented an accordion-like instrument called the handäoline in 1822. Accordions were introduced to the United States in the 1830s and quickly became a staple instrument among minstrel groups in the 1840s (Wagner 2001: 13, 16, 20-21).

[29] Even after 40 or more years of cultural contact with Russians, Europeans, and Americans, some indigenous people living in and around the trading post of Saint Michael, were reluctant to accept Western music. Edward Nelson, working for the Smithsonian Institute between 1877 and 1881, reported: "At St. Michael some of the men were frequently invited to one of the houses where there was a small organ, and the agent of the Fur company would play simple melodies for them. In every instance the visitors kept perfectly quiet, and watched the keyboard of the instrument closely, as if fascinated. Finally, I asked an old man who had attended several of these concerts if he enjoyed the music, and he replied frankly that he did not, because, said he, 'I do not understand what the noise says. It sounds confusedly in my ears and is strange to them, so that I do not know what it says. I like better to hear the drum and singing in the kashim, for I understand it.' But he added that he liked to watch the movements of the performer's fingers as they sped over the keyboard, the rapid motion pleasing him. I afterward made the same inquiry of other men from various distant localities along the coast, when they heard the music at St. Michael, and received an almost identical reply" (Nelson 1983 [1899]: 349-350). The question as to how much the elderly man was prompted in this situation is important to consider. It is still insightful, however, that he and others held such an attitude toward the foreign music. The old man saw an equivalence between drumming and European music, yet unaccustomed to the new musical system, he presumably like others of his generation failed to appreciate it. For the youth, on the other hand, it was probably easier to accept the new sounds. Lavrenty Zagoskin, who conducted ethnographic and geographic work along the Kuskokwim and Yukon river systems between 1842-1844, remarked that "he often heard a young native singing correctly the popular songs of the times" (Ray 1992: 176). Examples of how the younger generation adopted foreign music over the course of 19th and early 20th centuries will be presented in later sections.

Tents of the Tuski.[30] Members of early exploring parties in the Western Arctic seldom wrote in detail about the musical characteristics of native peoples. As a musician himself, however, Hooper frequently commented on the music and dance of the Yupik and Chukchi people, as well as those of the Inuit and Athabascan peoples whom he encountered later in his travels along northern Alaska and northwestern Canada.[31]

The native inhabitants at Plover Bay had already made extensive contact with Russians prior to the arrival of the *Plover*.[32] Furthermore, foreign trading vessels and whalers probably began visiting that part of the Bering Strait region by the 1840s (Bockstoce 1995: 182 and Baker 1881: 124). Upon their arrival at the peninsula in October of 1848, however, Hooper and his crew had problems conversing with the locals. Without an interpreter, they resorted to sign language and music in order to communicate. Hooper writes:

> Many endeavours were made to establish verbal intercourse. Parry's vocabulary, and the few words mentioned by Wrangell, were essayed, but all to no purpose; they continually repeated "tam," afterwards found to mean "no;" and our expressions of vexation at the ill success of our efforts sounded, in many instances, like their word of dissent. So we had recourse to signs, and succeeded admirably, and speedily got on a very good footing. The fiddle was produced for their amusement, and in return we were regaled by the monotonous beating of a species of drum, which they had brought with them. (Hooper 1853: 15-16)

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[30] In his account, Hooper makes frequent use of the word "Tuski" and, to a lesser degree, "Esquimaux". While it is unclear at times whether he is referring to Chukchi or Siberian Yupik peoples, Hooper most likely interacted with the latter group during his travels around Plover Bay (Providence Bay). Though most references to the Tuski probably pertain to Siberian Yupik culture, whenever I employ the term Tuski, it will serve as a synonym for "native", so as to include possible Chukchi representation.

[31] As shown earlier, previous Russian and British expedition reports include some descriptions of indigenous music and dance from the Chukchi Peninsula (Cook, Billings, and Kotzebue, for instance). Hooper's account contains much greater attention to musical details and the musical connections between Siberian Yupik/Chukchi and Eskimo peoples living across Bering Strait.

[32] The Siberian Yuit made extensive contact with the Russians by the 18th century (Schweitzer 1990 and Nuttall 2004: 995). They developed close relations with neighboring Chukchi who were among the last of the Siberian indigenous groups to repel Russian domination. Expanding their territory eastward as a result of the Tsarist presence, they successfully resisted paying tribute to the Russian invaders. By the middle of the 19th century, the Chukchi negotiated a ceasefire, which permitted them to keep their culture relatively intact despite constant exposure to Russian Orthodoxy and material goods (Bogoras 1904-1909: 723-732).

The local population was already familiar with the fiddle due to their extensive contact with Russian and Russian-influenced native peoples from the west.[33] Some males demonstrated an ability to play the instrument; a number of them even possessed their own fiddles and bows resembling those of European construction but featuring fewer strings made out of deer-skin or silk and shorter, thinner bows (Hooper 1853: 20, 24, 65, 68). By early November of 1848, the two groups had had a number of musical exchanges. In one humorous, though ethnocentric and class-centric account, Hooper severely rebuked the technique of a few fiddlers:

> Several of the young men had a notion of playing, but I heard only one tune, which in time and other features much resembled a highland coronach. The fingering was good, but bowing execrable, the action being from the shoulder, with which as a centre and stiffened arm and hand as a radius, they made a series of sweeps greater or less as required by the time and string touched: they placed great weight upon the bow, producing hideous screeching notes; slurring or stops they had evidently no idea of. I have little doubt that their slight knowledge of the violin has been derived from the Russians. (Hooper 1853: 24-25)

Hooper's comparison of one tune to a highland coronach is insightful. The coronach of his day was a Celtic dirge sung or shrieked by Celtic women of the Scottish Highlands and Ireland. The association he drew indicates an attempt to familiarize the English reader with the native music by comparing it to the musiculturally more familiar but presumably less refined sound of the Celtic people.

In order to pass the long dark winter, members of the crew organized elaborate social events such as masquerades and burlesques on board the ship. For musical accompaniment, a band of musicians formed featuring fiddles, a flute, tin flute, gong, military drum, a custom-made tambourine, and eventually over a course of the season, a chime of bells and a native drum.[34]

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[33] During the winter of 1866-1867, George Kennan, a member of the Western Union Telegraph Expedition, observed the use of a similarly unusual fiddle among the Russian and native peoples (Chuvans, Yukagirs, and Evens) of Anadyrsk in southeastern Siberia. Kennan provided no further description of the instrument but that the balalaika and possibly a jew's harp accompanied it (Kennan 1870: 293-296, 350). Nomadic Chukchi and Koryak peoples traded extensively in the area and likely adopted the fiddle from the local population. Siberian Yuit, in turn, engaged in trade with the Chukchi, and presumably absorbed such instruments into their culture.

[34] Hooper carefully described the construction of the drum and the manner of playing it: "The Tuski drum is composed of the peritoneum or external membrane of the stomach of the deer, seal, or walrus, stretched across a slight hollow frame of an oblong round, with a short handle to keep clear of the skin. This membrane is not generally beaten; a light wand of drift fir is held by the middle and struck against the edges of the wooden frame, sound being produced by concussion: sometimes two very light rods of whalebone with small knobs are used; these are gently tapped on the skin itself, and the sound then is more

Such gatherings occurred almost on a weekly basis and at least some of the locals attended them (Hooper 1853: 30-33, 83). The British use of the native drum signifies an important example of musical reciprocity not unlike the Chukchi adoption of the fiddle. Within a period of mere weeks or perhaps months, musical exchange and the appropriation of each other's instruments regularly occurred.

Hooper observed many indigenous dances featuring large drums and, at least on one occasion, the fiddle (Hooper 1853: 50-51, 85-86, 95-96, 103-104, 137). Regarding the latter, it is difficult to determine whether a native or a member of the crew played the string instrument. What is significant is that the fiddle seemed to serve as an effective substitute for the drum. On a visit to the nearby settlement of Woorel in mid-January, 1849, Hooper wrote:

> The fiddle had been brought to aid in the fun, and was soon in requisition to accompany the motions of a troop of merry girls, who, hand in hand, crowded full of glee round the performer, urging a speedy commencement of his music, by mimicry and pantomimic gibe. When he struck up a tune they receded in a half moon with mincing step and fantastic evolutions of the head and arms; the centre then approached, and wings receded; then all alternately approached and retired en masse, as if to tempt their musician to follow, who soon willingly humoured their bent and imitated their motions. This continued for a while, when the dancers broke their line and dispersed, reformed once or twice behind the player, and advanced upon him unawares... (Hooper 1853: 85-86)

The dance as described above evokes a powerful connection between the dancers and the fiddler based on mimicry, rhythmic motion, and melody.

Drums, however, were the staple feature in native musical performances. The loud, energetic and lengthy episodes of drumming that accompanied shaman rituals, acrobatic displays, and mimetic performance often overwhelmed Hooper and his men (Hooper 1853: 50, 95-96, 177-178, 181). Only when the drummer tapped on the yarar with a piece of whalebone was the sound "different to the ordinary noise; [...] very deep and resonant, but at the same time soft and musical" (Hooper 1853: 104). Often fatigued by work obligations and harsh weather conditions,

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shrill. The evolutions practised to-night brought only the upper part of the performers' body into play, their legs being folded under them; there was little worthy of note except the precision with which music and movements accompanied each other" (Hooper 1853: 51-52). The materials used for the drum frame and beater reflect the subsistence lifestyles of the Siberian Yuit but also the Reindeer and Maritime Chukchi. Fifty years later, the anthropologist Waldemar Bogoras, participating in the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, 1897-1902, described the same kind of construction and drumming style (Bogoras 1904-1909: 356-358).

Hooper particularly complained about the deafening loudness of the drums when it interrupted his rest.

Hooper's criticism toward the "horrid drums" is partly attributable to his denunciation of shamanism (Hooper 1853: 50, 128).[35] Since Westerners generally viewed shamanism as pagan and even satanic in nature, ethnographic writings on the subject often condemned the practice. Yet, despite his apparent misgivings, Hooper expressed a sense of awe whenever a shaman performed his "magic".[36]

During one incident in the middle of February, 1849, for example, Hooper, a fellow sailor, the shaman Mooldooyah, and his wife Yaneenga got trapped in a snowstorm. When the circumstances appeared to improve at one point, the two British men sang a few of their favorite songs and danced a "Tuski Polka" (Hooper 1853: 125-126), a mimetic act that connected them more closely with the their fellow travelers. Weather conditions began to worsen but it was not until the native couple resorted to a shamanistic ritual characterized by singing and supplicatory motions, did Hooper realize the gravity of the situation:

> Quitting their sledge with slow and measured step, the pair removed to a distance from us, where Yaneenga prostrated herself in the snow, her hands upraised above her buried face: the man, turning first to the west, then to the north and south, omitting — I know not why, perhaps accidentally — the fourth point, bowed himself to each repeatedly; like Yaneenga's, his hands and arms were upraised above his head, and he gave forth a succession of cries, which still sound in my ears as I write of them — long wailing shouts, loud, unearthly and despairing, each exhausting the lungs in their emission, like a thunder roll at first, and sinking by degrees to a melancholy faintness. In all my life I never heard any sounds to equal these for horrible impressiveness; the deathwail of the Irish, the shout of the Red Indian, both of which I have heard in force, fall far short of Mooldooyah's appeal to his fates. (Hooper 1853: 128-129)

While the strident and guttural quality of Eskimo and Chukchi shamanistic singing is generally similar to that of most North American Indian and Celtic societies (piercing, high-pitched death wails and Banshee cries), it contrasts sharply with the English vocal style of the past few centuries. The powerful sounds obviously left a memorable impression on Hooper who upon reflection linked the intensity of the performance to their life-threatening dilemma.

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[35] Since Hooper's reading audience in England and the United States was presumably Christian to a great extent, he may have feigned or exaggerated his behavior in order to better connect with them.

[36] Hooper wrote exclusively about male shamans in his account. On one occasion presented below, however, he described a scene where the woman Yaneenga, wife of the shaman Mooldooyah, assisted in a shaman ritual (Hooper 1853: 127-128).

The British also engaged in their own forms of "magic-making", though in a playful manner that legitimated their own sense of cultural superiority. One description of musical interaction between the British sailors and the native population combining music and magnetism, reveals this attitude effectively. During a visit to the nearby settlement of Wootair in late January of 1849, some members of the crew, determined to keep the occasion lively despite the oppressive heat in the *yaranga*, a walrus-skin tent, impressed upon the local hosts their magical prowess:

> ... various efforts at amusement were tried: the power of the magnet was shown; and the sight of some needles, which were made by means of it to dance to music, threw the natives into amazement at our superior mode of conjuring. Next we had some songs, with the fiddle accompaniment. I suppose pretty well two-thirds of the inhabitants of the village were crowded into the hut; the curtain of the apartment in which we sat was raised, and the space filled up with dusky heads, wedged into a compact mass; wild shouts and tones of wonder testified their delight and astonishment at our doings. (Hooper 1853: 95)

In his work *Mimesis and Alterity*, Michael Taussig explores the idea of how people adopt or reject other cultures (Taussig 1993). Part of his study involves the use of technology or knowledge of science as a means to demonstrate one's own cultural superiority. By drawing the invisible power of attraction in the magnet to the observable needles (much like the accompaniment of invisible music to observable dance), the sailors performed an act of illusion, a sleight of hand trick that treated technology and one's association with it as something magical, entertaining and inexplicable to the audience. This notion of manipulating technology as a way to show off one's self-perceived cultural supremacy re-echoes in a later section concerning the introduction of the phonograph in the North.

In response to the British act, a native man reciprocated with his own kind of "magic":

> When we ceased, a native dancer, or conjuror, appeared, and, seating himself in the space before us, performed a number of fantastic contortions of face and figure, all in a sitting posture, and accompanied by a continued beating of his large drum, the noise of which was in that confined space quite deafening. (Hooper 1853: 95-96)

The performance of magic and mimicry are equivalent in the sense that they both essentially create the appearance of something that is not the case. Whether it involves contortionism, magnetism, masquerading, pantomimic gesture, or other, the act expresses a desire to imitate the behavior or qualities of another entity or present another level of virtual reality. In the

masquerades held on the ship, for instance, the sailors impersonated fictional characters, people of African descent and other foreigners, women, and animals. Hooper described the first masquerade held on November 17, 1848:

> European and native materials were alike employed for costume, the hybrid appearances creating much mirth. Among the most prominent characters may be noticed Messrs. Jim Crow and Paul Pry, a sweep, a dustman, and a gentleman's valet; and the master of the band in the sergeant's scarlet coat, gold epaulettes, and cocked-hat and feather, with a black face. There were also two ladies, a harlequin, and a Greek gentleman, whose costume was most correct; a huge bear worried the performers, who were forced to make frequent visits to an inimitable Tom-and-Jerry shop, whose rotund host, our worthy cook, was a fit type of Boniface. (Hooper 1853: 30-31)

The numerous references to popular figures, both local and foreign, reveal a rich cosmopolitan atmosphere of popular culture predating the global pop movement of the late 20th century. Jim Crow, for instance, was an American stereotyped character that emerged in the popular music tradition of the late 1820s. In the 1840s, it played a prominent role in the early blackface minstrel shows springing up in the United States, Great Britain, and elsewhere. The comical combination of Western and indigenous costume materials adds just another cultural layer to the multicultural scene.

The inhabitants of Plover Bay also engaged in their own mimetic performances, portraying the behavior of other beings, including foreigners and animals. With regard to the latter, one particular dance that the British sailors found especially humorous and entertaining was a children's imitation of an ermine catching a hare by its tail (Hooper 1853: 87). Some of the most fascinating dances Hooper observed, however, involved the mimicry of other native peoples. At the village of Wootair in late January of 1849, he wrote:

> During the evening the amusements of the previous night were repeated, a conjuror appearing and performing many gestures, which we were told were in imitation of Payairkets, as they designate the Esquimaux on the opposite shore of America. Occasionally also the inhabitants of Iworien, the island of St. Lawrence, were represented, and the derisive mimicry of their actions was greatly applauded and encouraged, being evidently mockery of their enemies. The distinction between the two people was marked by the American Esquimaux being represented to wear a bead as a labret on both sides of the mouth, and those of St. Lawrence but one. The drum beat perpetually throughout; the one used on this occasion was of very large size, more than two feet diameter, and was used by Mooldooyah, who gently tapped it with two very fine united rods of whalebone. The sound thus produced was different to the ordinary noise; it was very deep and resonant, but at the same time soft and musical; the delivery of the

> strokes was unvaried, a pause occurring after two, of the same length with each, but the tune, at first very slow, increased after awhile, and ended in great rapidity and violence, the noise then being quite overpowering. (Hooper 1853: 103-104)

The imitation of both the mainland Eskimo and those on Saint Lawrence Island (Yupik) is a good example of the apparent status-performing effects of mimesis that occurred when expressing alterity among these three northern indigenous groups. Mockery of one's enemies reflected an expressive mechanism that allowed the Siberian natives to separate their culture from that of the Eskimos to the east. Mimicry took the form of wearing distinctive cultural markers such as labrets and performing music and dance that was clearly Eskimo in nature: bipartite form containing a slow and a fast section; the initial tapping of the drum in the slow section; the 5/8 asymmetrical rhythm that characterizes Eskimo but also Chukchi drumming. If the Siberian natives meant to mimic their eastern neighbors by using a very large drum, then most likely they had the Central Yup'ik people in mind. Both the Saint Lawrence Island Yupiit and Iñupiat traditionally played on drums smaller than those of the Central Yupiit, which usually average at least 24 inches in diameter. It is not certain that the performance mimicked Central Yup'ik culture, but an ethnomusicological interpretation of the text strongly suggests so. Here, again, is a case where ethnomusicological evidence can assist other disciplines in gaining a fuller understanding of a culture's history.

Another descriptive example of mimetic dance related to the behavior and customs of Eskimo people took place at the Siberian Yupik settlement of Oongwysac harbor (Ungazik = Chaplino; Cape Chaplino = Indian Point) in mid-February 1849. Visiting a large yaranga that specifically catered to public events, Hooper felt fortunate to "witness a national performance of a purely theatrical nature" (Hooper 1853: 136). He writes:

> ... I had a plain view of the solitary actor, who sustained his part with extraordinary skill, activity, and endurance: this performance was a representation of the practices of the Pa-erks (i. e., Esquimaux on the opposite shore of the straits :) I had before seen this slightly attempted, but the present was evidently a state occasion, and all details were carefully presented. He imitated with extravagant action — paddling, eating, and drinking, looking for an enemy, fighting, and hunting the whale, in which the efforts of the men and the struggles of the animals were grotesquely depicted, and he gesticulated throughout with furious energy. Two musicians seated upon the earth beat incessantly upon their drums; their performances seeming to be an indispensably necessary addition to the sport... It may briefly be noticed, that he was clad to resemble those he mimicked, having among other peculiarities, only one mitten on — a familiar trait of Esquimaux — and threw into his action, tones and expression, a character so entirely foreign to his

> own that one would, unwarned, fail to recognise him as of the Tuski. (Hooper 1853: 136-138)

The last line clearly identifies one powerful effect of mimetic dance – the demonstration of one's imitative abilities based on observation, empathy, cultural knowledge, and stereotyping to "become" the imitated entity. Featuring exaggerated examples of Alaskan Eskimo daily activities, dance customs, and musical styles, the performance created a cultural experience embodying both sameness and difference. By parodying the Alaskan Eskimo, or in another sense, "knowing" the Other, the dancer not only expressed sameness via emulation (mimesis) but simultaneously delineated difference (alterity) in terms of those qualities that separated the Alaskan Eskimo from those on the Siberian side.

Hooper pointed out the importance of drumming in creating a sonic atmosphere resembling that of an Eskimo performance. The mention of more than one drummer seated on the ground characterizes the typical musical ensemble arrangement accompanying Eskimo dancing. Finally, the reference to a dance mitten suggests that the performance was an imitation of an Iñupiaq dance since the Iñupiat, males in particular, traditionally wear such regalia to show respect to the hunting spirits. The use of only one mitten by the dancer, however, is intriguing since the Iñupiaq practice, at least of recent times, has been to wear mittens on both hands. This discrepancy suggests that the Iñupiat used to wear only one mitten or it is possible that the performer may have been mocking the Iñupiaq custom or that Hooper's claim was erroneous.

Hooper also commented on the audience's enthusiastic response to the performance:

> The spectators applauded vociferously, in a manner scarcely less interesting than the scene they praised, any incident more striking than the rest eliciting interjections of kah! kah! kah! "da capo diminuendo," and a low running gurgle of approval with a continuous though subdued current of conversation, occasionally breaking out with the elders in short notes, to their fellows or the actor, of satisfaction at his efforts. (Hooper 1853: 137-138)

The multi-layered meanings of the dance motions were most likely lost to outsiders like Hooper and perhaps to some degree even to the native audience. Eskimo dance involves motions that are largely mimetic, but it also includes movements that are representational, that is, they carry abstract meanings assigned and agreed to by the social group. For instance, the act of raising one's hands and cupping them around one's face means "to look" or "a pretty woman" while the chopping motion of one's hand to the side of the body indicates "the dance is over" (Johnston

1991: 59). Such abstractions may not have been evident in the performance but certainly recognition of some actions, particularly by the elders, shows that they understood some of the motion language and responded accordingly. The locals in attendance respected the dancer for his remarkable physical stamina but, even more so, for his knowledge of dance motions. The "kah! kah! kah! shouts translated into the Italian musical terms "da capo diminuendo" seem to call for the dancer to renew his performance one final time, first slowly and softly before ending with the greatest amount of intensity, similar to the Yup'ik word *pamyua*.

Equally impressed with the spectacle, Hooper referred to the performer as the "Garrick of his tribe", modeled after the famous 18th century English actor and theater manager David Garrick, who greatly influenced theatrical practices such as a more realistic approach to acting (Vance 1984 and Kendall 1985). Continuing to laud the performance, Hooper subsequently presented his philosophical take on man's universal ability to imitate actions and, more importantly, represent meaning symbolically:

> Here, on the extreme of a sterile and desolate waste, on whose edge only a few uncivilised persons are scattered, the imitative faculty of man had burst forth without example, his untaught and unaided ingenuity developing itself in a thousand instances. The contemplative mind cannot but find in all these things indications of the universal superiority of man over the brute — ample food for reflection upon the mightiness of the Power who bestowed reason to direct and capability to perform. (Hooper 1853: 138)

Reading between the lines, Hooper subscribed to a rather enlightened view that the Tuski were not unlike Europeans in the sense that they could think and act rationally. Whatever paternalistic overtones his notion may carry, the interesting conclusion to draw is that Tuski music and dance impressed upon Hooper and perhaps others in the crew the idea that indigenous peoples and Westerners shared a common humanity, and that any essential difference was one not of kind but of degree.

One final type of performance that took place at the settlement of Wootair in late March of 1849, involved a whaling ceremony and shaman drumming. Following a solemn feast officiated by his friend Ahmoleen who had caught the whale, Hooper commented on the drumming and chanting emanating from a walrus-skin tent:

> Inside his yarang, Mooldooyah, Ahmoleen's father, whom I have before said I believed to be a shaman, or priest, beat incessantly upon the largest drum I ever saw among the people, chanting monotonously in a succession of quivering notes, and drawling out the words to a great length....There was much to strike one as extraordinary in the appearance

> of this minister of a rude religion. Seated crosslegged in his tent, nude from the waist upwards, his body swaying to and fro with the intonations of his chant, perspiration streaming from every pore of his vast bulk, the huge tambourine filling the entire space with its reverberations, and, above all, the expression of conviction impressed upon his lineaments of the sacred importance of his duty, Mooldooyah acquired a new and imposing character, far different to his ordinary nature. (Hooper 1853: 180-181)

According to Hooper, Mooldooyah's chanting paid homage to the killed whale and to his son's hunting ability. He noted that despite receiving baptism by Russian priests on a visit to Kolyma, a Christian name, and a Greek cross, Mooldooyah had still maintained his shamanistic practices (Hooper 1853: 181-182). Evaluating the status of native religion within the scope of world history, Hooper proceeded to compare the ceremonial rituals of the Tuski to ancient Jewish and Roman practices and as a result placed Chukchi religion low on the cultural evolutionary scale (Hooper 1853: 181-182).

In contrast, Western music as a product of European culture had instead developed to a higher degree. Drawing connections to other aspects of European intellectual development, Hooper seemed to group one particular musical instrument – a copper fiddle – with that of scientific ones used to take measurements. Several times in his account, he referred to the fiddle, which the ship's blacksmith had constructed. The instrument was apparently important enough to the crew that they regularly brought it along on various scientific excursions and visits to indigenous settlements. Battered and bruised from such trips over the winter, it continued to be a great source of entertainment for both natives and non-natives, despite its squeaky condition (Hooper 1853: 154).

Attesting to its value, Hooper included the fiddle with a list of measuring instruments, provisions, tools, and gifts for natives (Hooper 1853: 113). Out of all the items he carried with him, the dipping-needle and the copper fiddle were the ones most closely intertwined with his daily activities:

> We were singularly unfortunate during this trip in the weather, and in consequence I made very few observations for position, the dipping-needle accompanied me as usual (together with the copper fiddle, we three were inseparable), and I obtained a few results of the magnetic declination and intensity, but otherwise little of importance was achieved beyond gaining additional knowledge of the manners and customs of this very peculiar people. (Hooper 1853: 191)

While the dipping-needle or compass was instrumental in measuring the earth's magnetic inclination, a major scientific interest of the expedition, the fiddle was instrumental in measuring and revealing natural laws of harmony, a harmony that existed on two levels – a material one contained in the vibrating bodies of strings and an immaterial one existing in the realm of mathematical proportions. In accordance to Western musical aesthetics, Hooper likely derived mental, physical, and emotional pleasure from the fiddle's sounds due to a conscious or unconscious appreciation of the music's underlying harmonic principles. Furthermore, besides creating obvious diversion and camaraderie, the instrument, perhaps on a more symbolic level, measured one's level of attentiveness or sensitivity to such laws of nature.

Perceiving a relative lack of such qualities in Tuski and other indigenous musics, Hooper often employed the word "monotonous" in his descriptions (Hooper 1853: 16, 20, 295, 327, 348). Remarkably, he used the term to describe only one other northern phenomenon – the seemingly unvarying nature of winter landscapes and work activities (Hooper 1853: 131, 395). Judging by the word's prevalence in early and even more recent Western ethnographies, however, Hooper was not unique in exhibiting what appears to be an ethnocentric attitude towards non-Western musics. Cultural superiority does not fully explain the picture, however. Certain surface characteristics of the music helped trigger such an impression as well. Below is a list of such musical traits that contributed to such a critique.

The indigenous musical cultures of the Western Arctic are very diverse but they do share the following basic commonalities:

1) Although songs and dances performed purely for entertainment exist, the music of this region is generally functional, that is, it is intricately connected with the culture's social customs, ceremonial rituals and religious practices.

2) the music is also predominantly vocal in nature and monophonic; only among the Indian groups of Southeast Alaska has the practice of polyphony developed independently of Western influence.

3) the vocal style is particularly high-pitched and strident and contains restricted throat sounds and glottal and diaphragmatic pulsations.

4) the vocal material is usually based on gapped, pentatonic scales but may include microtones; the vocal range normally stays within an octave but may expand to a twelfth depending on the musical culture.

5) the music is usually strophic, contains repeated sections, and the phrase length is often determined by the text.

6) the rhythm of the music ranging from simple to complex is often asymmetrical, often consisting of 5/8 or 7/8 meters, and is, to some degree, determined by the text.

7) the music is closely associated with mimetic dance, the movements of which may or may not synchronize with the musical rhythms.

8) although the voice is primary in the indigenous music of the northern regions, it also relies on musical instruments generally limited to those of a percussive nature.

In particular, repetition in the strophic form, limited vocal range, occasional simple rhythms, percussive quality, and absence of vocal harmony left an impression to the unaccustomed yet assuming Western ear that northern indigenous traditional music was "monotonous". A more open frame of mind and a deeper analysis of the music and its close relationship with culture would have proven otherwise. In comparison with other ethnographers of his time, however, Hooper still showed a much greater interest and keener insight in indigenous musical cultures.

Despite his sense of cultural superiority over the Tuski and other indigenous peoples, Hooper developed friendly relationships with the locals, perhaps even intimate ones with women. The degree of intimacy is difficult to assess but it is very likely that sexual liaisons occurred between the *Plover* crewmembers and Tuski women and on later expeditions between British sailors and Iñupiaq women. The commander of the expedition Captain Moore, for instance, kept a young Eskimo woman in his cabin during the winter (Rae 1953: 174). A young female Iñupiaq interpreter lived in his cabin the following year when the *Plover* overwintered in Kotzebue Sound in 1849-1850 (Neatby 1967: 36). The next winter spent at Port Clarence, Moore employed a female interpreter named Mary from Unalakleet who more than likely spoke Russian rather than the more useful English (Ray 1992: 145), suggesting that their relationship went beyond that of the expedition's needs.

After the *Plover* left the Asiatic coast, it sailed to Wainwright Inlet, Alaska where on July 25, 1849 Hooper joined Commander William Pullen's expedition, which proceeded by open boats along the coast of northern Alaska eastward to the Mackenzie River and Cape Bathurst. The explorer John Rae learned of stories circulating among British sailors that during Pullen's absence one evening in the summer of 1849, Hooper and the majority of the crew engaged in sexual activities with Iñupiaq women when the expedition was delayed near Point Barrow (Rae

1953: 175).[37] Native accounts recorded three decades later reveal "there was considerable intercourse between the sailors and the Eskimo women" (Murdoch 1892: 53). If true, one can assume that music and dance played an important role in fostering such close partnerships as shown in the following discussion.

As the party started eastward, they observed large groups of Iñupiat eager to engage in trade. On July 31, Hooper commented on the excitement generated by his crew's presence:[38]

> Passing close to the shore, we attracted the notice of about fifty Esquimaux, to whom belonged four tents near; these shouted to us as we ran by, waving their arms and dancing to a drum in a way which forcibly recalled the imitation of their manners by certain among the Tuski, and I saw that no acting could be truer; they accompanied us along the banks for a considerable distance, but did not come off in their boats. (Hooper 1853: 219)

Stopped by ice in the late evening hours, the crew secured their boats to the shoreline. Many Iñupiat stopped by to offer "their furs for trifling pieces of tobacco" (Pullen 1979: 48). The next day, Pullen and his crew reached a point just west of Point Barrow and there encountered even more Iñupiat:[39]

> In the evening I landed amongst the natives, and was most graciously received by rubbing noses; they dancing and shouting to each other with stentorian lungs, and shewing [sic] us round their camps with evident satisfaction. At one in particular, the chief apparently, assembled his people and entertained us for an hour with dancing, accompanied with singing and music on a sort of tambourine, a thin skin (intestine of the seal) well stretched on a circular frame of wood, and beat against a stick. I gave them beads, tobacco and snuff, winding up with a scramble at which they were as much pleased as our men. It was a ridiculous sight, so many (women and all) wrapped up in furs, rolling on the ground together. We parted good friends, many following us to the boat... (Pullen 1979: 48)

Hooper described the same event as such:

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[37] Hooper commented several times about the physical beauty and attentiveness of Tuski women and established very friendly rapport with some of them (Hooper 1853: 43, 66, 67, 127, 157, 203-206). Just before the *Plover's* departure, the majority of locals seeing the sailors off were women who showered them with presents that included finely embroidered gloves, boots, and belts (Hooper 1853: 203).

[38] Later on August 21 near Herschel Island, Hooper observed a similar incident: "a goodly collection of tents, with about two hundred natives, assembled near: these shouted lustily, and danced and sung with energy, hoping, by these and other artifices, to induce us to land, of which, however, time did not admit" (Hooper 1853: 258, 260).

[39] Pullen reported that no less then 80 men, women, and children assembled together (Pullen 1979: 40).

> We again secured to the shore, and were visited by the people of twelve tents, which were on the bank a quarter of a mile distant; great numbers assembled around us, noisy and wondering enough, but quite pacific; their visit was returned by an inspection of their tents, which gave them great delight; dancing and drumming were practised as usual, and they were made quite happy by the distribution of presents, the scene ending with a scramble, which was highly diverting. Towards night the floe began to break up and drift away; the channel, to our joy, clearing fast. (Hooper 1853: 220)

Later, Pullen went on board the nearby vessel *Nancy Dawson*, when in his absence, Hooper and many of the other crewmembers allegedly scattered from their post and paired up with some of the local women. According to Hooper's account, he went on shore to examine the ice floes near Elson Bay and came across a burial ground. As the "Esquimaux did not offer [him] the slightest molestation," he gathered a few plants and flowers, picked up a piece of coal, and returned to the boats (Hooper 1853: 221).

After spending several hours on the *Nancy Dawson* during the early morning of August 2, Pullen rejoined the rest of crew and proceeded to lead the boats around the tip of Point Barrow. While the sailors made magnetic observations at their new landing, a number of Iñupiat came by to meet them (Pullen 1979: 49 and Hooper 1853: 221-222). At first concerned about their presence, Pullen, Hooper and the crew quickly warmed up to the locals:

> We concluded that these people must have been entirely misunderstood. Far from evidencing any disposition to assail or molest us, they were most docile and well-behaved, agreeably disappointing us in their conduct. When we arrived on the hillock, all, big and little, sat down around us, and I amused myself by filling their pipes, becoming a great favourite immediately in consequence. (Hooper 1853: 222)

A detailed description of the native people followed in Hooper's account. Interestingly enough, in light of what had supposedly occurred the previous evening, he made both suggestive and disparaging comments about the women in the following account:

> The women, unlike our lady friends on the Asiatic coast, wore closely fitting breeches of sealskin, and as these always looked old and worn, I have little doubt that they were the castings of their husbands' wardrobes; their figures were, therefore, not displayed to advantage, particularly as they turned in their toes and walked with a waddle. All were horribly filthy in person and habits; a perceptible odour of train-oil pervaded the assembly, and effectually banished on our side any lingering penchant for their caresses, which were however freely tendered, particularly the nose-rubbing salutation which we had some difficulty to avoid without offending... I saw no tattooed marks on the men: in the women all discernible were lines, generally in pairs, drawn from the lower lip to the chin; they were of a dark hue and deeply punctured; indeed, in some instances the flesh

> had risen up in ridges. The women's hair was cut in front level with the eyebrows; behind, it grew long, and was gathered into two "rat tails," such as young ladies sometimes wear in England, but being very thick and bound tightly round with strips of stiff hide, they stuck out on each side like small cable ends, which indeed they much resembled. (Hooper 1853: 224-225)

After completing their magnetic observations, the crew set up a pole to mark the spot, and finally returned to their boats to dine. The Iñupiat in the meantime, organized a drum dance nearby:

> The Esquimaux assembled on the beach opposite to us, and commenced a festival concert, singing, dancing, and gesticulating, to the sound of two large native drums or tambourines, very like those of the Tuski [Chukchi]; the burthen of their song was ever – Hi, Yangah yangah; ha ha, yangah – with variety only in the inflection of voice. (Hooper 1853: 225-226)

During the day, the British bartered with the Iñupiat. For practical purposes, the crew obtained an umiak in exchange for a large butcher's knife, a mirror, and some tobacco and beads (Hooper 1853: 226). Engaging in the tourist trade perhaps for the first time, the local population sold souvenirs such as "curious trifles, skin dresses of all kinds, from the nicely trimmed frock of fawn to less inviting breeks [trousers] of seal-skin, labrets and other ornaments, bones and such like of walrus ivory" (Hooper 1853: 229). Later in the evening, Hooper went to the village to acquire some hide rope for the use of towing boats. Along the way, he inspected some of the shelters and remarked on the Iñupiaq people's friendly disposition (Hooper 1853: 227-229). In addition to the hide rope, Hooper procured a wooden dance mask that bore a "ludicrous imitation of the 'human face divine,' in the Esquimaux variety" (Hooper 1853: 229).

The interface of two factors, trade and dance music, created a socio-economic network that eventually included sexual bonding. Evidence of this behavior was presented early on with my discussion of the Cook expedition. While the individual choice to engage in such acts was to a certain degree recreational and based on mutual attraction, from a social, political, and economic perspective, the motives as to why Iñupiaq women and British sailors sought sexual intimacy were likely different. According to Fogel-Chance, for the Iñupiaq woman, sexual bonds solidified trade relations and as a result extended social connections and benefits such as the acquisition of tobacco and other valuable goods. For the British sailor, sexual activity may have also improved his ability to obtain trade items, but also on a tacit level, it may have boosted his masculine image among the crew (Fogel-Chance 2002). As far as the direct role of music and dance is concerned, from a socio-economic standpoint, music and dance laid the groundwork for

fostering cross-cultural trade and securing material benefits on an immediate basis; just as importantly, by way of sexual bonding, music and dance also served to improve the chances of establishing, sustaining and expanding future connections.

Upon reaching the Mackenzie River in the late fall of 1849, the Pullen expedition split up and overwintered at various posts near Great Bear and Great Slave Lakes. During the winter, spring, and early summer, Hooper commented on the music and dance of the Slave and possibly Hare Athabascan peoples living near Fort Norman, New Fort Franklin, and Fort Simpson (Hooper 1853: 295, 318-319, 320, 327-328). Two notable features that he mentioned were the presence of "he hani ho" vocables and the participation and the contrasting styles of both males and females in the circle dance (Hooper 1853: 327). Hooper also happily noted the presence of a violin owned by the postmaster at Fort Norman that helped to pass the time, writing that "We had little now to amuse or enliven, unless it was created by ourselves. Fortunately a great treasure was ours in the amusement afforded by a very good violin belonging to Mr. MacKenzie; and we were thus enabled to have many a merry dance" (Hooper 1853: 285).[40] The observation of a violin-accompanied dancing along the Mackenzie River system has already been noted several times in this chapter. Its frequent occurrence in the ethnographic literatures corresponds to the emergence of a vibrant Dene fiddling tradition.

In the summer of 1850, the Pullen expedition regrouped and continued to explore the Arctic coastline in search of information regarding Franklin and his missing crew. As they headed eastward from the Mackenzie Delta, the British made contact with many Mackenzie Inuit. In early August, Hooper observed an example of a lullaby that a young mother sang to her baby; it contained the common "ay ya yanga" vocables. Reaching their farthest point near Cape Bathurst a few days later, the exploring party engaged a very large group of natives. Concerned about their small numbers, the British took steps to protect themselves by marking their territory.[41] In response to the foreigners' actions, the Mackenzie Inuit responded with music and dance to express their own line of cultural demarcation:

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[40] Mr. Hector Aeneas Mackenzie was also a valuable source of information regarding Athabascan story-telling and shamanistic singing (Hooper 1853: 285-295, 317-320).

[41] During the late summer of 1850, friendly relations generally developed between Pullen's party and the Mackenzie Inuit. As their numbers grew, however, the locals began to behave more aggressively towards the explorers. Both Hooper and Pullen reported several attempts by the locals to closely engage the British and pilfer their belongings. Instances of amicable interaction, however, did take place especially with the women. Pullen himself frequently commented on female behavior and physiognomy (Pullen 1979: 113, 115, 120). One telling comment concerning Hooper reveals an unexpected level of familiarity between the

> Here, while we dined, a boundary line was drawn according to our custom upon the sand, but it was too far from our position to please our friends; they drew another nearer, to which they then advanced, but not a foot passed beyond it, and all united in a song, one of them leading, beating time with his knife and spoon in place of a drum, and moving his feet also to the measure. I now for the first time heard words in the song, and these were apparently not improvised, as the whole party took up the same word at every pause, but the refrain was the old original, Hi Yangah, yah, rah. (Hooper 1853: 349-350)

The above example exemplifies how music and dance functioned as mechanisms to both integrate and separate cultural groups. On one hand, music and dance created cultural identities; on another, it overcame cultural barriers and helped foster trade relations. The performance of music and dance also created conditions for intimate relationships to develop, unions that potentially altered future trading connections and the biological make-up of indigenous populations.

Later Exploration: The *Plover* at Point Barrow

In 1852, after Captain Moore departed the Western Arctic from northwestern Alaska, Captain Rochfort Maguire assumed command of the *H.M.S. Plover* and navigated the sloop to Point Barrow in order to provide supplies for ships directly involved in the Franklin search. Remaining in the area for two years from 1852-1854, the *Plover* expedition marked the first continuous presence of Westerners in northern Alaska. During this time, Maguire and his surgeon Dr. John Simpson recorded detailed accounts of Iñupiaq life and long-term cross-cultural interaction, providing a significant record of two cultural groups attempting to coexist with one another. In the minds of the Barrow Iñupiat, the strangers' decision to overwinter, represented a threat to their trading connections and procurement of game. The British, heavily outnumbered and unknowledgeable about the environment, were highly circumspective of the local population yet depended on them to the degree that their own sense of independence and perceived cultural superiority was threatened. Under such conditions relations alternated between episodes of extreme antagonism culminating in the accidental death of a native man and genuine friendliness characterized by mutual feasts, joint travels, and musical exchanges.

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two groups: "We were now joined by a small family we had not seen before, a man and three women; we made them a few presents of beads, and essayed to improve their beauty with vermilion, they offering no objection, on the contrary desiring it. The youngest of the women (apparently unmarried) was certainly not a bad looking girl, who after receiving her quantum of decoration on her face, was dragged forward by her female friends, who turned up her frock, patted her belly, and requested a like operation might be effected there; they were gratified, Mr. Hooper daubing it to their hearts content" (Pullen 1979: 119-120).

Following one such period of heightened hostility and general suspicion, both groups began to demonstrate a desire for more friendly relations. On October 25, 1852, Maguire recorded the following incident:

> We have had an unusual number of Natives round the Ship today, amongst the Number our Sable Coated friend. They got up a dance opposite the entry port on the Ice, and seem very anxious to bring about a more cordial reconciliation, than at present exists between us, but they attracted no interest from our people. The Natives have in some way anticipated my intentions, Doctor Simpson & Mr. Jago we[re] engaged in the Cabin printing a notice of a dance, I intended giving them on board on Thursday next. With the view of showing that we bore no ill will towards them, and wished to continue a friendly intercourse. (Maguire 1988: 112)

This passage clearly shows that music and dance were used as a tool to promote friendly relations. Three days later, Maguire remarked in detail the cross-cultural musical exchange that took place aboard the *Plover*:

> ... at 4 P.M. they were admitted on board to the Number of fifty, which was afterwards much increased by successive arrivals. After they were made to seat themselves round the deck, the entertainment commenced with serving each with a little tobacco, then our musical instruments – (a Fiddle, Carnopian [sic], drum, & triangles) played up a lively air. Which from many of the Natives now hearing for the first time, caused a general exclamation of wonder and pleasure – This was followed by a request for them to dance, which they did willingly, then our seamen danced in their turn, and so the thing went alternately, in a little time the Natives entered fully into the spirit of the Amusement, stripping off their coats, and dancing naked to the waist, varying the dances a good deal & as the Men shout in a triumphant way who are dancing and all the lookers on join in a chorus... (Maguire 1988: 112-113)

Replete with examples of musical references, this passage shows a gradual buildup of excitement through the reciprocity of dance. It also draws a connection between the giving of tobacco as a gift to the performance of music. Relations dramatically improved after this momentous occasion. Conflict between the two peoples did not necessarily cease, but both groups still employed music and dance, which created conditions for easing tensions and reconciling differences. Evidence of this comes through about three weeks later on November 21, 1852. When the Iñupiat reciprocated by inviting the *Plover* crew to attend a local dance, Maguire wrote:

> ... I gave eight leave to go to the Village, as there had been a sort of invitation the day before from one of the chiefs, for them to witness a dance, as I thought in return to those given on board. And fancying that an intercourse of this sort, would improve our acquaintance with them... (Maguire 1988: 125).

Such well-intentioned gatherings, however, still resulted in negative outcomes. Shortly after the sailors arrived at the dance described above, a heated altercation stemming from a previous incident broke out between the foreigners and some Iñupiat. The crew managed to return to the ship without serious consequences.

Despite the hostilities, the British and the Iñupiat engaged in numerous musical events and exchanges between 1852 and 1854. Theatrical performances, masquerades and the celebrations of Guy Fawkes Day, Christmas and New Year's Day showed the importance of music and dance not only as a recreational activity but also as a means for social bonding and building camaraderie, which was especially important during the long dark Arctic winter. Iñupiaq musicultural counterparts in the form of dance festivals, masked dances, and trade fair performances also attested to the importance of music and dance in promoting positive social dynamics and achieving personal healings.

These social expressions helped to not only form interpersonal relationships but also establish potential trading partnerships. One particular example involved the 1853 visit of a high-status Point Hope man named Samaruna and his two wives, whom Maguire described as "nice looking young women" (Maguire 1988: 169). With the purpose of seeing the ship, the natives traveled to Barrow in mid-February and stayed about a week. They spent a good portion of their time aboard the *Plover* engaging in conversation, trade, song and dance. On one occasion, a particular discussion between Samaruna and Simpson about Bering Strait barter relations revealed that the former had only one bartering friend in the area (Maguire 1988: 171). According to Lowenstein,[42] the presence of the two young, attractive wives and the shortage of trading partners suggests that, at least, partly through spousal exchange Samaruna came to Barrow to formalize a trading partnership with someone of equal social standing (Lowenstein 2008: 14). If Maguire or his officers were possible candidates, the Point Hope native employed

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[42] Lowenstein speculates that one of Samaruna's wives could have borne a son with one of the *Plover* officers. Named Anaqulutuq, he would decades later become a leader and shaman of Point Hope. Though tenuous, Lowenstein presents plausible evidence citing Anaqulutuq's non-native features and the fact that no known ships had stopped at the village during his time of his birth, circa 1850s and 1860s (Lowenstein 2008: 11-14).

music as a way to honor or at least flatter them. In their first meeting, Samaruna composed a song commemorating the captain and the *Plover*:

> It would appear that this man, was a poet in his way, as he favoured us with a long extempore song, which included the name of the Ship & also my own – After which he stroked his stomach down several times, expression of great friendship, then he got up & came to me, fixed his forehead against mine, and used it as a fulcrum, to rub his nose several times across mine, a ceremony not very agreeable, in his heated state, from singing... (Maguire 1988: 169)

From an Iñupiaq perspective, Samaruna's act of creating a song for the crew was a meaningful gesture, not unlike the giving of a valuable gift. Neither Maguire nor the others sailors may have sensed its significance. Nevertheless, three days later, following a conversation about his trading activities, Samaruna again entertained the British with song – "He was lively and musical today, & sung of the good name he should give the ship on his way down to Point Hope, which will be of benefit to our boats in the Summer trip to Cape Lisburne" (Maguire 1988: 171).

As the above quote shows, Maguire had his own motive for gaining Samaruna's good will. Needing a contact and a representative of northwestern Alaska to network and provide useful information about the area and its people was important to the expedition's mission. Maguire was eager to secure a meeting with the Point Hope visitor, writing "as I was anxious to cultivate a good understanding with him, in consequence of our boats going to the Southward Amongst his people in the summer, I invited him down to the cabin, & made him some presents, with which he appeared much pleased" (Maguire 1988: 169). Apparently, Maguire in this particular instance did not reciprocate with music, but instead with material objects. However, soon afterwards on the afternoon of February 12, the captain gave a dance aboard his ship, inviting scores of native people, including Samaruna and presumably his wives. Evidently, part of the reason he organized the event was to improve relations with the community by granting permission for a certain local troublemaker to attend. As the following quote demonstrates, though, the dance also recognized Samaruna:

> A small present of tobacco each commenced the entertainment, when they were invited to dance, the Point Hope man opened the ball, and proved himself quite proficient in the art – eclipsing the Noo-wook [Barrow] men, who I presume saw their inferiority & did not offer to succeed him. The women however were all alive, and Kept us Amused for some time with their several dances – when another small donation of tobacco closed the party and all returned home. (Maguire 1988: 172)

In light of these references, the correlation between social bonding on one hand and music making, trade, and gift giving on the other is strong. Although proving a causal connection is impossible, the prominence of music and dance in social settings and their stated use as a means of promoting harmonious relationships is evident.

On another level, as discussed earlier with Hooper's crew and the Chukchi people, the music and dances shared among Maguire's men and the Barrow Iñupiat, particularly the masquerades and masked dances, reveal a mimetic component that established, consciously or unconsciously, cultural identities and boundaries with regard to each other and to neighboring groups. For instance, the crew's commemoration of Guy Fawkes' Day marked a traditional demarcation between Protestants and Catholics while the sincere observance of Christmas identified one as a Christian as opposed to a pagan. In the former example, the marking of group differentiation between Protestants and Catholics was historically an intentional act. With regard to the latter, overt expressions of Christian fidelity among the British naturally set up distinctions between the foreigners and the non-believing Iñupiat. Through music and dance, the locals and foreigners negotiated such cultural differences and tested each other's cultural markers. Musicultural interaction that succeeded in erasing boundaries at least temporarily served an important integrative function. Among the Iñupiat, the Messenger Feast, normally celebrated around the end of December and beginning of January, played a crucial role in establishing harmony between various communities and providing "lasting contacts and a sense of cultural uniformity between the peoples of the Alaskan Arctic slope" (Spencer 1959: 210-228).[43]

The spiritual function of music was also of considerable significance for both groups, although, they differed from one another. Whereas the British sang religious hymns and Christmas songs in observance of a personal and all-powerful Creator, the Iñupiat honored and communicated with animal, natural and ancestral spirits through song, dance, and ceremony to establish harmony with each other and their environment. Whereas the *Plover* crew readily accepted the Iñupiat at both religious and secular holidays such as Christmas, New Year's, Guy Fawkes' Day, Saint Patrick's Day, and the Queen's birthday, they excluded them from the more formal religious services. Furthermore, the Iñupiat observed early on Western religious taboos against music and dance. On September 19, 1852, only a few weeks after the arrival of the *Plover*, the locals were already accustomed to the foreigners' music and wanted more. Maguire

[43] One of the most important of all social events still to this day is the Messenger Feast, a practice in which a host group and a visiting group exchange songs and dances and participate in feasts and games.

wrote that "they were desirous of having music, & dancing but being Sunday, we could only indulge them with a tune from the Musical box" (Maguire 1988: 86). Whether the British tried at all to convert the local population to Christianity is speculative. Since they refrained from inviting the Iñupiat to their regular services, it is unlikely. Systematic attempts at religious conversion would not occur until the arrival of missionaries in the 1890s.

Music and dance also provided an avenue for internal healings, both of a physical and mental nature. Both groups shared differences in their approach to healing, however. Whereas the British largely applied medical knowledge to treat physically internal symptoms, the Iñupiat turned to shamans to communicate with the spirits via music and dance. On the other hand, the Iñupiat responded to external ailments much the same way as the British. In conversations with the locals Simpson learned that "external sores and boils are thought natural occurrences requiring external application & the use of the knife but internal complaints are caused by evil spirits which are charmed out of the patient by the 'ardent wish' of the 'Doctor' [shaman] accompanied by the beating of a tambourine [frame drum]" (Maguire 1988: 338). At the point where medicine was unable to successfully treat a disease, however, both groups turned to healing through prayer.

Formal similarities between the British theatrical performances, masquerades, and holiday dances on the one hand, and the Iñupiaq masked dance festivals and seasonal feasts on the other, fostered cross-cultural understanding. Mutual interest in each others' music abounded on both sides. English dancing intrigued the Iñupiat enough to trigger mimesis such as the imitation of the fisherman's dance (Maguire 1988: 167-168). Maguire and Simpson expressed a great interest in observing native dances and even attempted to notate Iñupiaq song words (Maguire 1988: 289, 390). The British crew also introduced a large number of musical instruments such as fiddles, cornets, flutes, drums, triangles, and music boxes. The response of the Barrow Iñupiat to these foreign objects was often one of curiosity and occasional amazement (Maguire 1988: 86, 112-113, 289). Similar to reactions Westerners later sought from indigenous peoples listening to a phonograph for the first time, on September 30, 1853, Simpson expressed the same kind of fascination with Erk-sing-ra's response to a sailor's flute-playing.[44] On September 30, 1853, he wrote:

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[44] Along similar lines, according to Maguire, the demonstration of a music box yielded "a piece of mechanism beyond their comprehension ..." (Maguire 1988: 86). A more in-depth look at the Western fascination with native impressions of newly introduced technology will appear in a later section, including a treatment of Taussig's ideas based on mimesis and alterity (Taussig 1993).

> Ark-sin-ra [Erk-sing-ra] was on board & very patiently gave Doctor Simpson the words of a songs, but as yet he cannot make any sense out of them' 'Hearing Mr. Gordon play the flute he was quite at a loss to know how the music was produced, & after looking on for sometime he went and examined his fingers and making nothing of them to his satisfaction he proceeded to inspect his mouth to see if there was any peculiar mechanism about it, never dreaming of the combination of the make of the instrument and skill of the players'. (Maguire 1988: 289)

Interestingly enough, Erk-sing-ra seemed to reciprocate a meaningful interest in the sounds emanating from the instrument not unlike Simpson's efforts to understand the vocal meanings contained in the Iñupiaq song. Erk-sing-ra continued to impart a light-hearted countenance and a cross-cultural connection by humorously shaking hands with Simpson before he departed (Maguire 1988: 289).

As in previous encounters, the nexus between music and trade was prominent. Before their departure from Point Barrow in the summer of 1854, the British crew was anxious to procure local products possibly including Iñupiaq drums (Maguire 1988: 432).[45] Other references to the close association between trade and dancing in Iñupiaq culture abound in Maguire's writings. Summer trade fairs along the Arctic coasts attracted the inhabitants of Point Barrow, the inland Nunamiut, and the Mackenzie Inuit. Dancing exchanges between the various native groups were extremely vital to achieving a peaceful exchange of goods and information (Maguire 1988: 275, 505). Hostilities among the varying indigenous groups also occurred but along with trade, intermarriage and co-marriage, musical exchanges in the form of drum dance and song provided the necessary steps to creating and cementing mutually beneficial relationships (Fogel-Chance 2002: 795-797, 809).

As discussed earlier, music and dance may also have cultivated sexual liaisons between expedition crewmembers and northern indigenous women. Maguire revealed in his December 6, 1852 journal entry that several of his men had been recently afflicted with gonorrhea from intercourse with Iñupiaq women (Maguire 1988: 130-131).[46] The British organized at least three

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[45] On another expedition in the region, Captain Richard Collinson of the *H.M.S. Enterprise* was interested in obtaining such musical instruments. In early October 1853 near Barter Island east of Point Barrow, he and his men camped near a group of uninhabited native structures. Entering what was probably a dance house, Collinson left some presents in exchange for two drum frames that he removed from the premises (Barr 2007: 194).

[46] Maguire believed that a sailor who had recently enlisted from another ship brought the disease on board and that no case of gonorrhea existed among the Iñupiaq people prior to the arrival of the *Plover*. Other documented evidence regarding the sexual relations and possible offspring of Iñupiaq women with

dances aboard the *Plover*: October 25, October 28, and November 5, prior to the first outbreak reports (Maguire 1988: 112, 113, 120). The one on November 5 was part of the Guy Fawkes' Day celebration, which generated much merriment. According to Maguire, the crew partook in an extra amount of alcohol at the event. Following a lively fireworks display, he wrote that the Iñupiat "were afterwards gratified with a dance on board which seemed to restore them to their usual confidence, our own people were also indulged with an extra allowance of spirits, which closed the days Amusements" (Maguire 1988: 120). Maguire's statement that they were "restored to their usual confidence" as a result of the dance suggests the role of dance in resetting of social relations. By "usual confidence" he no doubt meant that Iñupiaq visitors on board the ship felt unthreatened and able to express their interests and desires. Such conditions created more opportunities for intimacy to occur between the sailors and the local women.

Because disease symptoms take up to a month to appear among males (*Google Health* n.d.), the cross-cultural dances fit within the timeframe of any possible sexual encounters. Of course, such encounters may well have occurred days or weeks after the festivities. Maguire's subsequent admonitions apparently were not effective enough to end future intimacies since the Simpson listed thirteen cases of the disease by the end of the first winter, accounting for almost one-third of the total crew (Maguire 1988: 130n). Further opportunities for merrymaking continued over the winter. At least six gatherings in the form of dances, masquerades, feasts, and theatrical performances were held from mid-December, 1852 through late February, 1853. (Maguire 1988: 138-139, 141-142, 149, 167-168, 172, 180-181). These cross-cultural events continued at almost the same pace until the departure of the *Plover* in July of 1854. The performance of music and dance was an essential component of such gatherings. It was also one of the most effective tools in creating intimacy and overcoming, if not cultural, at least individual boundaries.

Of course, ethnocentrism as well as cultural and gender bias did not necessarily disappear. Reflecting mid-19th century male British attitudes toward women's sexuality and autonomy, Maguire sprinkled several derogatory qualities about the Barrow Iñupiaq women in his journal. While using words such as "loose", "promiscuous", and "unchaste" to describe their behavior, the captain was silent about his own men's actions, except when it involved the spread of disease (Maguire 1988: 130-131, 175, 395). The female Iñupiaq perspective may have been

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Maguire's men as well as with other expedition crews is contained in the writings of Miertsching (Neatby 1967: 36), Rae (Rae 1953: 75), Murdoch (Murdoch 1892: 53), and Stefansson (Stefansson 1919: 204). See Fogel-Chance 2002: 807-809, 816n.

very different. In her interpretation of the cultural dynamics contained in Maguire's writings, Fogel-Chance concluded that Iñupiaq women sought sexual relations with British men as a way to "extend social connections and benefits" (Fogel-Chance 2002: 812). Elaborating on this notion, she asserted that:

> Although some sexual activity between ship and shore may have been recreational, the concept of alliance and reciprocity embedded in such an arrangement as co-marriage must have influenced the way in which sexual liaisons between Iñupiaq women and British men developed. Hence, in these relationships, as in most others, it is likely there would have been a social and economic dimension involving rights and obligations in ongoing exchanges of various goods and services. Mutual attraction certainly must have had a place in individual choices, while on a social and political level, sexual liaisons served to weaken the boundaries between the two groups. (Fogel-Chance 2002: 809)

From a socio-economic standpoint, music and dance may have laid the groundwork for fostering cross-cultural trade and securing material benefits on an immediate basis; just as importantly, by way of sexual bonding, music and dance had the potential to improve the chances of establishing, sustaining and expanding future connections.

Finally, in terms of mere friendship alone, several of the locals, especially those in positions of power such as the shaman Erk-sing-era, developed keener insights into aspects of Western culture that may have equipped them to better deal with later arrivals of Westerners (Maguire 1988). The Iñupiaq introduction to Western music and instruments, in particular, created smoother cultural interaction between the two groups. Exposure to foreign cultures surely shaped the minds of the Iñupiaq youth. For instance, Erk-sing-era's young boy acquired English songs from the British sailors (Maguire 1988: 321). Learning such tunes at an early age may have prepared him for accepting and absorbing totally new and different musical systems. This knowledge would also have been useful for handling future visitors, namely the whalers.

CHAPTER 3:
MUSICAL INTERACTION IN THE WESTERN ARCTIC: INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND THE WHALERS AND TRADERS

The Whalers: Early Period of Seasonal Whaling

The search for the lost Franklin expedition in the Western Arctic significantly increased contact between outsiders and the indigenous peoples of northern Alaska and central Canada. The simultaneous introduction of the commercial whaling industry into the region, however, generated even greater cultural upheaval among its local inhabitants. Nine British exploratory ships between 1848 and 1854 plied the waters of the Western Arctic and some wintered in the region (Maguire 1988: 8). Local/outsider trade intensified during this period but the impact of these British ships was relatively small. It was primarily the activities of American whalers that caused the most far-reaching effects not only on the indigenous cultures but also on sea-mammal populations.[1] Maintaining their presence for over sixty years, whalers embarked on 2700 voyages in the Western Arctic (Bockstoce 1995: 15).

In 1854, at the same time that the British ship *Plover* departed northern Alaska, five commercial whaling ships entered the Beaufort Sea marking the beginning of pelagic whaling in that area. Their catch was relatively small, but the industry continued for several years to probe the northern waters in pursuit of the bowhead. Poor and rich harvests alternated every few years. While working within this pattern of economic uncertainty, the whalers stubbornly maintained a presence in Alaska's Arctic. Bockstoce surmises that scores of whale ships on average passed through the Bering Strait each season (Bockstoce 1995: 102, 348-349). By at least the 1860s, American whaleships began to skirt the northwestern coast of Alaska (Maguire 1988: 169 fn4). For a few months in the summers they interacted with the native populations usually by way of trade. Such meetings took place either on the ships or on land (Murdoch 1892: 53).

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[1] American trading ships entered the Bering Strait region as least as early as 1819 and according to Russian reports were the first to provide firearms to the northern inhabitants of Seward Peninsula. (See Bockstoce 1977a: 6-7 and Ray 1992: 67-69). Bockstoce entertains the possibility that four other American ships besides the *General San Martin*, *Sylph* and *Pedlar* may have conducted trade in the Bering Strait region between 1815 and 1820 (Bockstoce 1977a: 7 and Bockstoce 2009: 3-4). Apparently, no references of music-related trade items appear in the original trading documents (John Bockstoce, in discussion with the author, September 15, 2010).

Whaling crews generally consisted of about thirty-five men, fifteen of whom served as captain, mates, boatsteerers, and other specific positions; the remainder worked as ordinary seamen and lived in the forecastle (Bockstoce 1995: 39, 270). Whale ships housed polyglot communities representing cultures from all around the world including European Americans, African Americans, Europeans, Africans, Pacific Islanders, Cape Verde Islanders, Asians, Native Americans and other northern indigenous peoples, and others. For instance, in the register of the *George and Mary*, a whaler operating in the Western Arctic between 1850-1852, names such as Antone Filones, Joseph Portuyer, Larry McCuby, Edward Hilby, Bernard McDonald, Antone Pantorie, James Wisner, Eldridge R. Thompson, and John Decruse attest to the diverse makeup of the crew (*George and Mary*: 123).[2] In addition to American ships, other nations such as Britain, France, Australia, Germany, and Norway operated multi-national whaling voyages early on in the Western Arctic. By 1855, the industry became almost entirely an American one (VanStone 1958), though the crews remained largely multicultural.

Musical expression aboard the whale ships also reflected a multicultural milieu. For example, on the ship *Eliza Adams* of New Bedford bound for the Western Arctic, the journal keeper John Jones wrote on January 7, 1852 the following entry:

> ... went forward to night [sic] to hear some music, found the fidler [sic] playing the fourth of July Evans keeping time with the bones, the blacksmith playing Juber on the banjo, Goss was playing Bonapart crossing the alps with the fife, and Kimble was whistling Yankee dodle do – the Portuguese was singing a song of their own, and some of the rest was singing old Dan Tucker is come to town, came aft as far as the stearage [sic] found the fiddle there and accordian in full blast, one singing when I read my little dear, another O Miss Lucy Neal – then went into the cabin and found the old man rattlin away at The Symnoscope the rest trying very hard to go to sleep, then laid down on a chest thought of the girl I left behind me [fel] asleep and dreamt of thunder. (*Eliza Adams*: January 7, 1852)

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[2] Throughout the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries, cosmopolitan whaling crews continued to work in the Western Arctic. In 1869-1871, the Australian barque *Japan* carried British, American, Norwegian, Swedish, French Canadian, Cape Verde Islander, Kanaka (Pacific Islander), Maori, and Australian aborigine whalers on board (Wilkinson 1906: 5). The reporter Herbert Aldrich who sailed with the Arctic whaling fleet in 1887 commented on the diversity of the crew especially in the forecastle: "Was there ever a better place to study character than in the forecastle? Portuguese, Scandinavians, Germans, Spaniards, Englishmen, Irishmen, Americans; almost every nationality can be found there (Aldrich 1889: 17-18). Among the 25 men or more men sailing on the bark *Alexander* in 1890, were at least ten European Americans, four Cape Verde Islanders, three Kanakas (Pacific Islanders), two Swedes, one creole from Barbados, a German, a Norwegian, and an Irishman (Burns 1913: 24-32, 70-74).

Whaling ships served literally as traveling jukeboxes, featuring the latest and not-so-latest global sounds of their day. Songs and instrumentals from North America, Europe, Africa, South America, Australia, Asia, and elsewhere passed from ship to ship, or ship to shore, and vice versa. Judging by the various ethnicities and nationalities of the whaling crews, motley forms of music were probably quite commonplace. In a later example of profusely cosmopolitan musical interaction, when the Australian whaler *Japan* stopped at Russell, New Zealand in 1870 to fit itself out for a cruise to the Western Arctic, it engaged a number of American whalers there for a lively evening of musical exchange:

> That afternoon a plan was projected, to entertain our friends – the American whalemen – at a social gathering; invitations were issued, and preparations immediately put into execution. After dark, groups of seamen from many of the American whalers answered the invitation , and assembled on board the "Japan" to spend a pleasant evening, when songs and recitations were given, by those whose musical talents were fairly good. The arrangements – including refreshments – for the concert were managed and carried out in such a way, as to reflect great credit upon the organizers. What a grand and joyous time we had together, to be sure; assisted by quite a band of musical instruments, consisting of a violin, a concertina, a banjo, a triangle, and last, but not least, a set of bones, which were freely manipulated by a real Sambo from the United States, who kept all hands in a roar of laughter, as he went through a series of strange antics, peculiar to his race. His nasel [sic] intonation while delivering some short comical speeches – in imitation of the stump orator – added a charm to the sketches he drew, which were excellent in their way. In fact, his part of the performance was about the best we heard that evening. The wonderful variety he showed whilst handling the bones, was truly marvelous, keeping time to the other instruments, without a fault. During the evening many a well-known English nautical song was rendered in a creditable manner, by several individuals, who were the happy possessors of a first-rate voice. Their singing was much appreciated. Patriotic songs both British and American, were also sung with feeling, which brought forth loud bursts of applause from the many delighted seaman. But what tickled the fancy of some of the younger seamen, were the thrilling whaling songs, that were composed by certain whalemen, setting forth the humourous side of a whaleman's life at sea. These comic and ludicrous ditties, sent many of the sailors into convulsions of laughter, causing pain instead of pleasure. Time passed on, and at a late hour this social gathering broke up, each one being thoroughly satisfied with their evening's enjoyment. (Wilkinson 1906: 70-71)

The diverse musical styles effectively expressed the multicultural makeup of both the Australian (see fn 31) and American crews. While whaling life conditioned an acute awareness of the world's varying ethnic groups, positive episodes of musical interaction, as described above, created a potential for different peoples to go past their cultural and linguistic boundaries and form harmonious relationships with one another.

Unfortunately, most whaling ship logs contain little if any description about musical life on a whaler. However, even during the busy northern whaling season from June to September, one can reasonably assume that musical performance played an essential role not only in accompanying mundane tasks, but also in providing entertainment, inspiration, and camaraderie. Regarding the former, for instance, sailors often broke out in song when they processed a caught whale. Near Icy Cape, Alaska during the latter season of 1870, the crew of the *Japan* "manned the windlass, and merrily singing, they kept it in motion, until the blubber of both whales was safely hoisted on board, and stowed in the blubber-room" (Wilkinson 1906: 110). While operating in the waters of the Bering Strait in 1890, the crew of the whaler *Alexander* sang shanties as they cut into a whale. On this occasion, the second mate, a Cape Verde Islander named Gabriel, led his crew at the windlass in well-known work songs such as "Whiskey for the Johnnies" ("Whisky Johnny"), "Blow the Man Down", "Rolling Rio" ("Rio Grande"), and "Blow, Boys, Blow" (Burns 1913: 206).

In order to while away the grueling and monotonous work hours, not only the singing of chanteys but also extemporization on the popular songs of the day occurred aboard the whalers. William M. Barnes, who captained the *Sea Breeze* in the Western Arctic during the 1870s and 1880s (Brown 1887: 21, 74, 318), wrote the following details about singing aboard whalers:

> Experience has shown that the men work more cheerfully at the windlass when their quite tiresome and monotonous labor is enlivened with a good song, and masters of whalers congratulate themselves if they find among their crew one who can lead off at the windlass with a rousing song. The men forget their fatigue; they quit grumbling, and with merry laughter join in a rattling chorus, while creaking falls and clanking pawls, and the frequent shout of 'Board Oh!' tell them that the work is fast being accomplished. It will be a happy change when the tireless, uncomplaining power of steam is used in the 'cutting in'. The work will be done more quickly, and the men will be available for other uses. I wish I could give you a few of the songs the 'shanty men' sing, but as a great part of the singing is extempore, and only suited to the occasion, one does not remember it unless himself a singer. Many popular tunes are brought into requisition, being often changed by the singers. The words seldom amount to much, unless the singer chances to be witty, when he may make happy allusions to passing events. The tunes are exhilarating and selected on this account. Among the songs, I may mention here, 'John Brown's Body', 'Dixie', 'Marching Through Georgia', 'Old Dan Tucker', with many variations, to which could be added many others. I think an Arctic whaleman would prefer a lively chorus at his windlass to the operas of the best masters (Brown 1887: 283).

The importance of music in accompanying work-related activity is quite evident in the above description. Interestingly enough, Barnes' comment about replacing human muscle with steam

actually contributed to the eventual demise of shanty singing on board ships. The prevalence of steam power on commercial vessels by the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries removed the need of certain types of labor and their musical accompaniment. Furthermore, the increased loudness from steam engines and the shoveling of coal as well as the use of recorded music made live singing less valued. Finally, the noted improvisational approach to singing aboard whalers and the use of pieces, in this case, minstrel and Civil War selections from the American songbook, reveal a flexible, spontaneous approach to music-making as well as an awareness and transmission of musical forms in a globalized setting.

During the active working months, whaling crews also made music simply for entertainment. The journal of sixteen-year old Nathaniel Saxton Morgan on board the *Hannibal* of New London includes one revealing account of whaling life in the Western Arctic. Heading into the polar waters in June of 1850, he remarked very positively about his first encounter with the region's indigenous people: "at 2:30 pm, three large canoes came off loaded with Natives in their fur and skin dresses for trade. They were the most healthy and robust looking race of people that I ever saw – very stout built and of a light copper color" (*Hannibal*: June 16, 1850). Almost 6 weeks later, he recorded on July 29 the following musical description:

> Light airs. Saw whale in the morning and the 2 mate lowered. No chance. Cooled down tryworks. Several canoes came off during the day. Afternoon spoke ship Superior 2600 whale, and ship Cincinnati, and had a fine "gam" with both. Borrowed the Capt's fiddle and Goldsmith played and all hands had a dance on deck. (*Hannibal*: July 29, 1850)

First, the above quote underscores the fact that musical performance occurred on board the ships during the whaling season. Secondly, natives likely observed such events on a regular basis, not only on board the vessels, but also on land whenever the whalers came to shore.

Naturally, trade between whalers and Western Arctic natives provided the primary incentive for contact. Each season, as early as June, whaling ships stopped at villages along southeastern Chukchi Peninsula and headed northeastward towards the Alaska's Seward Peninsula and beyond. Along the way, whalers quite often hired out native hunters and seamstresses, together with their families, to provide game and fur clothing for the crew (Bockstoce 1995: 270-271). Cross-cultural trade generally consisted of the exchange of tobacco, guns, and alcohol for furs, whalebone, and ivory.

Eventually musical instruments would also serve as popular trade items, as discussed in the next section. Exposure to Western music during the whaling season was probably quite

common. Furthermore, since native children were frequently traveling alongside the whalers with or without their families, such music was absorbed at an early age. For example, while visiting the coast of Siberia in 1881, the American medical doctor aboard the U.S. Revenue-steamer *Corwin* Irving Rosse wrote about hearing "an Eskimo boy sing correctly a song he had learned while on board a whaling vessel" (Rosse 1883: 37).[3]

Native children also participated in dance exchanges with sailors aboard vessels. Although not a whaler, the following photograph depicts a dancing scene on the U.S. Revenue Cutter *Thetis* sometime during the early years of the 20th century (Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1: "Native boys of King Island, Dancing, Behring Sea," Group of sailors, native children and women on board the *Thetis* [circa 1899-1916]. Photographer's number 86.ASL-P27-010, Alaska State Library Historical Collections

According to the title, several King Island boys are dancing in the foreground of the photograph. Despite the obvious movements of the children and the sailor, it is difficult to say with any certainty whether the people are engaging in indigenous or southern forms of dance.

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[3] For another reference to whaling-influenced transnational music: in 1865, George Kennan assigned to the Siberian sector of the Western Telegraph Union Expedition heard one of his boatmen, a Kamchadal (native from Kamchatka) sing Stephen Foster's "Oh Susanna", a song that he had learned from American whalers at Petropavlovsk two years earlier (Kennan 1870: 114-115).

Unfortunately, no instruments appear in the image. The older youth on the left, however, appears to be keeping the beat by slapping his thigh.

Overwintering Whaling Voyages

Overwintering whaling voyages in the Western Arctic began in relatively small numbers and prior to 1859 were unintentional.[4] In 1852, the whaler *Citizen* out of New Bedford shipwrecked off the northeastern coast of the Chukchi Peninsula over 200 miles north from East Cape. Surviving off the native people during the winter, the sailors passed part of the time singing to their hosts. The following quote illustrates the native people's impression:

> Some of us would sing to the natives, which tended not only to divert and encourage our own minds, but to please them. We found, however, they were wonderfully pleased with our singing, and so much interested were they in it, that nothing would satisfy them unless some one of us was singing to them. Thus they laid an oppressive task upon us, which we were not able to perform. What we commenced, therefore, as a sort of pastime, in order to while away tedious hours, days, and months, finally became, through the constant importunity of the natives, a grievous burden to us. (Holmes 1857: 114)

The above reference illustrates how music was an important means not only to pass the time, but even more to communicate with a people who did not share a common language. Native interest in the whalers' singing, though, may not have been limited to a simple appreciation of the sounds. It may have also signaled an attempt by the local people to learn the foreigners' language, a skill that would have improved their chances of procuring trade goods and establishing future trade connections. As the end of the passage demonstrates, singing eventually became too taxing on the whalers since it encouraged socializing during times when they may have sought privacy. In this case, music had become too successful a tool of communication.

During the 1860s and 1870s, a handful of whaling crews spent the winter in the Western Arctic primarily along the southeastern Siberian coastline (Bockstoce 1977b: 112-113). Some

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[4] In 1850-1851, the brig *Swallow* of Hong Kong wintered at Saint Lawrence Bay in southeastern Siberia, marking the first reported overwintering of a trading vessel in the Western Arctic. Beginning in the summer of 1851, at least half a dozen trading ships from ports such as Australia, San Francisco, Honolulu, and Hong Kong operated in the region each season (Bockstoce 1995: 182, 184). Very little is known about their trading activities and there is no evidence that musical-related trade items were exchanged. In 1859, the two whalers *Cleone* and *Wailua* entered Provideniya Bay (Plover Bay) on the Chukotka Peninsula. The results were disastrous – 17 crewmembers died of scurvy and the amount of procured whale oil was miniscule. Despite the losses, whalers continued to winter over (Bockstoce 1995: 186-187).

intentionally wintered over at suitable sites like Saint Lawrence Bay and Plover Bay, while others ended up shipwrecked. Just as it was completing its 1870 season, the *Japan*, for instance, ran aground near East Cape. With the assistance of the native inhabitants, most of the sailors survived the long winter. The youngest of the crew, David Wilkinson, published a detailed account of the experience in his book *Whaling in Many Seas and Cast Adrift in Siberia* (1906). Wilkinson wrote much about musical interaction during his nine months living among the native people.[5] Despite the blatantly ethnocentric nature of his writings, he presented some interesting musical observations.

Wilkinson frequently commented on native singing and drumming in the context of purification ceremonies, initiation rites, shaman rituals, and feasts (Wilkinson 1906: 142-143, 158-160, 161-162, 164-165, 172, 194, 207-208, 216, 243, 255-256, 282, 296). Many of his observations refer to the presence of a shaman or conjuror, the use of a solitary drum, and a whalebone beater. He characterized the style of singing and drumming as a slow buildup in tempo and dynamics, culminating in a highly charged emotional state consisting of unusual facial and body contortions. Wilkinson also noted that performances were lengthy and often involved the consumption of alcohol. Both individual and group singing occurred but drumming was exclusively soloistic. In time, Wilkinson grew very critical of the "wily conjuror" and "horrid" drum due to his distrust of the shaman's motives and the loud drumming and singing style, which often interfered with the sailor's desire for rest. Writing over three decades later about his Arctic experience, Wilkinson continued to correlate native ceremonies with superstition and sorcery. In the conclusion of his book, he argued that only the teachings of Christianity would save the indigenous people of the Chukchi Peninsula from what he perceived as a state of spiritual darkness.

Wilkinson wrote about native exposure to Western music, which he framed as a promising sign of appreciation for a civilized culture. On one particular occasion, he commented

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[5] Unfortunately, Wilkinson used the terms *Esquimaux* (singular *Esquimau*) and *Tchuktches* (singular *Tchuktche*) interchangeably in his writings. It is, therefore, difficult to determine with any degree of certainty which ethnic group housed the shipwrecked crew. Wilkinson seemed to be unaware of any differences between the two peoples but he did draw a comparison between the inhabitants on the Asian side of the Bering Strait and Eskimos living on the American side (Wilkinson 1906: 155-158, 176-186). *Esquimaux* is by far the most common appellation featured in the account; occasional references to *Siberian Esquimau* are also included. The proximity of the shipwreck and the description of the local people lead me to conclude that the whalers lived among the Siberian Yupik people of Uelen. Wilkinson made note of close contact between these people and the more than likely maritime Chukchi of Plover Bay and Saint Lawrence Bay vicinity (Wilkinson 1906: 144, 148, 216).

on how the locals "assembled together expressly to listen to the seamen singing their sweet songs and melodies" (Wilkinson 1906: 211):

> If we may judge them by the interest which they appear to take in our singing, then we must come to the conclusion that they are very fond of vocal music. It happened that at one of their social gatherings, eight or nine of the seamen together just to have a friendly chat, and amongst our number were a few of those rare individuals, who at all times, sing with acceptability. The Esquimaux round about East Cape, had never before heard so many voices singing together in harmony, the songs of some distant country. The singers sang many a well known English melody, that had been committed to memory during their happy boyhood days. Little did the sailors think that the songs and melodies they had learned when boys would be useful in after years, not as a pastime merely, but as the sole means – during the dark days of our Arctic life – of entertaining a heathen people, who were thoroughly delighted, yea, almost beside themselves with what they heard. Besides satisfying the native mind, the frequent performances whenever entered upon, always secured for each of the singers a rare luxury, in the shape of a small piece of plugged tobacco, which was considered a blessing by the castaways... Nothing seemed to please the Esquimaux better than when the sailors joined together and sang the choruses as with one voice. The natives were thoroughly enraptured with what they heard, and frequently applauded our singing in rather an extravagant manner. One native was so charmed, that during the evening, he twice presented each singer with a good sized piece of plug tobacco. When the concert ended we filled our pipes – [our?] own made ones with the comforting weed and indulged in a grand smoke. (Wilkinson 1906: 210-212)

The exchange of tobacco for song raises the question of whether the East Cape natives viewed the performance of foreign music as a gift for which a counter gift was appropriate or as a desirable trade commodity. The local population had already experienced for at least a few decades direct contact with Russian, American, and British people, and others. Despite Wilkinson's emphasis on the "uncivilized" ways of his hosts, he noted that they had guns, ammunition, gunpowder, needles, tobacco, knives, axes, needles, and alcohol. He also observed that the natives not only traded with whaleships and small trading vessels during the summer season, they also bartered in the wintertime with American traders situated along the Asian coast of Bering Strait (Wilkinson 1906: 187). Therefore, exposure to the outside was almost year round. It is important to note, however, that in spite of the East Cape population's steady access to foreign goods and familiarity with Western music, Wilkinson did not mention the presence of any foreign musical instruments among them.

Native fascination with foreign singing as observed by the shipwrecked crews of the *Citizen* and *Japan*, is a common theme in the ethnographic literature of the Western Arctic. Although appreciation of the music for its own sake appeared to be genuine, practical reasons

may also account for its strong appeal. As demonstrated by the *Plover* crew's experiences in Point Barrow, musical interaction provided an opportunity for locals and outsiders lacking a common language, to communicate with one another and establish cultural bonds that enhanced their trading connections and social standing. Vocal music also helped one gain familiarity with another's language, which in turn opened up new avenues. Wilkinson's host, a man named Tarrugee, eagerly demonstrated a desire to learn English, which he accomplished with great success (Wilkinson 1906: 203-205). The sailor surmised that his pupil's increasing comprehension of the English language "would be of great service to him, that is, if he intended to associate with the American whalemen, who visit the Arctic seas annually" (Wilkinson 1906: 205).[6] Moreover, a command of the English language improved Tarrugee's standing in the community as a sought-after interpreter (Wilkinson 1906: 217-218). New opportunities such as these, however, gradually altered indigenous ways of life. In the larger scheme of things, as contact between natives and whalers intensified, native desire and dependency on trading goods and the need for further employment outside of traditional subsistence activities generated a feedback loop that resulted in greater cultural instability and uncertainty.

Musical interaction between the whalers and the inhabitants of East Cape also effectively expressed notions of mimesis and alterity. In an interesting example of musicultural reciprocity, the villagers sought the assistance of the shipwrecked crew to cure a sick girl after their shaman had tried and failed. After much pressing from the community, one of the sailors finally agreed to perform a curing ceremony, which he had observed many times before. Wilkinson remarked:

> During the proceedings most of the natives who were eagerly watching the movements and attitudes, which the sailor felt inclined to indulge in attested their approval in various ways. Sometimes they would smile and give vent to their feelings in a subdued manner, at other times, they would join together in a lively chant, only for a few minutes, and then

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[6] Later in his account, Wilkinson met a native man about 40 years old named Enock, who spoke fluent English and excelled as a sailor. Probably a Siberian Yupik from Chaplino (Ungazik), Enock had acquired a strong command of the language and a great amount of knowledge about ships and the world in general by working as a harpooner on board various whalers and by traveling to other countries, twice visiting San Francisco. As compensation for his whaling services, he accumulated many items including "firearms, gunpowder, bullets, small shot, knives, tomahawks, lines, fishing hooks, needles etc" (Wilkinson 1906: 273). Enock is likely the same individual that William Hooper had met over 20 years earlier, a young man named Enoch, son of the village chief Teo. Hooper described Enoch as a canny and gifted, yet unathletic and lazy lad who did not live up to his potential at the time. He would "sit the livelong day in his compartment of his father's yarang, fingering and fussing over his queer little two-stringed fiddle, or some other equally quaint article" (Hooper 1853: 64-65).

> suddenly cease. One thing was certain, the chief performer – the sailor, soon gained the approbation of his attentive auditors. It is needless to state that the natives placed entire confidence in the seaman's ability to effect a cure and whose performance was undoubtedly looked upon as something wonderful. At one stage of the ceremony, the sailor slightly altered the programme he intended to carry out that evening, this caused the Esquimaux to stare at each other in a somewhat surprising manner; but those who were acquainted with the humorous side of the seaman's character appeared not at all alarmed at the change about to take place. Still, we wondered what on earth was coming next, hoping at the same time, that our shipmate would keep as much as possible in strict harmony with the Esquimaux style of conducting ceremonies – for he had seen many – and do nothing that was likely to be considered antagonistic to their pagan minds or in any way bring disrepute upon himself and his companions. Some time was spent in silence, then the performer broke out into strange melodies, which seemed to charm the people and his uncouth gestures were watched attentively by the simple folk, who appeared awe-stricken at what they saw and heard. Credit must be given to our comrade, who throughout the evening's performance, displayed wonderful imitative power.... Being in possession of a well-trained voice, the sailor gave full scope to his musical powers, his vocal abilities were far above the average of nautical men, therefore it was not surprising to find that the natives were held captive by the soft and agreeable sounds as they poured forth from the lips of the singer. The singing had a special charm about it, which to the uncultivated ears of a barbarous tribe was simply bewitching. It had a grand effect upon their minds, and judging by the expression of their features a certain amount of good had already been done. The simple melodies must have filled them through and through, as one after another smiled, and kept nodding his or her head approvingly. (Wilkinson 1906: 166-167)

The mimetic nature and musical component contained in the above description warrants some attention. By keenly observing many past ceremonies, the "Garrick" of the whaling crew was able to mimic the behavior of the village shaman in a manner accurate enough to win the approval of both the natives and his fellow sailors. For the crew, the whaler's feigned ritual curing outlined a separation between the two cultures based on a worldview that posed science and superstition, civilization and primitiveness, Christianity and paganism as polar contrasts. On the other hand, according to Wilkinson, the effective performance and the eventual restoration of the girl's health apparently convinced the natives that his crew possessed special healing powers beyond that of the shaman (Wilkinson 1906: 168-173). The musical ability of the performer also enhanced the drama of the situation. Even though the whaler also delivered a speech during the ceremony, the native audience understood little of its content. The use of music, on the other hand, seemed to appeal directly to the locals by connecting with them, "judging by the expression on their features," on an emotional level.

The incident described above is also reminiscent of the Chukchi dance performance that William Hooper had witnessed during the winter of 1848-1849. Hooper and his native audience both expressed awe and excitement in the local performer's mimetic abilities but at seemingly different levels of appreciation – the Englishman found the basic external qualities of the dance, imitation and physical endurance, most impressive while the locals, especially the more elderly, valued the richness of its nuanced cultural connections. In the present case, which reverses the cultural tables, both the sailors and natives demonstrated a similar emotional reaction to the performer's abilities but also for different reasons. Again, the foreigners reacted positively to the whaler's outward appearance, his charming musical voice and sense of mimicking, while the villagers drew from the performance a deeper, more serious, cultural affinity to the efficacy of ritual healing.

Brought up in a culture that placed trust in medicine, science, and Christian beliefs rather than in shamanism and the supernatural, Wilkinson dismissed the ceremony's cultural significance as well as its therapeutic possibilities. In his mind, Westerners were vastly superior to the native people. He also thought that his hosts acknowledged this level of supremacy by treating them with such kindness, respect, and reverence. Not unlike the manner in which anthropology reduced the Cuna in Taussig's *Mimesis and Alterity* to a people who worshipped the white man as a god, Wilkinson believed "that the inhabitants around East Cape, especially those of the village, ... looked upon the shipwrecked sailors as belonging to a superior race of human being ..., a supernatural order of beings" (Wilkinson 1906: 164). Wilkinson's inflated sense of European culture is evident in his musical descriptions. He emphasized the harmonic quality of the sailors' singing as a source of particular interest among the native population. With regard to native music, varied descriptions often pertained to "horrid" drumming that relentlessly never ceased.

Other whalers unintentionally overwintered much farther north during the 1860s and 1870s. In the late 1860s, for instance, a group of natives in the Mackenzie Delta reported to a Catholic missionary that "an American whaler had been taken by the ice within sight of Point Barrow, that it had wintered there and [that] it would not be set free [in the] summer because [...] this would be a cold year" (Petitot 1981: 93). Musical exchange between the two groups would have likely occurred over the course of one or two long winters.[7]

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[7] Without episodes of direct contact such as this, the spread of American music and instruments eastward to the Mackenzie Delta via indirect trade, was likely negligible. Writing about his six-week visit with the

In reference to the natives he had encountered, the missionary Petitot also remarked that one of them was a freckled, white-skinned, red-bearded Eskimo from the Saint Michael area. Located on an island in the southeastern end of Norton Sound near the mouth of the Yukon River, Saint Michael was established as a trading post by the Russian-American Company in 1833. As a result, exposure to foreigners and foreign goods produced great changes along the Arctic coast. Genetic mixing between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples and the movements of varying cultural groups across the Western Arctic occurred. These new unions and trading contacts spelled out significant changes in the social and biological makeup of the northern communities. Such intimate encounters between Western explorers, whalers, and traders and indigenous women, some resulting in formal marriage, added greater diversity to the native populations, a phenomenon that would increase even more over the ensuing decades. Eventually by the late 1890s, according to the ethnographer Edmonds, the number of mixed-blood Eskimo people living at Saint Michael exceeded that of the full-blooded Eskimo population (Ray 1992: 245).

To visitors observing the interactions between foreign, native, and creole inhabitants, such communities as Saint Michael appeared worldlier in comparison to places where contact with the outside world was more limited. From a musical standpoint, some regarded "acculturated" indigenous music under the influence of Western aesthetics as more sophisticated than the traditional pre-contact form. In 1881, the *Corwin* passenger Rosse made the following prescient comment: "Where they have come in contact with civilization, their musical taste is more developed. At Saint Michael's I was told that some of their songs are so characteristic that it is much to be regretted that some of them cannot be bottled up in a phonograph and sent to a musical composer" (Rosse 1883: 36). Others viewed the creolization of northern indigenous peoples in negative terms, however, believing that the mixing of "races" brings out the lower elements of either race to the surface.

Between the years 1881 to 1883, the naturalist John Murdoch, serving under the command of the U.S. Army Signal Corps at Point Barrow, carried out scientific investigations as part of the International Polar Year, a coordinated series of international polar expeditions designed to investigate the natural and cultural polar landscapes. Murdoch's two-year study represents the first systematic attempt to document an anthropological understanding of the

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Mackenzie Inuit in 1870, the Anglican missionary William Bompas made no mention of instruments in his list of Western goods the local population apparently sought from Alaskan Iñupiat or commercial whalers (Bompas 1871: 337-338).

United States' northernmost indigenous peoples. He concentrated mainly on aspects of Iñupiaq material culture, but he also presented a valuable description of their social customs, such as festivals and dancing (Murdoch 1892). More limited in scope, the ethnographer also touched on certain aspects of cultural contact in his monograph, as evidenced by his various references to Iñupiaq usage of European American and Oceanic words and music, much of which the early commercial whalers and traders introduced (Murdoch 1892: 51-55, 388-389).

Murdoch observed that the Iñupiaq people picked up a few songs from the whalers and at least one from Maguire's expedition. He wrote:

> They are fond of civilized music, and, having usually very quick and rather acute ears, readily catch the tunes, which they sing with curiously mutilated words. We found "Shoo Fly" and "Little Brown Jug" great favorites at the time of our arrival, and one old woman from Nuwŭk, told us with great glee, how Magwa (Maguire) used to sing "Tolderolderol." Our two violins, the doctor's and the cook's, were a constant source of delight to them. (Murdoch 1892: 389)

Somewhat patronizing in tone, this quote, nevertheless, shows that foreign music appealed greatly to the Iñupiat of northern Alaska and, just as importantly, contact from outsiders and the locals was extensive and continuous. "Little Brown Jug" and "Shoo Fly"[8] were standard songs in the blackface minstrel repertoire and popular amongst whalers. The origin of "Tolderolderol", however, is difficult to trace since there are many American and British songs, both folk and popular, that use the refrain "fol de rol" or "tol de rol" (Revell Carr, email message to the author, May 28, 2006). After a period of almost thirty years, the old woman still remembered the song. Visiting whalers likely continued to sing it in her presence. Due to the influence of the whalers, Murdoch notes that the Iñupiat learned the words to "Little Brown Jug" and "Shoo Fly," but in a somewhat distorted form.

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[8] During the early summer of 1886, the whaler Charles Brower met a Siberian Yupik man from Indian Point who was so fond of singing "Shoo Fly" that he earned the song title as a nickname. The man had shipped aboard whalers for some time and had learned the song from a boatsteerer (Brower 1994 [1942]: 75).

The Hula-Hula

Oceanic or Kanaka whalers, namely Hawaiian, also introduced a number of words to the indigenous people along the coast:[9] *kau-kau* = food, *hana-hana* = work, *puni-puni* = coitus; *pau* = not; *wahini* = woman = wife, *kune* = coony = spouse (Murdoch 1892: 55 and Stefansson 1909: 222-231) and *hula-hula* = dance (Leffingwell 1919: 96, Stefansson 1921: 92, Jenness 1964: 121 and Jenness 1957: 173).[10] Remarkably, the term "hula hula" frequently appears in the Western Arctic literature from the turn of the 20th century but disappears by the mid-1920s, shortly after the demise of commercial whaling in the region.[11]

Soon after his arrival at Herschel Island in August 1906, Stefansson began to make note of the nightly "oola-hoola" performances featuring Iñupiaq (Nunatagmiut), Inuvialuit (Kogmollik), and Siberian Yupik (Masinka) dances. What struck him was their similarity in form to the cake walk; "they move in unison, each doing the same thing as the others" (Stefansson 1919: 152).[12] Stefansson distinguished between the western and eastern styles in terms of the number of drums used and the manner in which the drum was hit. He noted that far more drums, up to nine, were used among the people west of the Mackenzie Delta whereas only one drum, relatively large in size, was normally seen among the easterners (Stefansson 1919: 171). The

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[9] Some of the words introduced to Arctic natives such as *kau-kau* are actually Hawaiian Pidgin English (de Reuse 1996: 57).

[10] Both Stefansson and Jenness conjectured that the Hula Hula River, which flows into Camden Bay in northeastern Alaska, was named after an Eskimo dance gathering attended by Hawaiian whalers at the mouth of the river (Stefansson 1921: 92 and Jenness 1957: 173).

[11] References to Eskimo dancing during the turn of the 20th century took on various spellings of the word "hula hula". The miner Winfield Mason referred to Eskimo dances held at Herschel Island towards the end of December 1898 and January 1899 as the "hoola-hoola" (Mason 1910: 68, 69-70). During his 1905-1906 stay at the island, the Arctic explorer Roald Amundsen observed an Eskimo dance and called it a "hola-hola" (Amundsen 1908b: 169). In the fall seasons of 1906 and 1908, the explorer and ethnologist Vilhjalmur Stefansson used the term "ula hula" and "oolahoola" to refer to Eskimo dances (Siberian Yupik, Iñupiaq, and Inuvialuit) performed at Herschel Island and Flaxman Island (Stefansson 1919: 152, 164-165, 166, 168 and Pálsson 2001: 111, 142). On August 22, 1909 while on patrol the RCMP inspector G.L. Jennings observed a "Hoola-Hoola" dance at Kittigazuit (Jennings n.d.: August 22, 1909).

[12] The comparison of Eskimo dancing to the cakewalk is interesting to consider. On the surface, their stylistic movements are not very similar. Stefansson ascribed a "stooped forward" position to both styles (Stefansson 1919: 176). The two dances also share ecstatic jumping and gyrating motions. Unlike the cakewalk, the Eskimo form rarely employed couple dancing, however. On another level, both types of dances employ pantomime and parodied dance motions, which serve to mock the movements of another group.

manner of striking the drum among the Kogmollik or Inuvialuit was to have it "half rotated in the hand and struck on alternate edges" (Stefansson 1919: 171), a style reflecting that of the central and eastern Canadian Arctic and Greenland. Lastly, Stefansson also believed that the dances were essentially forms of entertainment and that any serious religious or spiritual association had faded away (Stefansson 1919: 152, 165).

During the early summer of 1907 on Flaxman Island, the Danish explorer Einar Mikkelsen made use of the word in the following descriptive report:

> We had a very dreary time after we were confined to our island, and until we could go out in the boats a period of solitude followed, which was only, now and then enlivened by a native dance or other kind of amusement. About the 10th of June all the natives had come down to the island, and the first thing they did was to give a grand Hula-Hula (native dance) to show the joy they felt now their stomachs were full and the hunt successfully ended. The sun is above the horizon now, both night and day, and the natives have practically turned the warm day into night; they sleep till about 2 P.M., after which time they do a little work. We walked down to the village in the evening, where all the people were congregated round a large umiak which sheltered the musicians. There were four or five men with drums, all working with glowing zeal and energy, and all accompanying the music of the drums with their monotonous songs, until the spirit moved one of the party, and he or she would give us one or other of their queer dances. Their movements are all eagerly watched by the natives, who applaud and laugh if some new and original trick is introduced into an old dance, and the audience likewise look utterly tired and bored whenever a poor dancer succeeds a more ingenious one. A really good dancer is indeed a sight well worth seeing. They dance, as it were, with the whole body, wriggling their arms and legs in a most convulsive manner, and every now and then the dancer sends forth a fearful howl. The men dance much more wildly than the women, who stand in one place and beat time to the music with their feet, moving their arms about, and swaying their bodies to and fro. Sometimes they dance together, two men or a man and a woman, now and then even four or few at a time. Then the men do all the work, and never stop until they are perfectly exhausted, all the time uttering most fearful howls, while the music, slow and monotonous, drones over the company. Their dances all have some meaning, and they represent the hunting of different animals, a courtship, a disaster, etc., each dance being always accompanied by a peculiar tune. Now and then a woman who had something to give me danced about for a while in front of me, waving her gift in her hand, until at last she stopped short, threw her gift at me, and made room for the next. Some crackers and other things which we had brought as our contribution to the festival were eaten during a pause, but apart from that, the natives kept up the dancing all night and slept during the day. (Mikkelsen 1909: 286-288)

On Herschel Island seven years later, the Canadian Arctic Expedition anthropologist Diamond Jenness also noted the jargon use of the word "hula hula" to refer to a great Eskimo dance (Jenness 1991: 263). He carefully described the August 11, 1914 performance in terms of

gender-specific dance motions, drumming style, singing roles shared among the dancers, drummers, and spectators, the length and structure of the dance song, and non-Eskimo participation. The dances were characteristically Iñupiaq and drew the interest of a mixed group of people, many of whom were involved in or were a result of interethnic unions:

> There was a big feast at the end of the dance, given it is said by a white man, Pederson [Peder L. Pedersen]...A rumour is current that he was married today on board the *Herman* to an Eskimo woman with whom he lived some 10 years ago. When nearly all the white spectators had gone he rose and danced too in company with three or four others...There was an interesting gathering of types. Besides whites and Eskimos there were Indians from Fort MacPherson [sic], a girl half Portuguese half Eskimo, another half Negro half Eskimo, and several half Eskimos half whites. The half-Negro girl is about 9 years of age; she danced once or twice. (Jenness 1991: 264, 767)

It is uncertain whether foreigners based the term *hula-hula* on the surface similarities of Pacific Islander and Iñupiaq dance motions. They may have simply used it to mean a dance performance in general, not a particular style of performance. Whether the Iñupiaq people applied the word in their own language is also unclear. Their usage of the term may have only occurred in conversations with outsiders. Along the lines that Pacific Islanders musically influenced northern indigenous people, Keith J. Crowe, an experienced observer of Canadian aboriginal culture, argues that the Inuit population adopted various South Sea dance movements from the Kanaka whalers (Crowe 1976: 54). In the early winter of 1915-1916, Harold Noice remarked on the hula-hula performed by Inuit women working for Stefansson's Canadian Arctic Expedition. He noted that the dance featured a synthesis of Inuit and Pacific Islander dance styles:

> In the evenings, after the day's work, the officers and some of the men generally played cards, and sometimes Mrs. Seymour would start her phonograph and then we would watch the women dance. They called it a 'hula-hula', and a 'hula-hula' it was. It was a sort of compromise between their native dance, which consists of swaying the body and waving the arms to the beat of a drum, and the South Sea Island dance taught them by the whalers. It was funny to see Eskimo women 'hula-hula' to the tune of "Alexander's Ragtime Band" and smoke their long black pipes at the same time. (Noice 1924: 48)

According to the above descriptions, the hula-hula therefore referred both to traditional Eskimo dancing in general and to a particularly newer style of northern indigenous dance that combined native and Pacific Islander elements. Such borrowings may have influenced Iñupiaq drum dancing to a certain degree but anything beyond that of certain specific motions is difficult to

trace.[13] What is remarkable about the fusion of styles is that Kanaka men[14] presumably taught Eskimo women feminine motions and that global "pop" music of the day, not Eskimo drumming or Hawaiian hula music, served as accompaniment for the dancers.

For a visual comparison of Hawaiian hula dancing and Alaskan Eskimo drum dancing, I have presented images of each dance form dating to the latter part of the 19th and early 20th centuries (Figures 3.2, 3.3, and 3.4).[15]

Figure 3.2: "Hula-Hula, or Dancing-Girls", original title (Nordhoff, Remy and Brigham 1874: 97)

[13] Ronald Brower, born in 1949, remembers as a child seeing an Iñupiaq drum dance song with hand movements similar to the Hawaiian hukilau way of fishing where a large group of people work together casting and retrieving a net from the shore (Ronald Brower, email message to the author, December 16, 2010).

[14] References to Hawaiian women in the Western Arctic are rare. In my research I found only one woman who was of Hawaiian and non-Eskimo descent – the wife of the *Alexander* whaling captain F.M. Green (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, April 19, 1895).

[15] I am not aware of any serious study concerning the possible historical link between Eskimo and Hawaiian dance styles. Remarkably, the early ethnomusicologist Helen H. Roberts published two analytical works on Eskimo and Hawaiian music within a year of each other: *Songs of the Copper Eskimos* from 1925 (Roberts and Jenness 1925) and *Ancient Hawaiian Music* from 1926 (Roberts 1967), but drew no connections between the two systems. An examination of the first publication is contained in Chapter 9.

Figure 3.3: Men dancing at whaling ceremony in Wales circa 1905
Gertrude Lusk Whaling Album
UAF-1959-875-9

Figure 3.4: Nalukataq drum dance. Umiak, men with drums, women dancing, Reverend Samuel Spriggs Photograph Collection, Point Barrow, Alaska, 1899-1908
Alaska State Library Historical Collection, ASL-PCA 320

The hula image is from an 1874 woodcut engraving and depicts three young Hawaiian female dancers and two male percussionists in the background.[16] The synchronized body movements and position of the dancers and accompanying drummers closely parallel that of the following two Alaskan Eskimo images. Furthermore, graceful movements, particularly in the arms, characterize the female styles of both dances. Due to missionary influence, the Hawaiian dancers are amply clothed, wearing an apparent mission school uniform. The male performers in the background provide percussion accompaniment on a pair of hollow calabash gourds called *ipu*, instruments used for a certain kind of hula performance. Similar to Eskimo drum dancing, males usually play the percussion parts. They also sing or chant while the dancer concentrates on dancing.

In addition to observing surface similarities in Eskimo and Polynesian dance movements, foreigners may have also drawn a deeper connection between the two art forms. The influential French anthropologist Joseph Deniker, who during the turn of the 20th century developed theories and extensive research on racial mapping, asserted that both the Hawaiian "Hula-Hula" and the Eskimo dance had evolved into a species of dance categorized as "lascivious". Contrasting the two dances, he contended incorrectly that only women performed the Hula-Hula while correctly claiming that Eskimo dance accommodated both sexes (Deniker 1900: 208). In accordance with Deniker's claims, a number of Western Arctic ethnographers described Eskimo dance in sensual terms and as an effective means to form sexual bonds. The miner Winfield Mason commented on a Herschel Island dance and its aftermath beginning on January 23, 1899, the first time the sun reappeared on the horizon after an absence of 42 days:

> The women became more agreeable in their attitude toward the men. The Hoola-hoola dance almost constantly engaged their attention, and by a charm of manner and a fascinating run of conversation peculiar to this time of year, they made themselves as lovably attractive as possible. Marital relations are always easy in Eskimo land, and at this period all matrimonial bonds are broken, love-making progresses with the advance of daylight, and by the time the sun has risen well above the horizon the young people are all mated, and some of the older ones re-mated. (Mason 1910: 69-70)

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[16] The hula image was later used in a popular boy's adventure story written by Thomas Wallace Knox entitled *The Boy Travellers in Australasia* (Knox 1889). Well known for his series of travel adventures catering to adolescent boys, Knox is most famous for the book *Overland Through Asia: Pictures of Siberian, Chinese, and Tartar Life* (Knox 1870), based on his journeys through Asia and his participation in the Western Union Telegraph project in the mid-1860s.

During the early summer of 1906, the German whaler Kurt Faber also observed the sensual aspects of a "Hula-Hula" held at Kay Point, east of Herschel Island. Commenting on the hot and smoky conditions, the lone whaler described in detail the spectacle of a disrobing female dancer and the excited gaze of the male onlookers (Faber 1916: 264). Perhaps exaggerating the behavior of native men and women, Mason and Faber still touched on an important aspect of dance, a cultural mechanism to establish new relations for both personal and social gain.

The term "hula hula" was still used as late as 1923 to describe Eskimo dancing. The Canadian newspaper *Toronto Star Weekly* featured a November 10 article based on the community of Aklavik, a young bustling fur-trading settlement in the Mackenzie Delta that had replaced Herschel Island as the economic focal point of the region following World War I. The author focused on the occasional performance of the hula hula, a somewhat unorthodox practice that the Protestant natives indulge in (Smith 1923: 19). Emphasizing the cosmopolitan nature of the dance, he wrote:

> Concerts and other entertainments are proffered by the whites to the native visitors, who reciprocate with Eskimo songs and dances, both of which are distinctly weird. The dances are traceable to outside influences, and the Arctic "hula-hula," which closely resembles that of the South Sea Islands, is thought to have its origin in the Hawaiian natives who in the early days of the north formed a large portion of the American whaling vessels' crews. Many of these tropical natives intermarried with the Eskimos; in fact, some of the Hawaiians are still to be found in the Eskimo igloos all along the bleak Arctic coast – a strange geographical contrast from their native isles. (Smith 1923: 19)

The author continued with the multicultural theme, making a curious claim that some of the other Eskimo dances performed in Aklavik had distinctly Russian-influenced features. He wrote:

> Other dances are of the Russian type with the stiff posturing met with in the ballet a la Reusse [sic], and which is understood to be traceable to the days when the Muscovite was a power in North America, and the Russian settlements were scattered along the Alaskan coasts. Many of the Alaskan Eskimos emigrated into Canadian territory on the American whaling ships, and finding a plentitude of fat and fur in the land found it good and stayed there, and although this is many decades since they have handed down their dances from generation to generation; hence it is likely that the Russian ballet will be popular on the Polar sea for years to come. (Smith 1923: 19)

Since the Russians had very limited contact in northern Alaska, let alone, northwestern Canada, it is unlikely that Aklavik's largely Inuit population, consisting of Alaskan Iñupiat and some Mackenzie Inuit, had maintained Russian-derived dance forms. Some Siberian Yupiit influenced

by Russian culture, such as Siberia Mike, emigrated to the Mackenzie Delta and conceivably introduced their dances styles into the population. However, virtually nothing in the ethnographic literature suggests that a Russian-stylized dance form flourished in the region.

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It is important to note that songs and dance introduced to the Iñupiat were not exclusive to the southern whalers. Neighboring Athabascan groups in interior Alaska and northwestern Canada exchanged music as well.[17] Murdoch reported on one such tune sung in the spring of 1883 by a party of men from Kilauwitawin, an old village just south of Wainwright Inlet in northwestern Alaska:

> It became at once exceedingly popular, and everybody was singing or humming it. It is peculiar in being in waltz or 3/4 time, and has considerably more air than the ordinary tunes. I heard no words sung to it except: "O hai hai yáña, O hai yáña, O haíja he, haíja he." Mr. Dall informs me that he recognizes this tune as one sung by the Indians on the Yukon. (Murdoch 1892: 389)

Murdoch's description of the vocables "*O hai hai yáña, O hai yáña, O haíja he, haíja he*" and the air-like quality of the tune, presumably meaning a melody that is more spaced apart or gapped, are typically Athabascan in nature. The mention of triple meter in the song is interesting since 3/4 time is rare in traditional Alaska Native music. Examples of such a meter are found, though, in three songs from the Helge Ingstad's 1949-1950 collection of Nunamiut recordings – Nos. 85, 87, and 101.[18] Each of these songs comes from the Kobuk area in northwestern Alaska and bears

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[17] Helge Ingstad's 1949-1950 collection of Nunamiut musical recordings includes numerous examples of songs containing the following Athabascan musical characteristics: vocables, repeated tones, gapped descending pentatonic melodies, descending major triads, and syncopated rhythms over an unchanging quarter-note beat (Johnston 1987: 179). Athasbascan-influenced songs comprise at least 10% of the 141 recordings. See Helge Ingstad's 2006 [1954] book *Nunamiut: Among Alaska's Inland Eskimos* (Ingstad 2006), his 1998 *Songs of the Nunamiut: Historical Recordings of an Alaskan Eskimo Community* and attached booklet *Songs of the Nunamiut: Historical Recordings and Transcriptions of an Alaskan Eskimo Community* (Ingstad 1998a and Ingstad 1998b), as well as Eivind Groven's comprehensive musical analysis of the *collection Eskimomelodier fra Alaska: (Helga Ingstads samling av opptak fra Nunamiut): sudier over tonesystemer og rytmer* published in 1956 (Groven 1956).

[18] Other examples of triple meter in Athabascan music are present among the inland Dena'ina of the Lake Clark area in southcentral Alaska. See Coray 2007: 19, 30-31, 39-43, 64, 72. Direct musicultural exchange between the Iñupiat of northwestern Alaska and the Dena'ina Athabascans of southcentral Alaska is was

the title *Itqiliarjun* or some variant of the word. Ingstad writes that *itqiliarjun* (a.k.a. *kugwagmiutaq*) refers to a specific Kobuk dance that is Athabascan-influenced but provides no further details (Ingstad 2006: 110). Historical ties in trade between the Koyukon Athabascans of Nulato and Galena along the Yukon River and the Kobuk Iñupiat created opportunities for musicultural exchange (Johnston 1976a: 77-78). Iñupiaq and Athabascan peoples as well as other indigenous groups throughout Alaska, Canada, and Siberia viewed songs as articles as trade and exchanged them as such. Therefore, the adoption and exchange of songs including Christian hymns were common practices throughout northern Alaska and northwestern Canada. I will cover the topic concerning the distribution of hymns in the North in later chapters.

Later Period of Shore Whaling and Eastern Expansion

Shortly after Murdoch's stay and 25 years after the initial attempts at overwintering, the whaling industry established shore-whaling stations in northern Alaska – first at Point Barrow in 1884 and then Point Hope three years later. By the end of the century, dozens of stations sprang up along the region's coast attracting large numbers of natives from all over northern Alaska, western Canada, and the Chukchi Peninsula. Hired out as hunters, seamstresses, translators, and store clerks, they gradually integrated themselves into the new commercial enterprise. A large mix of non-natives also operated the shore-whaling stations. In his report aboard the U.S. Revenue Cutter *Bear*, Second Lieutenant E.P. Bertholf recorded his observations of the industry's demographics:

> In 1897-98 there were thirteen different whaling stations between Point Hope and Cape Seppings, owned and run by white men, and connected with these outfits were forty white men – that is, there were forty men who were not Eskimos, for in that country every man who is not a Native is called a "white man", whether he is an American, Japanese, Portuguese, or negro, and this whaling colony on Point Hope included all these nationalities and many others. (Bertholf 1899: 25)

Known as Jabbertown, this shore-whaling station at Point Hope was located seven miles away from the Iñupiaq village of Tigara. The name, referring perhaps to the jabbering sounds of multiple languages spoken there, reflects a polyglot community that housed various American dialects including African-American, Irish, Welsh, Scottish, other foreign languages such as

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presumably limited but song transmission may have occurred via the Upper Kuskokwim, Deg Hit'an, and Koyukon Athabascans living along the Yukon River.

Portuguese, German, Hawaiian, Filipino, and several regional Iñupiaq dialects (Lowenstein 2008: 91-92).

Extensive musical interaction between natives and non-natives occurred at Point Hope. Writing in 1902, the Episcopal missionary-doctor John Driggs heard a native man whistle "New Coon in Town", a minstrel tune picked up from a whaler probably in Jabbertown (Driggs 1902: 2).[19] Driggs also wrote about another native man named Billy Fishtail who owned and played the accordion (Driggs 1905: 157), an instrument that he likely received through trade with the residents of the whaling station. Finally, whaler-traders from Jabbertown attended the Tigara dances including Henry Koenig and Johannes Hachmann, two Germans who had married Point Hope women and adapted to Iñupiaq ways (Lowenstein 2008: 65, 217).

As shore-whaling activity developed along the northwestern coast of Alaska, the expansion of the pelagic whaling industry continued farther eastward into the Beaufort Sea. By 1890, Herschel Island near the Alaskan-Canadian border was founded as a whaling station and eight years later Baillie Island 250 miles farther to the east was established as a winter base (Bockstoce 1995: 326-327). With as many as fifteen ships overwintering at Herschel Island and a handful of the like at Baillie, contact between outsiders and local populations intensified. Large polyglot communities consisting of Americans, Europeans, Pacific and Cape Verde Islanders, inland and coastal Alaskan Eskimos, Athabascans, Chukchi, and the local Inuvialuit sprang up.

Musical gatherings frequently took place. For instance, during a spring visit to Herschel Island in 1895, the Anglican missionary Isaac Stringer commented on a band made up of several Hawaiians that provided accompaniment for church services and evening engagements (Isaac Stringer, diary entries, April 21 and April 26, 1895). Noting the prevalence of Hawaiian performers, the whaler J. Baragwanaih made a similar observation during a winter spent on Herschel Island some years later:

> About once in each month there is a minstrel show. The music is generally provided by a string band composed of Hawaiians. Strange as it may seem, about one-third of the crews of the whalers are composed of Kanakas. The rest of the talent is picked out of the various ship's company. Any one who can do a turn of any kind is called upon and the show is rehearsed about a week before the performance takes place. (Baragwanaih 1908: 635)

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[19] "New Coon in Town" was published by J.S. Putnam in 1883. It is just one of many hundred minstrel tunes from the "Coon Song" repertory, which was highly popular during the 1880s, 1890s, and early 1900s. Driggs most likely knew of the song from his days working as a manager for a traveling theatrical company in the 1880s (Lowenstein 2008: 198, 283n).

Whaler-trader Jim Allen observed the elaborate entertainment provided on board the whaling ship *Jeannette* at Herschel Island – a seven-piece orchestra consisting of 2 violins, 2 guitars, 1 mandolin, 1 accordion, and 1 drum and led by a German sailor (Allen 1978: 27-30). By 1894, wives[20] overwintering for the first time with their whaling captain husbands, organized numerous parties featuring music and dance. Describing the first such gathering of the season dated October 4 aboard the *Beluga*, Sophie Porter, wife of the *Jessie H. Freeman* captain W.P.S. Porter, wrote "there was an excellent band of three pieces – violin, banjo & accordion – and we were treated to all the latest (up to March 1894) airs, and not withstanding [the] unpolished floor and heavy boots, we had some jolly dances" (*Jesse H. Freeman*: October 4, 1894). By the end of the month, four dances had taken place, "three of them quite Swell affairs, music, Dancing, Card Playing, and a Supper. One was on the *Beluga*, one on the *Alexander*, and one in the Company House on Shore" (*William Baylies*: October 26, 1894).

Diversity in musical styles and forms reflected the cosmopolitan make-up of the population on Herschel Island. Commenting in a letter written on Christmas Day, 1895 Porter wrote:

> Our minstrel troupe have been getting up a grand performance for Francis [Porter's daughter] – so of course we had to take in the "Show" as the boys call it, and a very good show it was. National songs by the Hawaian [sic], Swiss and German sailors and comical sketches and local hits by the Forcastle [sic] wits, which were quite up to date. (Porter 1895)

Although some events were exclusive to the officers and their close associations, the above description shows that ordinary sailors attended and participated in at least of some of the gatherings. During the winter of 1894-95 where over a thousand people congregated at Herschel Island, Captain John A. Cook of the steam bark *Navarch* commented on the rich musical atmosphere aboard the whalers:

> Musical instruments of various kinds were plentiful; some of the ships had pianos, or parlor organs; most of the ladies and many of the officers were expert pianists and excellent singers; many of the sailors were skillful players of the flute, violin, mandolin and guitar, as a result, musicales of no mean order of merit occurred weekly on some one of the fleet. (Cook and Pederson 1937: 74)

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[20] According to the whaling captain John Cook of steam bark *Navarch* , six white women and more than 700 white men stayed at Herschel Island during the 1894-1895 winter (Cook and Pederson 1937: 74).

According to Cook's account, large numbers of sailors, officers, and captains' wives were skilled musicians. He also noted a division of instrumentation that ran along class lines – those who sang and played the piano were of a high-ranking class while those who played non-keyboard instruments were skippers relegated to the forecastle.

Extravagant displays of music-making continued for a several years on Herschel Island despite a decrease in the overall whaling presence. As shown in the following image, for instance, Amundsen observed a decade later theatrical performances that featured more than a dozen entertainers on stage, including a keyboardist, a violinist, a mandolin and a banjo player, and several other musicians (Figure 3.5).

Figure 3.5: Theatrical Performance at Herschel Island, 1905-1906 (Amundsen 1908b: 167)

Native participation in Western musical and dance activities is also evident. Theatrical performances featuring music were a highpoint of the winter season. Kurt Faber commented on a seemingly typical theatrical event where both "white" and "brown" spectators attended. The performances were international in the sense that English, Portuguese, German, Polynesian, and Eskimo songs followed one another in multiple variations. The program featured humorous, sentimental, and patriotic songs such as "When You Was Sweet Sixteen", "Sah ein Knab' ein Röslein stehn", "Die Wacht am Rhein", the "Marsellaise", "Rule Britannia", and the "Internationale". While minstrel shows were also part of the program, the main attraction according to Faber, was the recitation of complimentary and risqué poems dedicated to the Eskimo women in the audience (Faber 1916: 236-239). According to the German whaler's account, native women attended the theatrical events and played an important part of the

celebration. The ribald content of the poetry suggests that at least some of them formed intimate relations with the sailors. Functioning not only as a forum of entertainment, the theater acted as a resonating chamber that reflected and amplified the social behavior of those outside its walls. Similar to the ceremonial house of the local and neighboring indigenous peoples, the theater served multiple functions, among the most important, a means to express and negotiate identities and relationships both at and beyond the levels of the individual and community.

While the small number of Arctic whaling wives socialized almost exclusively with the captains and officers at their private dances, lower ranking sailors often sought the company of the native women at the more public events. Cook made the following comment:

> ... the grand balls quite eclipsed all other forms of entertainment in the opinion of the for'ard hands. There was no lack of partners for the sailors, for many of the Eskimo women soon learned to dance "Yankee" and entered into the pleasures of the occasion with all of the enthusiasm, if not the grace, of the fairer sisters of the sunny Southland. (Cook and Pederson 1937: 75-76)

Opportunities for cross-cultural dancing and musical exchange also took place at other wintering sites. During the 1900-1901 winter spent at Baillie Island, for instance, Cook, who himself had brought a piano on board his bark *Bowhead*, commented on the highly successful "musical entertainment which was attended by the crews of the other ships and some natives." (Cook 1926: 182, 221). Sailors also performed for the local population in mind. Among the four whaling crews trapped by ice five years later at Baillie Island, some gave a minstrel show for the native people aboard the steam bark *Belvedere* (*Narwhal*: February 23, 1906). The foreign population also reciprocated an interest in native performances. A month after arriving at Herschel Island in August of 1894, Sophie Porter commented on how a good many [people from the ships] were in attendance at a native dance outside one of the tents (*Jesse H. Freeman*: September 30, 1894).

Some of the most important celebrations among the local and foreign populations coincided with one another on the calendar – the Messenger Feast with Christmas and New Year's and the Fourth of July with indigenous whaling and trading events. Similar to the experiences of the *Plover's* crew at Plover Bay in 1849 and at Point Barrow 1852-1854, the indigenous peoples and whalers of Herschel Island likely engaged in cross-cultural musical exchanges during these important cultural events. Unfortunately, whalers tended not to comment on native music and dances in their logs, but they did occasionally write about the musical performances of their fellow sailors, especially during the winter holidays. Whaling ship logs

dated between 1892 and 1901 contain several references to musical occurrences held at Herschel Island, particularly minstrel shows, singing, and dances (*Narwhal*: December 31, 1892; *Newport* and *Mary D. Hume*: November 30, 1893; *Mary D. Hume*: December 25, 1893; *Narwhal* and *Newport*: January 1, 1894; *Mary D. Hume*: April 9, 1894; *William Baylies*: November 3, 1894; Newport: November 29, 1894; *Mary D. Hume*: December 31, 1894; *Mary D. Hume*: January 1, 1895; *Newport*: May 2, 1895; *Mary D. Hume*: December 19, 1895; *Newport*: April 13, 1896; *Narwhal*: January 1, 1898).

On Christmas and New Year's Eve 1894, the whaling captain John Cook commented on the fine entertainment he had observed aboard the *Beluga*, a steam bark that could accommodate large musical and theatrical venues (Cook 1926: 58, 61). The first mate of the *Belvedere*, Ellsworth Luce West, claimed that during the winter of 1895-1896 "three times a week we had informal get-togethers with songs and skits and dancing" (West 1965: 59). Musicians and actors formed troupes such as the "Original Christy Minstrels of Herschel Island", "Fry's Theatrical Company", and the "Herschel Island Snow Flakes" (*Newport*: November 30, 1893, Bodfish 1936: 105, and *William Baylies*: November 25, 1894). In addition to sentimental and minstrel songs, whalers along the Arctic coast sang serenades associated with the "Splice the Mainbrace" (*Beluga*: January 1, 1901), a celebratory drink usually authorized by the captain during special times of the year. On a more serious note, whaling records also contain references to the singing of hymns at funeral services. For instance, sailors sang the hymn "Nearer My God to Thee" at two such events (*Mary D. Hume*: February 23, 1894 and *Thrasher*: March 31, 1895). Because of frequent number of musical occurrences mentioned in the whaling records, one can reasonably assume that the local population observed such activities and participated in them as well.

The whalers were instrumental in introducing indigenous peoples to foreign music. At the height of commercial whaling in the Beaufort Sea circa late 1890s, the number of people living at Herschel Island during the winter season was large – up to 600 whalers and 200 natives, including many originally from Alaska and Chukotka. Native men scattered in hunting camps on the edge of the treeline, where they hunted for caribou often in the presence of one or more whaling officers. Therefore, one can reasonably assume that exposure to music and musical instruments from outside was quite strong. Moreover, many whaling officers lived on shore in sod-houses shared with aboriginal women with whom they developed long-term (one to several winters) relationships (Mason 1910: 72, Stone 1981: 103-104 and Whittaker 1937: 234-235). Because of advances made in transportation, most notably the development of steam-powered

vessels that could travel farther eastward into the Beaufort Sea, the dissemination of music from the southern latitudes intensified. Once a song was brought on board a ship, the delay between when it left California or Hawaii and when it became adopted by northern indigenous populations grew even shorter.

One striking illustration of musical dissemination was observed by the Anglican missionary Stringer while traveling along the Arctic coast east of Kay Point on May 25, 1893:

> As I sat in the tent sewing I was surprised to hear Kappak [Kappa] hum the chorus of "Ta ra ra boom da day." Thus in less than two years after the civilized world began to go crazy after Sathe Collin's dashing song, it has become a nursery rhyme amongst the natives on the arctic coast. . . Kappa said she had heard the *kabloona* sing it. Yesterday as we waited for the kettle to boil at dinner time I wrote Kappa's name on the snow and she at once copied it almost perfectly. I heard her humming "Marching to Georgia" also. (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, May 25, 1893)

Originally from Kotzebue Sound, Kappa (Figure 3.6) came to Herschel Island aboard a whaler (Amundsen 1908b: 215-216).[21] In all likelihood, she served as a young consort to a whaling officer. The 1891 song "Ta-Ra-Ra-Boom-Der-Ay" was a highly successful and somewhat risqué song and dance number popularized by the famous London-born actress Lottie Collins (Figure 3.7).[22] One description of the routine and people's reaction to it is as follows: "Audiences go wild as she segues from a demure beginning to an uninhibited version of the skirt dance in which she reveals scarlet stockings held up by sparkling garters; the Puritan League objects, but Collins will perform the dance in engagements all over Britain and America" (Everett 2006).

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[21] Kappa and her Inuvialuit husband Jimmy accompanied the explorer Roald Amundsen from Herschel Island to Eagle during the winter of 1905-06 (Amundsen 1908b: 215-216).

[22] Lyrics to the song are as follows:

A smart and stylish girl you see
Belle of good society;
Fond of fun as fond can be -
When it's on the strict Q.T.
I'm not too young and not too old,
Not too hot and not too cold,
But the very thing I'm told,
That in your arms you'd like to hold.

Figure 3.6: Kappa, early winter 1905-06 (Amundsen 1908b: 215)

Figure 3.7: 1891 Sheet Music Cover to Lottie Collins' Ta-Ra-Ra-Boom-Der-Ay

An interesting connection between Eskimo people and the song took place at the 1894 California Midwinter International Exposition in San Francisco. One of the Eskimo Village performances called "Snap-the-whip" featured a Labrador Inuit who shouted for change from the audience. After whipping at the coins, he yelled out the name of the popular show tune "Ta-ra-ra Boom-de-ya". To one observer, such behavior regarded as less than respectable, showed that "the savage who braves the far ice fields of the north to keep the larder of his snowhut supplied with blubber, has been metamorphosed into a street fakir" (Bates 1894: 374). Numerous other reviews mentioned the song title shouts as well (Zwick 2006: 27).

An important observer of Mackenzie Inuit life during this early 20th century transitional period was the Inuvialuit Nuligak. Known as the first of his people to learn how to read and write Inuktitut, he wrote an autobiography in his later years that describes a first-hand native account of relations between various indigenous groups and foreigners in the Mackenzie Delta region. Born in 1895, the elder Nuligak reminisced as a small boy about how closely the locals and outsiders interacted with one another, especially within the vicinity of Herschel Island:

> The Inuit hunted caribou in the mountains and made money by selling them to the sailors of the ships. White men and Inuit played games together, as well as hunting side by side. We played baseball and wrestled. We danced in the Eskimo fashion to the sound of many drums. Men and women sang. It was really beautiful! The first Christmas I remember was that one of 1904. There was a minister, a Mr. Whittaker, present. I can still recall the faces of those who celebrated the New Year. (Nuligak 1966: 32)

As whaling activity in the Beaufort Sea steadily diminished during the first decade of the 20th century, Herschel Island's significance began to wane. Large gatherings featuring music and dance, however, still occurred from time to time.

In August 1915, on his first trip to the Arctic in a whaler, the young 19-year-old Harold Noice experienced one such event upon his arrival to the island:[23]

> That night was a gala occasion. The Hudson's Bay Company's large store was lighted up by smoky, broken-chimneyed, flickering lanterns; and everybody in the village, dressed up in brightly trimmed coats and fancy boots, gathered for a dance of celebration. Eskimo girls in green petticoats, French heels, and wrist-watches danced and twirled in the brawny, tattooed arms of their sailor sweethearts to the tune of "After the Ball is Over" played on a wheezy accordion. The dingy, rough-boarded room was a twisting mass- of fun and laughter and a riot of colour - the picturesque uniforms of the Police, the blue-shirted, red- handkerchiefed costumes of some miners from the Mackenzie River, the strange, many-pieced furs of the traders, and the brightly coloured, old-fashioned dresses of the coy Eskimo maidens, with their brown eyes soft or flashing. Fat old

[23] Lorne Knight, who eventually traveled throughout the Canadian High Arctic with Noice and Stefansson, was the accordion player. His description of the gathering, or Montgomery's posthumous rendering of it, was quite different than Noice's. Regarding the "white man's" dance, Knight's description is as follows: "I had brought my wheezy old accordion and was selected as the orchestra. Two by two, the crews of the *Polar Bear* and the *Ruby* demonstrated to the Eskimos the intricate steps of the "civilized" dances. From the roars and shouts, I judged that we seemed as ludicrous to them as they had to us, Captain Lane brought down the house and ended the evening's entertainment with his burlesque of an Egyptian dance (Montgomery 1932: 66-68). Noting in detail the presence of Eskimo drum dancing and his honest inability to understand its meaning, Knight's writing contrasts sharply with Noice's glaring omission of the native performance. Knight's interpretation of the event comes across as cross-culturally sensitive but perhaps also romanticized, especially if Noice's seemingly sensationalized description was more accurate.

> matrons waddled about smoking their black, shiny pipes; and in the background were a few old Eskimo men, dressed in unromantic ready-made clothes, stolidly watching the fun. (Noice 1924: 20-21)

Judging by the above description, Herschel's native population, especially its youth, had adopted many of the clothing and musical fashions introduced from outside. Like Nome and Point Barrow to some degree, the community was far more integrated into the global scene than others along the Arctic coast. The native population on the island was largely comprised of Iñupiat who for several generations had made steady contact with whalers, traders and other foreigners.

Throughout the Mackenzie Delta region including Herschel Island, a major consequence of the intensive foreign presence, however, was a dramatic reduction in the local Mackenzie Inuit population. Once one of the largest Eskimo groups in the Arctic with approximately 2,000 inhabitants in the mid-19th century, they saw their numbers decline to as few as 130 by 1910 (Nagy 1994: 1). Many succumbed to newly introduced diseases such as tuberculosis, influenza, and syphilis. Overhunting by whalers also led to starvation among the Mackenzie Inuit and created an increased dependence on foreign goods, especially as indigenous ties to the land began to erode. To fill the cultural vacuum, many Iñupiat from coastal and interior Alaska migrated into the area and introduced their way of life including their own music and dance traditions, which continue to the present day.

The Traders: A Rapid Dissemination of Goods

By the early 1900s, commercial whaling throughout the Arctic went into decline. Activity in the eastern Beaufort gave the industry a much-needed boost, but it was not enough to offset the staggering decline in the bowhead population. In response to increasingly poorer harvests, whalers began to combine trading with their whaling operations (VanStone 1984: 155). In northwestern Alaska, for instance, former whalers such as Charles Brower, Jim Allen, Henry Koenig, and Albert Bernhardt set up trading posts at Point Barrow, Wainwright, Point Hope, and Teller respectively. Because the Alaska Commercial Company, a powerful fur trading and mercantile firm based in San Francisco, did not operate along the Arctic coast (Graburn, Lee and Rousselot 1996: 30), these traders faced little commercial competition and consequently ran highly successful businesses. Having married into Iñupiaq families, they also became powerful and well-respected members of their villages.

Preserving at least some of their foreign ways, these former whalers infused their respective cultural traditions, including music, into their communities. For example, the German whaler-trader Albert Bernhardt raised several of his sons to play musical instruments such as the accordion, fiddle, guitar, and harmonica, and to learn old-time dance music such as polkas, schottisches, square dances, and Virginia reels. (Pinson 2004: 78, 111). One of his children, David Bernhardt,[24] moved to Coronation Gulf in Canada's Northwest Territories as a 19-year-old in 1929 and never returned to Alaska (Pinson 2004: 128-129, 202). For many decades, he continued to play the music he had learned growing up in Teller. In correspondence with one of David Bernhardt's sons, I received the following information:

> His musical skills are well known to the elders here in Kugluktuk like elders who are over 80, his favourite harmonica player passed away a few months ago. He told me that David played the harmonica and accordion and we didn't know he was talented because he kept to himself. He played mostly German and old country tunes so he was quite an accomplished player. (Ernie Bernhardt, email message to the author, March 24, 2005)

The fact that Bernhardt continued to play music from his youth, tunes that he had learned over 60 years before and thousands of miles away, shows the importance of his musical upbringing and how it connected him to his past. It is also important to point out that he passed his musical heritage onto others in the community, primarily fellow elders who shared similar musical tastes.

Bodfish and Pedersen

Two other whalers who turned to trading full-time were Hartson H. Bodfish and Christian T. Pedersen. Both men captained trading vessels primarily engaged in the fur business – Bodfish on the steam barkentine *Herman* owned by H. Liebes and Company of San Francisco (Bodfish n.d. and Bodfish 1936: 262-263) and Pedersen also on the *Herman*, as well as the motor schooner *Nanuk* and Coast Survey vessel *Patterson* both personally owned through his Northern Whaling and Trading Company (Pedersen n.d.).

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[24] David Bernhardt was still alive when I began my doctoral research. Unfortunately, a week before I was planning to interview him in Inuvik, he passed away in August 2005, a few months shy of his 95th birthday. Considering his remarkable musicultural background, strong interest in history, sharp memory, and uncommon ability to speak fluent English and Inuktitut, David Benrhardt's death was a huge loss for me. Fortunately, a couple months later I received the special opportunity to meet and interview his younger sister by two years, Elizabeth Bernhardt Pinson from Seattle, Washington. Elizabeth Pinson, who passed away in December 2006, gave me an invaluable perspective on the nature of early 20th-century musical interaction in the Western Alaska as well as stories about Arctic historical figures including Joe Bernard.

Examination of Bodfish's and Pedersen's trading lists, respectively housed at New Bedford Whaling Museum and the University of Alaska Anchorage Archives and Special Collections, yields useful information on the place of barter and the type and number of musical instruments, gramophones, and gramophone accessories brought into the Western Arctic. Below are graphs that represent the wide array of variables.

Between the 1909 and 1911 trading seasons, Bodfish exchanged at least 58 accordions, 410 harmonicas, 19 gramophones, 641 records, and 361 packs of gramophone needles to trading posts distributed across the Western Arctic as far south and westward as John Howland Bay in Siberia and as far north and eastward as Baillie Island in Canada (Figures 3.8 and 3.9). The number of accordions listed is quite significant. The majority of these instruments were actually sold along the coast of Russian-controlled Chukotka Peninsula. Due to Russia's historical penchant for the squeezebox (*garmoshka* and *bayan*), such a large distribution of accordions in the region may not be so surprising.

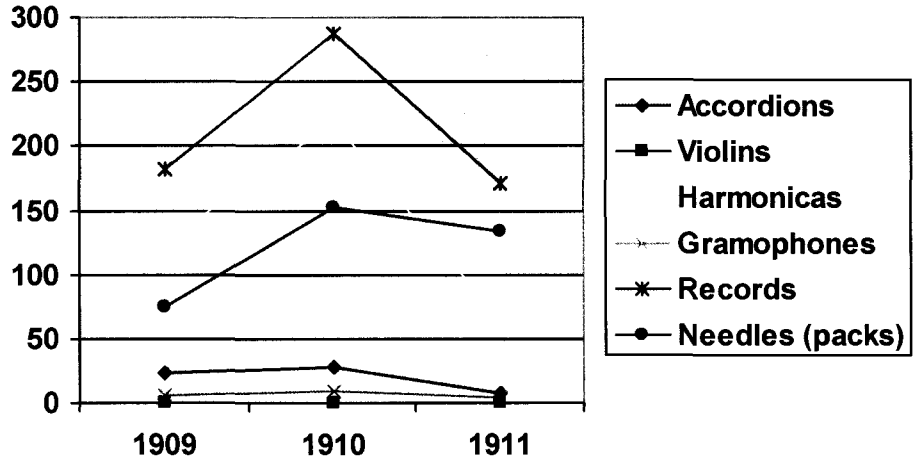

Figure 3.8: Musical Trade Line Graph #1 – Bodfish 1909-1911

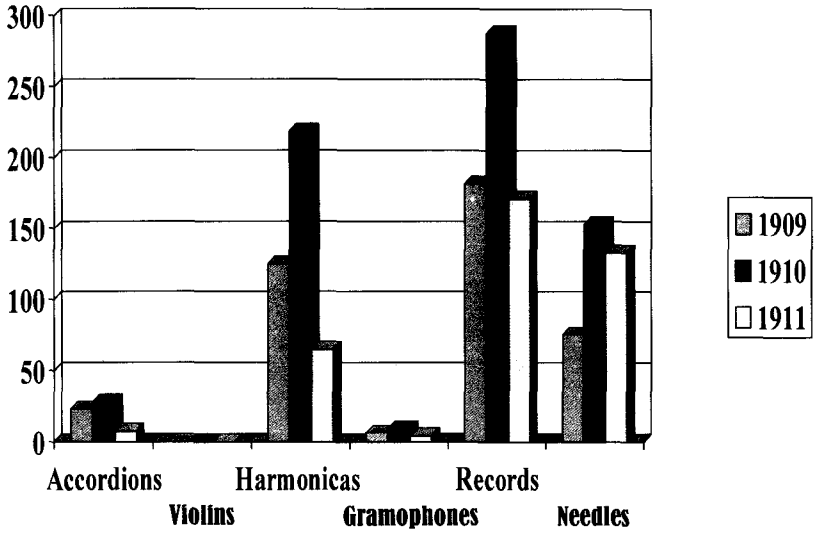

Figure 3.9: Musical Trade Bar Graph #1 – Bodfish 1909-1911

Pedersen's trading lists, which cover nine seasons between 1925 and 1937, provide an insightful comparison to Bodfish's data (Figures 3.10, 3.11, 3.12, and 3.13). Between the 1925 and 1932 trading seasons, Pedersen bartered at least 2 accordions, 9 violins, 249 harmonicas, 36 gramophones, 371 records, and 322 packs of gramophone needles to trading posts situated on the Aleutian and Saint Lawrence Islands northeastward towards Herschel Island and beyond. From 1933 to 1937, he traded in the same region at least 1 accordion, 68 harmonicas, 172 gramophones and 35 packs of gramophone needles. Note that some categories have zero items listed. Especially in the case of records and needles, the reason is almost certainly because of data unavailability. The absence of evidence is not necessarily the evidence of absence.

Comparing especially the two years 1909 and 1927, a decrease in the number of accordions and an increase in violins are evident. From 1909 into the late 1930s, however, instruments including eventually harmonicas gradually decreased in number while phonographs became steadily more popular trade items. A sharp reduction especially in the number of accordions and violins, though never large, reached virtually zero by the late 1920s. The transportation of musical instruments via alternative land routes, by other companies such as the Hudson's Bay Company, which solidly expanded its network into the region around Herschel Island, and by the recent arrival of the airplane may account for data discrepancies or unavailability of records. One other factor that may have reduced the number of such musical

instruments was the advent of the radio, introduced into the Arctic during the mid-1920s, a period when a marked decline in musical trade appears to have occurred.

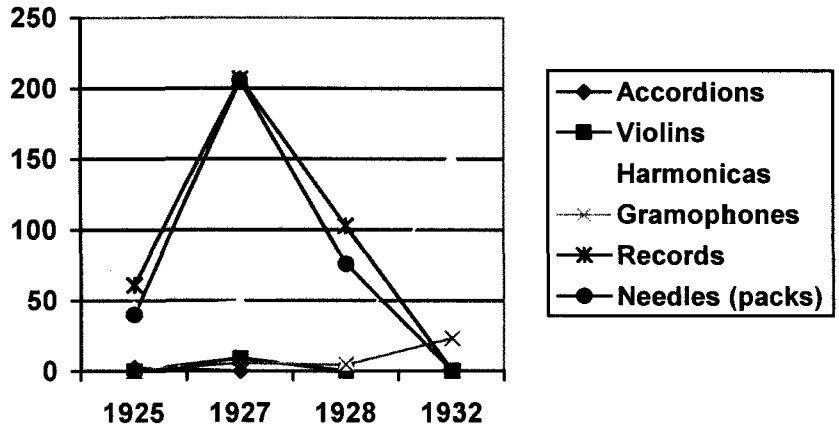

Figure 3.10: Musical Trade Line Graph #2 – Pedersen 1925-1932

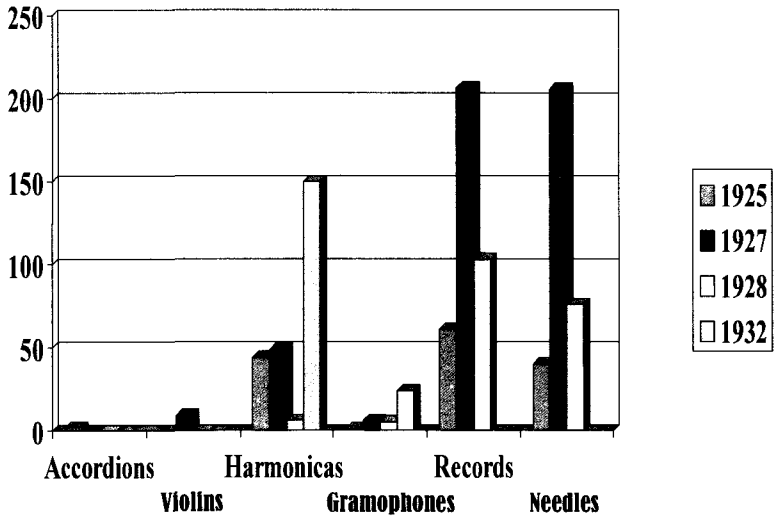

Figure 3.11: Musical Trade Bar Graph #2 – Pedersen 1925-1932

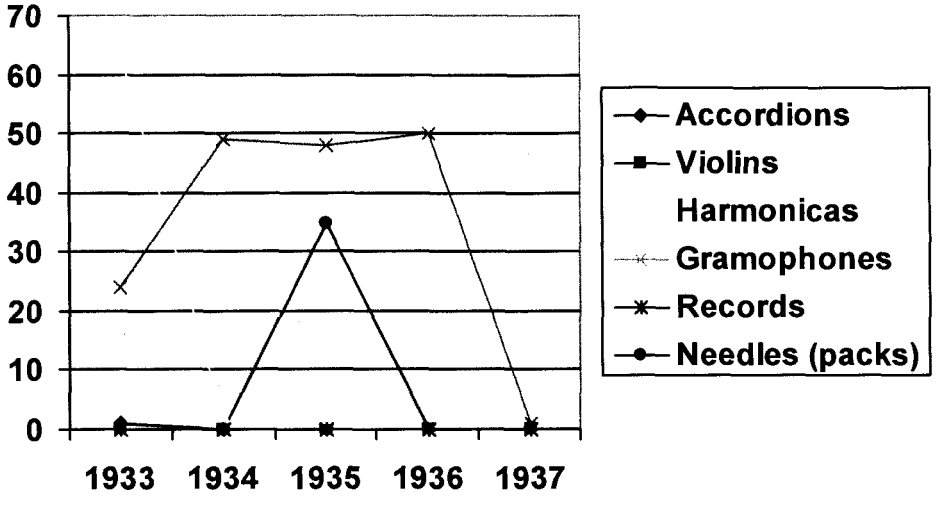

Figure 3.12: Musical Trade Line Graph #3 – Pedersen 1933-1937

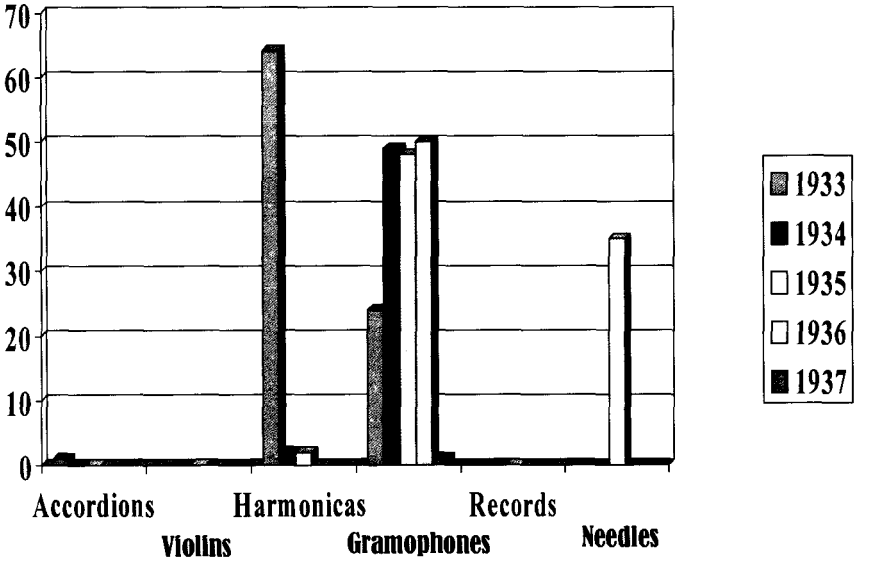

Figure 3.13: Musical Trade Bar Graph #3 – Pedersen 1933-1937

The Phonograph Craze

Phonographs, records, and needles, commercially introduced to the Western Arctic in the early 1900s,[25] became increasingly popular trade items among the indigenous people of the region. A well-known Arctic trader from this period named Charles Madsen remarked that many machines were traded out in the villages and that demand for the latest records was high. On one trading run along the Chukotka coast, he brought along two Victor phonographs (1 machine priced at $21), 24 records, and a package of needles for each phonograph. He traded with a Chukchi chief at Cape Serge one of the machines, 6 records, and a pack of needles for a fine eleven-foot polar bear skin. Afterwards, Madsen exchanged with a second chief farther north the other machine, 6 records for 25 white fox skins, 6 more records for six fine walrus ivory tusks. Finally, on his return south he traded the last 6 records to the first chief for more walrus ivory. Madsen later made a substantial profit by selling the polar bear skin for $200 (Madsen and Douglas 1957: 143-144).

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[25] The trader Madsen claims that phonographs were unknown in Alaska when he arrived in 1899. According to him, the first Victor machines did not reach Nome until several years later (Madsen and Douglas 1957: 143). During the summer of 1898, the missionary Isaac Stringer observed the use of a phonograph at Fort McPherson in the Mackenzie Delta, a popular trading post where miners heading to or returning from the Klondike gold fields exchanged their goods. He noted in his journal: In the evening Messrs. Howland and Long [two former whaling officers] came up with a "gramophone" which Mr. H. had bought off one of the miners. Indians and Huskies in. Songs and music kept us listening for about an hour" (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, June 30, 1898). Recording phonographs were used on the Jesup (1897-1902) and Harriman (1899) Expeditions. The Jesup party made no Alaska Native recordings. Edward Harriman, the sponsor and leader of his expedition, brought along the most state-of-the-art sound equipment of his day, a Columbia Graphophone Grand that played and recorded on large 5-inch diameter cylinders through a 6-foot horn. Making contact with numerous indigenous groups throughout southern and western Alaska as well as Plover Bay along the eastern coast of Chukotka, Harriman recorded some samples of the peoples' songs and speech. In early June 1899, for instance, he collected a few Tlingit speeches and songs from the community of Sitka (Dauenhauer 1990: 325-329). There is written evidence indicating that Harriman made sound recordings of Eyak and possibly other native groups. Unfortunately, no extant cylinders have been found at the present time (Krauss 2006: 192-193). On July 3 and 4, 1903, the missionary Martha Hadley reported the presence of a phonograph at Kotzebue. The owner of the rare item was most likely a miner passing through the area. Both natives and non-natives enjoyed listening to the machine and, according to Hadley, it almost frightened one young local girl (Hadley 1969: 183). Roald Amundsen brought a phonograph with him on his 1903-1906 voyage through the Northwest Passage (Amundsen 1908a: 131). The earliest references to the phonograph in the *Nome Nugget* newspaper appear to date from the early winter of 1905. For two weeks, November 25 through December 9, the paper advertised a notice in the classified section featuring the sale of a Columbia phonograph, with 12 fine records and 5,000 needles for $50 (*Nome Nugget* 1905). About a year later in the fall of 1906, around two thousand phonograph records were on sale at the Nome Bazaar (Jones 2007: 28). Via the whalers and traders, the latest music coming out of Nome – recorded or otherwise, mechanical or in sheet music – quickly received exposure along the northwest Alaska coast eastward to the Canadian Arctic.

By the summer of 1906, the Siberian Yupik inhabitants of Saint Lawrence Island participated in the craze for the unique musical contraption. Attesting to its popularity, Mikkelsen wrote:

> The natives live entirely on whaling, and as they can get about $2,000 worth of supplies, etc., for a single bowhead, they are very well provided with food, as well as other more or less useful articles. Gramophones seem to be the rage among these people; as we passed through the village gramophone tunes sounded in all directions. (Mikkelsen 1909: 40)

Whether the local appeal of gramophones was based on social status, curiosity about the new gadget, or genuine appreciation for its music is difficult to answer. In remote areas along the northern coast of Alaska, the Iñupiat gained early exposure to the instrument and observed its prevalent use as a form of entertainment among outsiders. On Christmas day, 1906, Mikkelsen and his expedition partner, the American scientist Ernest de Koven Leffingwell, celebrated the holiday with a group of Iñupiat on Flaxman Island. After lunch, the two hosts gave each of the guests "a small present, kerchiefs, knives, files, etc., and the phonograph was the last in the list of entertainments for this very successful Christmas party" (Mikkelsen 1909: 138-139).

The phonograph was enormously popular among the native population, regardless of the musical selections. In a letter written to his father, Leffingwell remarked that "the phonograph has been the greatest pleasure to all of us, to natives also. At first they didn't seem to care for my classical selections, but at the end grew to like them. The prima donna records, Eames, Melba, etc., are my chief delight (Mikkelsen 1909: 447). The locals not only listened to various foreign styles of music, they also observed examples of "white man's" dancing. Following a Hula-Hula dance Leffingwell demonstrated his rendition of a "Kabloona" dance to John Philip Sousa's music. The audience, perhaps hyperbolically "agreed that it was the finest exposition of the Terpsichorean art ever seen along the coast!" (Mikkelsen 1909: 450).

One evening in June 1907, following a long night of Iñupiat dancing, Mikkelsen commented more on the use of the phonograph both as an active and a passive form of musical entertainment, that is, as an accompaniment to dance and song and as an instrument to be listened to on its own:

> The next evening they came down to our house, where the dancing and feasting commenced afresh. A white man's dance, which a couple of the men danced with each other, was received with great curiosity, and the natives wanted to know what it was supposed to represent. We gave them also some songs, let the phonograph play for them,

> and gave them a big feast, but had at last to ask them to go, as they apparently intended to make a night out of it. (Mikkelsen 1909: 288, 290)

Here too the phonograph may have been used to accompany the "white man's dance" although it is possible that some in the party performed live music. Local interpretation of the foreign dance as having a representational function suggests the importance of mimicry, an element rooted in Iñupiaq dance. However, the Iñupiat may have also understood the dance in more abstract terms such as the representation of good weather.

In the more cosmopolitan communities of the Beaufort Sea region, such as Point Barrow and Herschel Island, even greater access to various forms of outside music via the phonograph occurred. Mikkelsen reported that almost all the native inhabitants of Point Barrow owned phonographs (Mikkelsen 1909: 73). On a visit to Herschel Island in the summer of 1907, he recorded the following local responses to recently introduced global sounds:

> From a house the sweet music of two or three drums indicates that dancing is in progress, and the stuffy house, with the windows hermetically closed, is full of happy young people, who are dancing as if their very lives depended upon it. Not far away the voices of Melba or Caruso are sounding into the quiet night, transported to these remote corners of the earth through the medium of a phonograph, while a very grave and very dignified crowd of "bucks" and "squaws," smoking and spitting, are listening to the beautiful tones. But a rival close by, strikes up a coon song; some of the crowd forming the audience of the more classical music commence to prick their ears, to look interested, and at last move away over there. A contest begins as to which can draw the largest audience, and two or more phonographs are playing alongside each other, sending forth their tunes with all their might. (Mikkelsen 1909: 317)

The descriptions above provide an excellent example of the variety of musical styles available along the Arctic coast of Alaska and northwestern Canada during the first decade of the 20th century. Enrico Caruso, Emma Eames, and Nellie Melba, who were among the classical recording industry's most successful pioneering artists, did not make records until 1902, 1903, and 1904, respectively. Therefore, any of their recordings heard in the region would have been quite recent. The question arises as to who owned the phonographs – the foreign whalers and traders or the local population? According to Bodfish's trading list, Madsen's testimony, Mikkelsen's observations, phonographs were a popular trading commodity among natives as soon as they were available in the Western Arctic. Therefore, it is quite probable that the indigenous population on Herschel Island owned phonographs and a variety of records.

The references above show that the Iñupiat tended to compartmentalize the diverse genres of music – both local and foreign. As shown, exchanges taking the form of Iñupiat dancing alternated with phonographic music. Shortly before his departure from the Western Arctic in mid-October 1907, Mikkelsen wrote the following description of a good-bye gathering organized in his honor on Flaxman Island:

> We had invited all the natives down to a grand Hula-Hula, a farewell festival, and they all arrived, decked out in their very best splendour. Tullik, our lady of fashion, wore a new and very elegant parkey, a piece of work which must have cost her many hours of hard work. Douglamana, on the contrary, I suppose on the strength of her position, wore her old clothes, but they had all taken pains to look as presentable as possible in order to leave a good impression upon my mind... On this occasion we had a great feast. A huge pot of pemmican had been boiling on the stove all day, jam and crackers were served, and as much tea as our guests would care to drink. The dancing they supplied themselves, and the pauses were filled with the sounds of the phonograph. (Mikkelsen 1909: 332-333)

Again, Mikkelsen used the term *hula-hula* to describe the Iñupiaq celebration. Music from the phonograph provided either filler for the local event or continued to play during the drum dance performances. Also referring also to the event as a Hula-Hula dance, Leffingwell further commented on the number and age of the participants and the excitement their dancing generated: "Thirty souls (natives and three white men) in our house. All hands danced solos and duets, from babies to the old women. The older they are the more they seem to get excited" (Leffingwell 1909: 449-450).

The high demand for phonographs among the indigenous populations of the North resulted in huge profits for the trading companies. In an August 26, 1911 article from the *Christian Science Monitor*, for instance, the writer states that an Eskimo man in the Mackenzie Delta traded "five lynx skins, 20 white foxes and two mink" for the 'talking machine' (*CSM* 8/26/1911: 6). During that same season, the whaler-trader Bodfish priced his phonographs between $19.50 and $30.60 (Bodfish n.d.). Considering the fact that fox skins alone were valued around $60 each during that time (Bernard 1958: 9), shows that trading companies profited enormously from such transactions.

In September, 1912, the Russian medical officer Leonid Starokadomskiy of the Arctic Ocean Hydrographic Expedition, 1910-1915, observed that gramophones were among items kept at the trading store in Uelen, a Siberian Yupik and Chukchi village near Cape Dezhnev in the Chukchi Peninsula. He noted that the village chief managed the store and that the settlement

appeared more American than Russian, judging by the American origin of the trading goods and the native preference to speak English rather than Russian (Starokadomskiy 1976: 98). In the 1909, 1910, and 1911 seasons, for instance, the American trader Bodfish bartered 1 Victor gramophone, 14 records, 2300 gramophone needles, 10 accordions, and 23 harmonicas at Uelen (Bodfish n.d.).

In a few short years, listening to popular songs on the gramophone became a staple feature in native households. On a periodic visit to Herschel Island in the early 1920s, the inspector and trader Phillip Godsell made the following observation:

> Drawn up along the shore were about sixty motor schooners belonging to the Nunatagmiut Eskimos [Interior Alaskan Iñupiat]. That they had become quite sophisticated in their ways was evidenced by the strains of "Red Hot Mama," "Dardanella" and "How Are Ya Gonna Keep 'Em Down on the Farm" which were wafted on the Polar breeze from the gramophones within the cabins. (Godsell 1932: 252)

Ownership of an expensive motor schooner indicates that a number of natives at least in the Herschel Island area had become quite wealthy largely due to their participation in the fur trade. The accumulation of wealth allowed the indigenous people to seek more material "comforts", among them a consumption of music from others parts of the world. At the nearby community of Aklavik, also known as the muskrat fur capital of the world, indigenous families earned enough income to afford numerous household items, including gramophones. Native familiarity with the popular culture of the outside world, for instance, the famous singing personality Harry Lauder, was commonplace (Smith 1923: 19).

Not all natives along the Arctic coast cared for the so-called modern conveniences. In the early summer of 1925, the Wainwright teacher Eva Alvey Richards met an independent-minded Point Halkett Iñupiaq man named Utchik along the coast. Utchik had a wife, three children and a sled loaded with beautiful furs. Admiring his apparent happiness and prosperity devoid of indigenous communal ways and foreign influences, Richards further detailed her acquaintance's philosophy:

> He had visited the trading stores, but he said he could not eat a 'song box' (phonograph), and his wife and daughter would freeze in silk stockings... He did not believe a flannel shirt was warmer than his reindeer parkas, nor would a pair of logger boots be superior to the very fine seal boots his wife could make for him. He owned two sleds and twenty-two dogs – a truly well-to-do Eskimo. What's more, he owned a fine gun and two good hunting knives. (Richards 1949: 251)

Utchik's way of life obviously appealed to Richards, whose writing style reveals an American value system based on the spirit of enterprise and rugged individualism. Yet, her appreciation for Eskimo solidarity and sense of community cannot be overlooked either. The role of music, dance, and performance within this dichotomous framework of sociopolitical thought is a complex one – a necessary mechanism for social bonding or a human activity that offers little or no practical value. At any rate, Utchik's strong support for self-reliance and especially his distaste for all things impractical placed himself out of the mainstream.

In the 1920s, cheaper portable gramophones such as the Victor models appeared on the worldwide market and sales steadily rose. By the end of the decade, a gramophone craze emerged (Gronow, Saunio and Moseley 1999: 55). A writer for the *New York Times* remarked in a September 15, 1927 column that gramophones were in great demand and commanded a high price in the region around Herschel Island (Dickie 1927: 496). Evidence of such enthusiasm is reflected in the large numbers of machines stocked there between 1932 and 1936 (see musical trade graph #3). Records from Tom Gordon's Barter Island trading post, located 90 miles west of the Canadian border, also reveal an interest in the device. In early September 1931, four customers by the names of Homer, Arey Gallagher, Luke Evekana, and Harlan purchased two phonographs and 30 packs of phonograph needles between themselves. The phonographs sold for $40 and $10, respectively, while the needles ranged in price from $1 to $2. The four men presumably traded furs for the items. In 1931, blue fox and polar bear skins respectively averaged $30 and $20 apiece while white fox ranged from $15 to $20 (Barter Island 1927-1938: pp. 218, 220, 224, 248).

Furthermore, phonographic records were highly sought after by the native population. The local bartering of goods at the storehouse on Barter Island included gramophone records as the main trade items (O'Brien 1935: 113). In 1932, much of the cargo transported on Ira Rank's[26] Arctic-bound vessel *Trader* consisted of luxuries, including "old gramophone records, which [were] in great demand... It makes no difference whether the record be a band piece, singing, or just talking, the music box is still a great secret to the Husky [Eskimo] and he loves to keep it going until the records are worn thin" (O'Brien 1935: 24-25). As shown, such references to the variety of musical styles, its strong appeal to the local population, and its supposed lingering mystery to the native people are commonplace in the ethnographic literature.

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[26] Ira Rank was well known throughout the Wesern Arctic as a trader. He also outfitted a number of other traders and trappers, including Joe Bernard, whose life and career is discussed in the following chapter.

The popularity of phonographs beginning in the 1920s probably decreased the need for musicians to provide entertainment. As the demand for pre-recorded music in the form of records rose during this period, the performance of live music may have become less frequent. Passive forms of entertainment, therefore, gradually eclipsed active ones. For instance, an Inuit woman born in 1916, Jean (Kisaun) Tardiff remembered as a young girl growing up at Demarcation Point the presence of a phonograph at the dances:

> At the time they used to have big dances. Paul Uqalihuk was a young man. He even had fancy bead work on his stockings because was a caller for the dances. In them days, I think they danced to a record player because I never see one with fiddle on anyone playing it. My mom and them used to go dancing. (Yukon North Slope Inuvialuit Oral History 1990: Tape 16A: 1-2)

Musicians, of course, continued to perform at dances, particularly at larger settlements such as the one at Herschel Island. Reflecting on their childhood memories, Jean Tardiff, Kathleen Hansen born 1915, and Dora Malegana born 1916, remarked about the frequent square dances held there and the presence of skilled Inuit fiddlers and guitarists (Yukon North Slope Inuvialuit Oral History 1990: Tape 16A: 4; Tape 27B: 4, 6; Tape 28A: 7). According to Tardiff, both native and non-native people participated in the dances (Yukon North Slope Inuvialuit Oral History 1990: Tape 16A: 4). Reflecting the ethnic and musical diversity of the Herschel Island community, Christina Klengenberg born 1915, recalled her fascination in meeting black people for the first time, workers employed by Captain Pedersen.[27] She "would stare at them, wondering what they were. They would play music. This kind. On top of Pedersen's boat, they would dance" (Yukon North Slope Inuvialuit Oral History 1990: 33A: 4). Presumably, when Klengenberg said "This kind", she was demonstrating her interpretation of the dance music. Unfortunately, no description of her rendition is available.

David Greist, the son of missionary-doctor Henry Greist, grew up in Barrow between 1921 and 1937. According to his autobiography *My Playmates were Eskimos*, David's childhood memories were filled with music. He shared his talent as a harmonica and banjo player with the community and he even hoped to form an orchestra with several other boys. David also

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[27] The daughter-in-law of the notorious whaler Charlie Klengenberg, Christina also claimed that people danced in her youth, but that she "never heard of them drum dancing or square dancing at Herschel Island. Only later on" (Yukon North Slope Inuvialuit Oral History 1990: Tape 33A: 4). This remark runs counter to several other informants' statements.

commented on the importance of the phonograph as a recreational tool. The crank Victrola that his parents kept in the manse provided entertainment for adults and children alike, native and non-native. Prior to the introduction of commercially-available radios[28] and televisions, phonographs served as a popular medium for socializing, performing tasks, and passing the time. In his youth, David remembered listening mostly to cowboy songs such as *Red River Valley, The Last Great Roundup, Dying Cowgirl, May I Sleep in Your Barn Tonight, Mister?*, and *Home on the Range*. One other song that he recalled listening to, while staying at the trader Jim Allen's house in Wainwright,[29] was the comical *Barnacle Bill the Sailor*, the earliest known version of which came out in 1930 as a popular jazzy foxtrot tune by Hoagy Carmichael and Bix Biederbecke. Many of these records were the latest selections to arrive either through the mail or off the summer ships, showing that residents of distant Arctic villages were well aware of the current musical hits (Greist 2002: 21-22, 39, 61-62, 171).

Even in less accessible communities, phonographs provided welcome, perhaps necessary entertainment, relaxation, and recreation for natives and non-natives alike. In 1930, the scientist and wilderness advocate Robert Marshall shipped a phonograph and thirty precious records to Wiseman where he spent many evenings listening and falling asleep to the music (Marshall 1991: 5, 8). Writing about upper Koyukuk life during his one-year stay,[30] Marshall commented on the importance of the phonograph in the region:

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[28] David Greist does not mention the use of the radio in Barrow during the 1920s and 1930s but his father Henry, a missionary-doctor, noted that the U.S. Army set up radio service there in 1926. Elizabeth Bernhardt Pinson remembered battery-operated radio sets arriving in Teller in the mid-1920s. Her family and friends were able to listen to programs such as the weekly National Barn Dance from KNX in Los Angeles. Especially during the wintertime, radio reception was strong enough to pick up programs from almost any large city in North American (Pinson 2004: 51, 118). As a successful trader with special business connections to the Outside, Pinson's father could presumably afford and acquire the latest technologies, long before others in the area.

[29] Years earlier towards the beginning of 1923, David's father recorded the presence of a "very fine phonograph" at Allen's home in Wainwright. Furthermore, the whaler-trader Allen led "square and modern dances" (presumably jazz or ragtime), to the machine's musical accompaniment (Greist n.d.: 122-123).

[30] Located just south of the Brooks Range in central Alaska, Wiseman was established shortly after the discovery of gold in the upper Koyukuk in the late 1890s. Robert Marshall's immensely popular work *Arctic Village* published in 1933, documented in wonderful detail his observations of Iñupiaq and non-Native life in 1930-1931. The author's examination of music and dance is especially useful for this study.

> It was in listening to phonographic music that the Koyukukers received their chief artistic diversion. About one out of every three homes had a phonograph, and those who were without such instrument frequently enjoyed the concerts of their neighbors, or if stopping in town visited the roadhouse to play its semi-public machine. The records in the region numbered well into the thousands, including many which dated back to the days when only side of a disc was used. The favorite records reproduce sentimental songs, humorous songs, and especially dance music. (Marshall 1991: 318)

Ever fascinated with statistics, Marshall figured that a larger percentage of Iñupiat owned phonographs compared to that of the non-native population. He also noted that in the span of one year eleven major dances took place at the community's Pioneer Hall while the roadhouse held 159 smaller ones. Each of the dances featured music played on the phonograph. Some of the records used for dancing were recent songs such as *Gee, But I'd Like to Make you Happy* (1929) and *The Utah Trail* (1928); slightly older tunes like the well-known waltz *When It's Springtime in the Rockies* (1923) and the fox-trots *Bye-Bye Blackbird* (1926) and *Look for the Silver Lining* (1920); and finally, traditional waltzes from the 19th century, namely *The Blue Danube* (1866) (Marshall 1991: 71, 281, 309, 318, 321 and Marshall 2005: 83).[31]

Marshall also brought a number of classical music records purely for listening pleasure including Liszt's *Hungarian Rhapsody*, Satie's *Gymnopédie*, Schubert's *Unfinished Symphony*, Wagner's *Ride of the Valkyries*, Beethoven's *Eighth Symphony*, and Ravel's recent 1928 composition *Bolero* (Marshall 1991: 8, 318-319). He observed that the Iñupiat appreciated classical music more so than non-Natives.[32] One piece in particular appealed to them – Ravel's *Bolero* – which Marshall attributed to its strong rhythmic quality and a drumbeat that "runs through the entire [work], never the same at any two instants, but still exactly the same throughout the whole composition" (Marshall 1991: 320). The idea that Marshall is honing in on – the apparent similarity between the repeating drum patterns and recurring melodies featured in

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[31] Upon his return to the States in the fall of 1931, Marshall continued to send records to Wiseman including the popular song *Down Beside a Dutch Canal* (1931) by Arthur Young, a British composer who also published the lesser known song *Eskimo Love* during the same year (Library of Congress 1932: 728, 2263.

[32] George Hubert Wilkins, a member of the Canadian Arctic Expedition (1913-1916) gave a gramophone concert for the shaman Uloksak's [Uulukshuk] three Inuinnait (Copper Inuit) wives at Bernard Harbor, Northwest Territories. He observed that they liked vocal recordings better than instrumental ones, especially those songs recorded by the popular Scottish singer Harry Lauder. Wilkins or his editor Stuart Jenness surmised that the women could have simply related to male vocal sounds better (Jenness 2004: 226-227).

the *Bolero* and those commonly found in Iñupiaq drum songs – is remarkable. The author developed the idea further by ascribing a naturalistic origin to the indigenous music:

> Because the *Bolero* is a perfect counterpart of the music they have heard from earliest childhood out in the wilderness of the North. The drums are the rivers rumbling unvaryingly, and the rest of the orchestra is the wind howling, the ice cracking, snow-slides coming down the mountains, rocks tumbling over one another, the wild animals howling. It represents to the natives all the chaotic music of nature in its wildest moments. (Marshall 1991: 320)

As a wilderness enthusiast, Marshall was closely attuned to the sounds of nature from an early age. Deeply concerned with the spread of urbanization in the contiguous United States during the early 1900s, he saw a periodic need to seek places where one could enjoy a deeper sense of solitude, independence, and beauty – environments that only existed in those remote areas virtually untouched by civilization. Assuming that native societies generally maintained a closer connection to nature, Marshall interpreted certain aspects of Iñupiaq culture such as music as expressions of natural soundscapes. His philosophy is not unlike that of the contemporary Alaskan composer John Luther Adams, who searches for places where you go to listen, places where the rhythms and sounds of nature can help to restore one's self, one's cultural outlook, and one's musical being. As such, Adams aims towards a holistic understanding of the individual, culture, music, and place (Adams 2004: 24).

Through mimetic performance, lyricism, and drumming, Iñupiaq drum dance songs epitomize the interconnectedness between music, dance, culture, and nature. The pantomimed imitation of animals and natural phenomena, the singing of one's physical and metaphysical surroundings, and the typical repeating, asymmetrical rhythmic patterns laid out in the drumbeat all attest to this integrated framework. Both Marshall and Adams explore these connections in their writings. Both express a strong interest in Iñupiaq music. Marshall learned to sing Iñupiaq songs and closely observed Iñupiaq dance (Marshall 1991: 87, 88, 311-312, 322-326) while Adams after decades of listening to and watching Iñupiaq drum dancing and utilizing elements of it in his compositions, professes a deep respect for it (Adams 2004: 18-21, 66, 67, 69).

The Spread of Music-Related Items to the East

Returning to the use of the phonograph and other musical instruments, during the 1920s and 1930s, mercantile trade expanded well beyond the Western Arctic. Captain Pedersen operated in the central Canadian Arctic under the Canadian subsidiary Canalaska Company. His two schooners *Emma* and *Nigalik* seasonally picked up goods at Herschel Island and distributed them throughout the region as far east as Gjoa Haven, located on the southeastern corner of King William Island. With the fur trade extending to Somerset Island in the eastern Arctic, Pedersen's operations finally opened the rest of the Canadian Arctic to regular trade and linked the two arctic regions to one another and to the rest of world. Traders brought musical instruments into remote communities such as Kugluktuk (Coppermine) as shown in the 1930s photograph depicting two male natives and a Hohner buttonbox accordion (Figure 3.14).

Figure 3.14: Inuit man holding a button-box accordion, Jack Kaoloak (left), Andrew Nivingalok (right), Kugluktuk, 1930s, NWT Archives #N-1987-033: 0704

Musical items even reached as far north as Prince of Wales Island. There the renowned leader and wealthy fur trapper Johnnie Cotton was reported to have owned "an expensive portable organ and two dozen gramophones" (O'Brien 1935: 224). Such possessions were acquired in exchange for fur pelts, a seemingly lucrative business that afforded him not only modern conveniences but also three wives and six native servants (O'Brien 1935: 223-224).

Along with musical instruments and phonographs, jigging and square dancing styles spread as well to Cambridge Bay and further east to the remote Netsilik communities of Gjoa Haven and Pelly Bay [Kugaaruk] (Cavanagh 1982: 179). An accordion-accompanied square dancing and jigging tradition did not take root in these communities though performance of such music developed in the nearby Netsilik community of Spence Bay [Taloyoak] located on Boothia Peninsula. Since the impact of the eastern Arctic whaling industry was not as significant in this remote area, it is likely that the Hudson's Bay Company traders and neighboring indigenous groups introduced jigs and reels, square and country dancing to the Netsilik people. Probably because of land route trade and association with both Westerners and indigenous peoples from the neighboring region of Hudson Bay, the Boothia Peninsula Inuit acquired instruments such as accordions and fiddles and adopted jig and reel music into their repertoire.

Finally, the trading of musical instruments between and among locals and outsiders also operated informally and at a personal level. One poignant example of this exchange is illustrated in the travels of a young adventurer along the Arctic coast of Alaska and Canada during the early 1930s. In 1933, the 22 year-old David Irwin stayed with an Inuit man named Ung-a-lil-ik near the Perry River between Kent and Adelaide Peninsulas. In exchange for saving his life and helping his family in a time of need, Ung-a-lil-ik gave Irwin an old violin that his father had acquired years earlier for rescuing a white fur trader. Ung-a-lil-ik finished telling the story as follows:

> When they had safely landed, the leader took my father to the big ship, and there gave him food and knives, and asked him if there was anything on the ship that he wanted. My father looked all around and then he saw this box which makes strange sounds, and he told the white leader that that was what he wanted above everything else. My father took it and kept it; when he died, he gave it to me, and I have had it for many years and now you, another white man, have been good to my people and fed them and helped them hunt, and I give it to you. (O'Brien 1935: 219)

The passing on of a violin from an outsider to an Inuit family and back again to another outsider over a period of decades is significant. Both incidences involved the exchange of a musical instrument for saving the life of another, two gestures that demonstrate the object's worth to Ung-a-lil-ik and his father. In return, Irwin, who had not played the violin since he was a boy, valued the instrument immensely and "vowed to carry that battered old fiddle with him through all his journeys" (O'Brien 1935: 220). During the rest of his stay, Irwin played music for the locals and even collaborated with Ung-a-lil-ik's older wife So-kin-ya by providing violin accompaniment to

her newly composed love song, an intriguing yet unexplained story about the arrival of a white man (O'Brien 1935: 220-221).

In conclusion, musical interaction in the Western Arctic intensified considerably with the advent of commercial whaling and its associated trading activities. Indigenous peoples, including children, observed and participated in musical exchanges and eventually bartered for southern instruments and phonographs. As the forces of globalization expanded northward and eastward across Arctic Alaska and Canada, awareness and acceptance of musical styles from the Outside increased. Similar to the experiences of early explorers, musical performance enabled local and foreign population to communicate with one another. Very probably, it also helped facilitate language acquisition. Purposively or naturally, music and dance activities established prime conditions for social bonding. This, in turn, promoted trade and furthered intimacy between the two groups. The genetic mixing of whaler-traders and native women produced offspring, some of whom led bicultural lives, which both expressed and maintained the hybridizing effects of globalization. The presence of the whalers and traders altered the material aspects of indigenous culture but also severely impacted the social fabric of communities with their introduction of disease, alcohol, and exploitation of native food sources. In terms of music and dance, their importation of entertainment appeared less disruptive, largely supplementing the pre-existing native drum dance traditions. Starting in the 1890s, missionaries arrived in the region to assist the local population in meeting the new sociocultural challenges and to convert them to Christianity. As will be argued in later chapters, their presence had a more consequential influence on the state of indigenous music and dance. Before proceeding to this topic, I will present in the next chapter a more detailed case study of music and dance within the context of trade.

CHAPTER 4:
AN EARLY CULTURAL CONTACT CASE STUDY IN MUSICAL INTERACTION

In this section, I discuss a case study of early cultural contact involving the use of music as a tool to foster positive social relations and promote effective trade. The parties concerned are a young European American trading captain, his Iñupiaq crew, and an insular group of Inuit in the central Canadian Arctic. First, I present a brief history of cultural contact in the area will be presented followed by an examination of the music itself as described in primary sources.

Early Inuinnait Exposure to Southern Culture

By the beginning of the 20th century, almost all major Eskimo groups on the North American and Asian continents had incurred extensive exposure to Western culture. The last remaining two were the Netsilik and Inuinnait[1] (formerly known as the Copper Inuit) of the central Canadian Arctic. I will focus on the Inuinnait since they share a century–long cultural and historical legacy with the Inuvialuit and Iñupiaq peoples of the Western Arctic. Relatively isolated, this group as a whole only began to make direct and sustained contact with Westerners after 1910.[2] Certain past encounters occurred but they were either brief or limited to a small segment of the population.

Among the first exploring parties to overwinter in the region was that of Richard Collinson's voyage in the *H.M.S. Endeavor*. In the search for the lost Franklin expedition, he and his crew spent two winters, 1851-1852 and 1852-1853 among some Inuinnait bands inhabiting Victoria Island. Musical exchanges most likely occurred during the first season spent at Winter Cove on the southwestern part of the island. One illustration drawn that winter by the expedition's assistant surgeon Edward Adams depicts an Inuinnait man wearing a traditional loon-beaked dance cap, as shown below (Figure 4.1).

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[1] Inuinnait is the name preferred today by the Inuit of this area.

[2] Perhaps as early as the 1820s, the Inuinnait had traded extensively with the Caribou Inuit of Thelon River in southcentral Canada, who in turn received Western goods from the Hudson's Bay Company. The Inuinnait had also traded in the mid-19th century with the Mackenzie Inuit of the Mackenzie Delta, who in turn received Russian trade goods such as iron knives from the Iñupiat of northern Alaska (Morrison 1992 21-22).

Figure 4.1: Inuinnait man wearing a traditional loon-beaked dance cap, 1851-1852, Sketched by Edward Adams
Scott Polar Research Institute, Accession No. 83/11/29

Such fine detail in the sketch suggests that the sailors and the locals shared close and extensive encounters and that the two groups interacted at local drum dances. Presumably, they took part in musical exchanges as well.

During the second winter at Cambridge Bay, evidence shows that the locals observed Western forms of music. In early December 1852, the gun-room steward Richard Shingleton commented on the arrival of three Inuinnait:

> They made themselves quite at home, eating whatever was given to them, but Tobacco and grog they do not like. Lime juice they are very fond of. In the afternoon as the weather was worse they were shown where they could sleep and perfectly understood what it meant. In the evening we had the fiddle and drum playing and they were quite overjoyed. It is a great thing to have these poor people friendly with us, for they may be able to serve us, if not us perhaps other Europeans that might come here. (Barr 2007: 155)

According to Shingleton, the crew's hospitality expressed particularly by music-making left a very positive impression on the locals and one the steward thought could prove advantageous for Westerners. Given these two examples, one can reasonably assume that the expedition members and the Inuinnait shared several musical exchanges over the course of two long winters.

After the Collinson expedition, there was no further contact between Westerners and the Inuinnait for at least the next four decades. Beginning in the early 1890s, circumstantial evidence

suggests that commercial whalers from Herschel Island made contact with the Inuinnait. The first documented reports of such meetings took place in 1905-1906 and 1907-1908 with the respective overwintering voyages of Christian Klengenberg and William Mogg at Victoria Island (Bockstoce 1975: 298-299). None of the written sources mentions musical interaction.

In 1902, on the mainland, an adventurous sport hunter and collector named David Hanbury, with the assistance of eastern Inuit guides, successfully completed a journey from Hudson Bay across the Barren Lands to the Arctic Ocean. Skirting the coastline westward to the Coppermine River, he made contact with several small parties of Inuinnait, with whom he established good relations. On one of his first meetings, in fact, the local people performed a customary dance in his party's honor (Hanbury 1904: 141-143).

A later traveler, who eventually became one of the best-known experts on Eskimo culture and northern environments, was Vilhjalmur Stefansson. In May 1910, as leader of the Stefansson-Anderson Arctic Expedition, this ambitious ethnologist and explorer met a group of Inuinnait on Victoria Island who would become controversially known as the "Blonde Eskimos". Noticing that some of the people possessed Caucasian-like physical traits such as lighter hair and lighter eyes, Stefansson suggested, perhaps cleverly, that their ancestors had assimilated with members of the doomed Franklin expedition or, more likely, the Norse settlers of Greenland. By way of newspapers, his bold conclusions quickly circulated around the world and generated a massive amount of popular appeal, eclipsing even that of Robert Peary's recent North Pole conquest. In many academic circles, however, critics strongly condemned Stefansson for his unfounded claims and associated sensationalism (Diubaldo 1978).

Having completed his fieldwork for the season, Stefansson reluctantly headed southwestward to overwinter in the interior. He wanted to observe the winter habits of the Inuinnait, but he realized that it would be safer and easier to procure game inland during this time of year. Fearing that traders and missionaries would soon move into the new country and "contaminate" his anthropological "subjects",[3] however, Stefansson decided to return to the coast in March of 1911 (Stefansson 1913: 217, 256-258). But he was too late – Joe Bernard, a trader

[3] Stefansson's own assertion of Western superiority over the Inuinnait as well as the western Inuit comes through in his journals. He generally supported Franz Boas in his criticism of the unilinear theory of social evolution (Pálsson 2001: 35, 73), but he frequently remarked on the "primitiveness" and "Stone Age" practices of the indigenous peoples he encountered. Frequent patronizing references to Eskimo and Indian intelligence and abilities abound in his writings (Pálsson 2001: 207, 213, 242-245; Stefansson 1913: 174). From today's standards, Stefansson's occasional racist comments leave little to be desired. However, as a product of his times, his ethnocentric ideas may be excused to some degree; at any rate, they were usually far less pronounced than those of his contemporaries.

from Nome, had entered the Coronation Gulf region the previous fall with his diminutively-named schooner *Teddy Bear*. The vanguard of "civilization" had arrived.

Joe Bernard and His Arctic Trading

An unknown figure today, Captain Joseph Fidèle Bernard (1878-1972) spent the years between the early 1900s and the mid-1920s in the Alaskan, Siberian, and Canadian Arctic working as a sailor, trader, trapper, miner, and collector. It was, however, as a sailor and collector that Bernard secured a name for himself in the annals of Arctic exploration and science. During his years in the Arctic, he was able to amass enormous collections that he later sold or donated to various museums throughout the United States Canada, and England. Known as the first Western trader to explore and overwinter in the Inuinnait territory of Coronation Gulf, he also conducted some of the region's first scientific work, collecting ethnological, archeological and zoological specimens. Bernard was also a keen observer of Inuinnait culture and documented detailed information about indigenous activities and relationships. His role as a trader between the years 1910 and 1920 gave him a unique opportunity to witness the introduction of Western goods and their impact on the local inhabitants' material culture. A pioneering ethnographer of the region, his writings and photographs also depict the beginning stages of a historically significant period of extensive cultural contact, a period marked by an Inuit culture in transition. He lacked formal training in the sciences including anthropology, but his richly documented accounts of the Arctic landscape, both natural and cultural, serve as an invaluable and untapped wellspring of information.

Despite the contributions that he made in furthering scientific knowledge of the polar region and his demonstrated abilities as a daring skipper and successful trader, Bernard never seemed to receive long-standing public recognition for his achievements. Avoiding total obscurity, he fortunately documented a good portion of his adventurous years in the Arctic. In early 1970 the University of Alaska, Fairbanks acquired the 91 year-old Bernard's unpublished manuscript as well as other important documentary material.

A detailed analysis of the manuscript's content regarding music follows. This focus on music provides a view into the cultural interaction between Bernard and the Inuit peoples with whom he traded and lived. One of the richest musical examples contained in the Bernard

collection is a photograph featuring a large number of Inuinnait and the captain's large gramophone (Figure 4.2).

Figure 4.2: Bernard's phonograph and Coronation Gulf Inuinnait, "Playing the phonograph and entertaining the Carnation [sic] Gulf Coast natives. Having the phonograph on a sled. This was taken in the month of May," circa May 1911, Alaska & Polar Regions Archives, Rasmuson Library Accession No. 764 (24) Joseph F. Bernard

This photograph is the only one in the collection that directly relates to music. Although faded and a bit out of focus, one can clearly discern a large group of natives composed of men, women, and children standing in a semi-circle around a gramophone situated on top of a sled. The juxtaposition between the Inuinnait clad in traditional seal- and caribou-skin clothing gazing at the peculiar-shaped instrument is remarkable. As the caption pertaining to the photograph explains, the people are from the Coronation Gulf area and the picture was taken sometime in the month of May, the year not mentioned. I have concluded that the photograph was taken on or around May 7, 1911 since that particular manuscript entry date describes a very similar event. Bernard took the photograph after having spent one winter in Coronation Gulf (Krejci 2004).

In the previous fall of August 1910, the trader and collector Bernard navigated his small gas schooner through the Union and Dolphin Straits and established a wintering site 18 miles east of the Coppermine at Asiak River. When he landed the *Teddy Bear* in Coronation Gulf, Bernard

was not alone. Serving as crew on board the vessel was an Iñupiaq family consisting of Tulugak, his wife Saijak and a few of their children, as well as his mother and a much younger brother. Following Iñupiaq custom, the employment of Tulugak meant that his wife and family became part of Bernard's team as well. In the previous winter near Barter Island in northern Alaska, Bernard met Tulugak and his family and learned from them how to live in the Arctic (Bernard 1958: 7, 124; Bernard 1959: 371).

Not only did the Iñupiaq family teach Bernard essential survival skills, they were also instrumental in establishing harmonious relations between him and the Inuinnait. The first-contact encounter occurred around the middle of August when Bernard's party steered the schooner a couple of miles up the Rae River and met a small local band. A good rapport quickly developed. The ability of the accompanying Iñupiat to communicate with the easterners was one advantage. At least one member of the local group had recently met Stefansson and brought more familiarity to the situation (Stefansson 1919: 252-253, 292-293). Interestingly enough, this same individual named Ekallukpik had met Europeans 62 years before when as a small boy he saw his father and others help the explorers Richardson and Rae make a river crossing during their search for the lost Franklin expedition (Bernard 1958: 136-138; Stefansson 1919: 252-253).

A second more detailed example of an "early contact" encounter took place a couple months later in late October, 1910. Not having seen any local inhabitants since August, Bernard and Tulugak decided to take a trip to the Coppermine and seek them out. Bringing along trade items, the two men traveled by dogteam to the mouth of the river. Bernard wrote:

> There we found them: 27 houses in a village! It was a happy moment for us. Most of them were out fishing on the ice but soon the word was sent out and they all flocked over to see us. Quite a reception it was. There were about 200 Eskimos and at least 150 dogs. At first they did not come near us but sent two of their bravest men to meet us. They carried their spears and we carried our guns. As we drew near we put our guns behind us to show them we meant no harm. Then Tulugak spoke to them for awhile. Soon the whole village flocked around while we pitched out tent. They were very friendly and brought us some wood for our fire and a good supply of fish. (Bernard 1958: 148)

Again, Tulugak's presence helped to develop stronger ties with the Inuinnait. Therefore, serving as interpreters of the eastern people's language and customs, the Iñupiat offered better opportunities for constructive dialogue to emerge.

In many of their "early-contact" encounters both Bernard and Tulugak engaged in trade. They mainly sought furs, though they also acquired fish, meat, sled dogs, and native artifacts

(Bernard 1958: 138, 149, 152, 164). The practice of exchanging material resulted from a natural desire to establish a human connection. Just as importantly, it also arose from a need to make a profit. First and foremost a trader, one of Bernard's primary reasons for developing good relations with the locals was to promote successful trading partnerships, especially with influential individuals. For example, after befriending the leader Okomea, one of the most respected men in the region, he was able to attract many visitors to his ship (Bernard 1958: 153). Similarly, by participating in trade with Bernard and his party, Okomea likely sought to strengthen his economic and social standing. Demonstrating a great deal of entrepreneurial ingenuity, Okomea bartered a few fine pelts for apparently worthless twine only to exchange the objects for profit by discovering a practical local use for them as material to make seal indicators (Bernard 1958: 170-171).[4]

Trapping was another activity through which the trader and his Iñupiaq crew formed economic relations with the Inuinnait. In general, Bernard supplied the traps while Tulugak and his sons taught the locals how to set them (Bernard 1958: 156, 166). During the previous winter at Barter Island, Bernard had hired Tulugak to use his traps in exchange for half of the furs caught. In their second year together the men apparently continued the arrangement but perhaps with a greater degree of independence for Tulugak had by then owned a number of his own traps (Bernard 1958: 63, 66, 158).

A final point about relations between Bernard, his Iñupiaq crew, and the Inuinnait population is the practice of religion and medicine. Raised a French Catholic, Bernard often marked off Sundays and other holidays as days of rest. As his journals attest, the trader usually abstained from any work activity during this time; instead he relaxed indoors and played his gramophone. It is evident that Tulugak and his family followed the same ritual since Bernard included them in his holiday entries (Bernard 1958: 154, 162, 164, 172, 174, 176, 177, 184). Whether Bernard and the Iñupiat observed the Sabbath out of religious conviction or social habit is difficult to ascertain. On a number of Sundays both Bernard and Tulugak's family committed

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[4] Bernard explains that the Inuinnait normally used fox hair or cotton grass to make lines for hunting seals. He claims that twine worked much better than the other materials since it remained firm when wet. According to Bockstoce, Okomea may have "unraveled the twine and used it as an indicator at the top snow covering the seal's breathing hole. When the seal rose into the hole some air would be expelled from the tiny top hole in the snow cover, moving the twine and indicating to the hunter that it was time to thrust his harpoon into the seal's hole" (John Bockstoce , email message to the author, November 11, 2010).

themselves to a daily work schedule that included hunting, checking traps and trading. Therefore, it appears that even if the Iñupiat had accepted Christianity, though likely, they did not rigidly adhere to a strict interpretation of the religion. Like Bernard, they were pragmatists who surmised that it was senseless to follow those doctrinal restrictions that prevented them from subsisting on certain proscribed days, especially in such an extreme Arctic environment. As a result, Bernard and his party probably had little religious impact on the Inuinnait, except for the connection that they drew between Sunday rest and musical diversion.[5]

Later in his travels, Bernard did attempt to exert some religious influence, however. Evidence shows that sometime before the summer of 1913, he encouraged and offered to help the Catholic missionary Jean-Baptist Rouvière to establish a mission on the Arctic coast. The plan fell through, however, when two Inuinnait men killed Rouvière and a fellow priest, Guillaume LeRoux, on the Coppermine in November of the same year (Whalley 1962: 96, 120).

Known throughout the Arctic as a successful trader and scientific collector, Bernard also developed a reputation among the indigenous population as something of a "medicine man". He had no formal medical training in the subject, but many natives approached him to treat serious ailments such as tumors, syphilitic infections, and severe constipation. Before the arrival of government-appointed physicians, the Western task of providing medical aid fell to missionaries, the police, visiting scientists, and whalers/traders. Regarding the latter, it was usual for whaling captains to take on serious medical procedures. Men such as Captain Bodfish, for instance, often conducted amputations on and removed tumors from their crew as well as the native people (Bodfish 1936: 49, 56; Barry 1966). Relying chiefly on a medical handbook and some surgical supplies, Bernard administered life-saving aid to several people, not only the Inuinnait and other easterners but also the Iñupiat, including Tulugak's daughter.

According to the noted anthropologist Diamond Jenness, Bernard was one of the first Westerners to make a significant cultural impact on the Inuit of the Coronation Gulf area (Jenness 1970 [1922]: 240-241). Jenness, who participated in the Canadian Arctic Expedition (C.A.E.) as

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[5] Pamela Stern wrote an insightful article about the nature of time in the Arctic and the impact of newer temporal constructs introduced by outsiders. She focused her study on the community of Holman, located on the western side of Victoria Island (Stern 2003). Comparing the influence of outsiders with regard to time, she asserted that "the temporal changes brought about by whalers and traders were largely byproducts of their economic interventions. Missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, however, actively worked to alter Inuit uses and apprehension of time" (Stern 2003: 151). Some of these changes included observing the Sabbath and involved the use of calendars. Rather than imposing these practices onto the Inuinnait traders like Bernard and the Tulugak family exposed the local people to them in a more natural way, merely as an expression of their daily life.

an ethnologist, conducted research in the region shortly after Bernard's departure in 1914; he was therefore able to provide a first-hand account of the initial changes that were beginning to take place. As a successful fur trader, Bernard introduced the local population to Western technology and foods. Items such as rifles, steel traps, knives, canned foods, sugar, and candy slowly began to revolutionize the lives of the Inuinnait.

Bernard was also influential in the realm of music. On his adventures northward into the Arctic, the trader brought along a gramophone that he frequently played for the native populations living nearby. Quite regularly on Sundays and on Christmas, the captain would share his records of reel and bagpipe music with the locals. The latter would often reciprocate by performing their dance music. These musical exchanges were a particularly effective way for Bernard's party and the local natives to strengthen their relationships. In his writings, Bernard cited numerous examples of evenings celebrated with drum dance and gramophone recordings. In fact, the first time that he received visitors, the trader entertained them by playing his curious mechanical contraption. Tulugak's family also reciprocated by sharing their Iñupiat style dancing with the Coronation Gulf Inuit as well as easterners from the Tree River area (Bernard 1958: 167-170). These musicultural exchanges strengthened the visitors' social bonds with the local people and consequently furthered their ability to barter. Such musical interaction also correlated strongly with the barter of goods for throughout his writings (Bernard 1958: 173, 183, 388), Bernard placed remarks about music and dance alongside those pertaining to trade, suggesting that he drew a mental link between the two.

The Bernard Manuscript: A Focus on Musical Interaction

As part of a more detailed analysis of the nature of musical exchange shared between Bernard's party and the local Inuinnait population, I will now closely examine those aspects of the Bernard collection related to music and dance. Below is a complete list of musical references contained in the collection, the vast majority of which are found in the typewritten manuscript. Interpretive commentary will follow. For purposes of crosschecking Bernard's time keeping and adding to the cultural significance of the various journal entries, I inserted the days of the week in parentheses. Accuracy of the dates has been checked with and has, with one exception (Feb. 2, 1912), conformed to standard calendar dating (Krejci 2004).

Bernard Manuscript: Part I

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p. 67 December 25, 1909 (Saturday) @ Barter Island

"We had Tulugak and his family for dinner... After dinner we played the Gramophone and told stories."

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p. 154 November 7, 1910 (Monday) @ Kugaryuak River

"We got in yesterday and spent the day resting and enjoying our usual Sunday music."

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p. 155 November 7, 1910 cont. [Okomea and party of four other natives came over]

"To celebrate our first visitors I got out the Graphophone [sic]. What a wonderful thing it is to them. I had great pleasure in watching their expressions of surprise and amazement. They thought it was very wonderful that I could turn a handle and get music out of a tin horn! No doubt they will try to make one now that they have tin cans. Some of them are staying in Tulugak's house tonight."

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p. 162 November 20, 1910 (Sunday)

"Today being Sunday, no one went to the traps and tonight we had music as usual."

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p. 164 November 27, 1910 (Sunday)

"Being Sunday we all stayed at the house and music at night as usual."

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pp. 167-170 December 7, 1910 (Wednesday)

"I turned over my house to the new neighbors tonight. They wanted me to let them use it for a dance. There were 35 of us, including the Tulugaks. I played the Gramophone first and their expressions of awe and wonder was a sight to remember. Putoga [14-year-old son of Tulugak] told them that I had a "canned" man inside of the box which played the funny music. They wanted to take the box apart but I explained the mystery. Then Putoga asked for my two dish pans and they turned off the Gramophone for a dance.

Everybody but the dancers sang a monotonous tone. I hardly know what key to put it in; there were no words, and just three vowels used: "a-e-e-ea-a-aa-aa-e-e-ae-ae-aa-a-a-a" and so on.

The snow dance was first. The youngest woman in the crowd danced to the beat of skin tambourines and my dish pans by sliding along the floor, making as wide a circle as the crowd permitted. Her hands and arms were kept in motion. One hand and arm placed before her face, which was slightly turned to one side as if to keep the snow from flying into it while the other

hand was stretched out behind – alternating with each sliding step. The other women were standing in a line using the same hand movements but were not moving their feet – only swaying their bodies to the music.

Next was a bear dance performed by the most renowned man. He had to be urged to dance but he took his place, composed, in the center of the floor; meanwhile putting on a fancy pair of gloves and a hat decorated with loons' breast feathers and the bills from many yellow-billed loons. Around the brim of the hat was a fringe of ermine tails.

Feeling his position of honor, he appeared to be very hard to suit with the music. As I followed the time it varied from 2/4 to a moderate 4/4. The voices were much deeper in tone than for the snow dance and went up in jumps to a scale of C then down to a plaintive A minor. It was really a varied accompaniment but the dance was descriptive of the hunt.

At first he had the movement which accompanied the snow dance; then, ducking his head several times, he started sliding; stopped abruptly with his hand shading his eyes and peering off in the distance. The music and singing were very quick and not as loud at this part for this was the time he was supposed to have seen the bear. I could hardly follow his rapid gesticulations: he knelt on one knee as if preparing to shoot an arrow, then, as if it had been a successful aim, he jumped up with a gurgling "Uaagh", threw his head back, pirouted [sic] – and the musick [sic] ended as for the snow dance.

The most peculiar performance came next with the dance of the sun and wind. The woman stood still in the middle of the floor with her hands close to her side. She stood for all the world like a statue looking straight at a man – never once moving nor changing her gaze. The man performed all sorts of gymnastics: to distract her but she never smiled; he even came so close to her but she never smiled; he even so close to her as to rub noses but still she never smiled. When they finally finished, they all laughed in great merriment.

They were tired after 2 hours of this and finally went home. But I gave them each a package of tobacco and they were very happy and grateful towards me, too."

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p. 172 December 11, 1910 (Sunday)

"A party of Kogmoliks [Easterners] came over; two men and a woman. We had music as usual tonight, being Sunday, and it was a wonder to them."

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p. 173 December 13, 1910 (Tuesday)

"Strong SW with snow. 10 degrees below. We all stayed home today. A party of Eskimos who had been here before came over bringing back a parka. I had lent to one of them some time ago. They made me a present of some seal blubber. I traded with them for a black bear skin and a good deer skin and other small things. They wanted to have a dance in my house so I let them go to it."

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p. 174 December 25, 1910 (Sunday)

"Fine; clear; light SW wind; 10 degrees below. We all stayed at my house today. I had my Eskimo family here for (Christmas) dinner. I played music and gave the children some presents as Christmas gifts. We had a fine feast: caribou and some canned vegetables I had

saved; plum pudding, and ice cream. The ice cream was easy to make in this sub-zero weather. I simply diluted some sweetened condensed milk, put it out of doors, stirring it in the bowl from time to time and it soon was real ice cream."

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p. 176 February 12, 1911 (Sunday)

"Light snow; 2 degrees below; no wind. Being Sunday, we all stayed at home and had our music as usual."

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p. 177 February 19, 1911 (Sunday)

"It is Sunday but no music. The Tulugaks could not come over; too stormy. A gale came up at 5 tonight."

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p. 183 March 29, 1911 (Wednesday)

"Two Eskimos had muzzle-loading guns which they said they got from the Indians at Arkilinik river, just beyond Tree River. I think that these natives from the east are much better people in every way than those in the west. Before they left I let them have a dance in my house and when they were tired of dancing they wanted to trade. And they became so excited that they were removing their wearing apparel –even to their stockings! I had hard work convincing them that they needed these for their long trip home. But they say they that all of the Eskimos from the east will be coming here soon for the hunting."

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p. 184 April 2, 1911 (Sunday)

"All day yesterday and again today it was a strong NW with snow drifting. 6 degrees below yesterday and 18 degrees below today. We all stayed at home, being Sunday, and had music as usual. I put 4 fox skins outside to dry."

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p. 184 April 9, 1911 (Sunday)

"Music tonight – our Sunday special, as usual."

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p. 185 April 10, 1911 (Monday)

"Today the first "chik-chiks" (squirrels) were seen so tonight all of the Eskimos are having a great jubilee in honor of the event. I also saw the first little snowbuntings of the season today."

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p. 192 April 30, 1911 (Sunday)

"One sled party of natives came over from the Island and one party from the East with some musk ox skins for trade got here tonight. They are the friendliest people I have met."

The Natives here are having a dance tonight. They made a snow house and stretched a skin tent over the top, leaving the sides open. I did not intend going but they all insisted so I went. When I crawled under the tent they made a place for me. At that particular time they were all enjoying the statue dance where a man comes closer to a woman's face and they stand face to face for quite some time, before proceeding with the story.

Well, just for the sport of it, I bumped the woman's head against the man's. She kept her same position, but would not smile while the others laughed and shouted in delight. I was not so brave when I saw trouble brewing in her looks. And sure enough, when the dance ended, before I knew it she came running at me with fire in her eyes! But still in fun, I started running around the crowd, keeping a good pace or two ahead of her. I kept on running until I was pretty nearly exhausted. And the crowd kept cheering us on. She finally fell down, exhausted, and then began to laugh, so I then knew that the "storm" was over."

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p. 195 May 7, 1911 (Sunday)

"Since the Eskimos who have had their village here are going to leave soon I played the Graphophone for them. They are like children and it is wonderful to watch them.

I shall never forget this afternoon. They stood in a big circle around the machine and we had a real open-air concert! The new people listened with awe. A fine, big fellow named Oulookshuk [Uulukshuk] insisted that I open the box to show him the spirit hidden inside. Of course, Tulugak and his family looked on with a proud smile at them as I took the machine apart to show them that no spirit was there. Then I played some more: a bagpipe piece, Virginia Reel, and all of the Ruben talking records.

Some of these easterners went away today. They killed caribou to the east tonight."

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p. 197 May 20, 1911 (Saturday)

"Eskimos from East Victoria Land coming. They are having a dance tonight."

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p. 197 May 21, 1911 (Sunday)

"Being Sunday, I took the Graphophone outside and played it for them. It caused quite a sensation, and very amusing to them."

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p. 291 December 19, 1911 (Tuesday) @ Baillie Island

"Koman read from a mission book. All sang hymns. It was quite a nice Christmas funeral. I gave Billy a nice piece of white drill to make a burial parka for her; also a piece of Scotch plaid to tie on her head. She is buried in the snow until spring."

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p. 295 December 25, 1911 (Monday)

"Big Christmas feast for all the natives from the little river: ducks, bear meat, potatoes, bread and a big cake. Wonderful to watch them eat. Reminded of childhood Christmas taking care of the many relatives and friends who came to eat and express their happiness."

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p. 296 December 25, 1911 cont.

"Tonight we played the graphophone for the natives and they gave various dances. Then we went to sleep, beds being piles of clothes stacked everywhere in my cabin."

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p. 312 February 2, 1912 (Friday) [discrepancy between day of week and calendar date]

"Today being Sunday, I stayed at home and we had music but I had to stay up last night repairing John's graphophone."

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p. 365 October 6, 1912 (Sunday) @ Bernard Harbor

"...Today being Sunday, we stayed at home and had our first winter concert with the Graphophone."

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p. 378 December 25, 1912 (Wednesday)

"We stayed in to enjoy a real treat on this Christmas day. I had kept some ducks for our dinner so we had duck stew, potato soup, and a delicious pie made from 24 fox hearts. I made the crust of the pie with flour mixed with fox fat and a few dried onions. It was a very good pie. We even had cranberry sauce, apples, and a big custard pie. And, of course, music tonight. And many times today I thought of poor Gus."

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p. 388 April 13, 1913 (Sunday)

"More native parties from the east come over with some old muskox skins which I would not take but I took 28 fox skins, pretty clean, but early caught and not too good. One of these people, from Tree River, had never before seen a white man.

It being Sunday I got out the graphaphone/gramophone as usual and it was great entertainment for the strangers. They listened to the music with awe and Oulukshuk [Uulukshuk] was very proud of his ability to explain to these people the wonders of white man's machines. I did not understand all he was telling as I was busy changing records. But he said that the white man, like a medicine man, could do great things: can oil (I had once explained that I used gasoline to make heat like they did with seal oil), canned food, and now we could even can "Kabluna" (white man). I wondered if Oulukshuk imagined he would get more foxes in trade from the "medicine" in the traps and clothes he got from me; he traded with those people and he is quite a salesman."

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p. 390 April 20, 1913 (Sunday)

"Kolok, Okomea's wife, is a medicine woman so she decided she could do something for me. She came to the schooner offering to cure me for some trifling article. I said yes, more out of curiosity than anything. She had me sit in a chair placing my leg on a box so that it would be level. In a tiny, weak voice she began to chant something sounding to me like: "O my! O my!" repeating this while her voice slowly rose to a crescendo then ending in a loud tone.

Then she took out a charm, put it on my leg, and began some mesmeric motion with her hands. The charm she used was a piece of skin about the size of a twenty-five cent coin, cut out from an old mitten. She had it stuffed with grass, and tied both ends with string. She then put the loose ends of the string around my leg and tied them. She kept up this part of her ceremony for about 30 minutes then told me to keep the charm on my leg until she returned in a few days and that it would get better."

Bernard Manuscript: Part II

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pp. 48-49 March 1, 1917 (Thursday) near Cape Krusenstern

"When the seal hunters had finished eating, the word was passed around that there was to be a dance at the house of Kikakto.
Okomea and Kolok put on their best clothes and I went with them. Kikakto's house is a very large one: really 3 houses in one. It measures 18 feet across with the dome 9 feet from the floor. It has an alley-way 20 feet long and 4 by 6 feet high with two side chambers in the alleyway for the dogs to curl up in.

When all of the villagers got there the dance began. One man took a drum which was 20 inches in diameter and made of a hoop of wood with a handle about 8 inches long. Strung over the hoop was caribou skin from which the hair had been rotted off. The drummer took it in his left hand with his right hand he used a light stick measuring 1 inch in diameter and 10 inches long. This same stick is also used as a snow beater. The snow beaters are used to beat snow from fur garments and also to test snow for building snow houses.

Well, the drummer began hitting the side of the drum and the performance began: hardly a dance but they call it that. This time only the men danced. They just stood up, stepped from one foot then on the other, weaving their bodies to the rhythm of the drum. Everybody else in the house sang. The drummer beat the music for 30 or 40 minutes then he passed the drum to another Eskimo and the new drummer would step into the middle of the room. For a few minutes he stood there; everyone was very still; not a sound could be heard; then, after this silent period the drummer struck the rim of the drum with his stick and the dance started again with everybody else singing as accompaniment to the dance."

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p. 63 April 22, 1917 (Sunday) @ Kugaryuak River

"While I was working on deck today I heard a very loud cry. I went to investigate. There was Komuk's wife at the center of a large crowd of Eskimos, howling and crying. Upon

inquiry I was told that someone had just reminded her of some of her dear relatives who had just died. The strange part of this is that an hour later she came aboard, saw an Eskimo dance drum on the deck, grabbed it, and with the stick in her right hand, she jumped up on the main hatch where the deck was clear then beat the drum singing as loud as her lungs would let her. She sang so loud she had the whole village out to watch her. She kept this up until she was completely exhausted and sweat was running down her forehead. I still do not know whether she was mourning or celebrating."

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p. 83 June 27, 1917 (Wednesday)

"Windy; cold. I went out to set a net in the hole outside of the harbor today. Tonight I had 25 whitefish and 1 salmon in it. Nea was with me. It was the first time he had ever seen fish caught in a net. He was very jubilant and called to all of the Eskimos dancing with joy. Not one of them had ever seen fish caught in a net before. So I had to give them each some fish and tonight they are having a dance to celebrate the first taking of fish in a net."

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p. 177 November 2, 1918 (Saturday) @ Taylor Island

"I got the Graphophone, put it together and played it for a while to entertain these Eskimos. They had never heard anything like it before. We enjoyed it too as we had not had it out for 2 years."

Two other music and dance-related references, excluding the one to the photograph discussed earlier depicting Bernard's gramophone and the Inuinnait people, are presented below. The first one is a journal entry describing a dance hat that Bernard received during his second trip to the Canadian Arctic. A photograph of a similar hat collected by Bernard on his first trip and housed at the University of Pennsylvania Museum follows (Figure 4.3).

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p. 55 March 13, 1917 (Tuesday) near Kugaryuak River

"Some Eskimos who had gone inland yesterday came back tonight with 5 caribou and a lot or rabbits. They gave me a ceremonial cap made of strips of caribou skin. It is a nice cap. It has 51 strips in it and 102 seams. The strips are colored blue, red and white with decorations of the bills of the yellow-billed loon on top. There is an ermine skin as a tail."

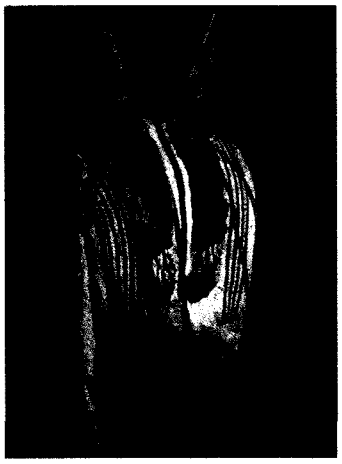

Figure 4.3: Inuinnait dance hat with two yellow-billed loon beaks, Coppermine River, circa 1910-1914.
University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia.
No. NA 4233

The second reference pertains to a frame drum that Bernard had collected again on his second trip to the Canadian Arctic (Bernard Collection n.d.: Box 1, Folder 1 Collection listings, p. 20). The artifact is likely held in the Smithsonian's National Museum of the American Indian. Materials consist of wood for a frame and sealskin bladder for a membrane (Smithsonian Institution n.d.). See below (Figure 4.4).

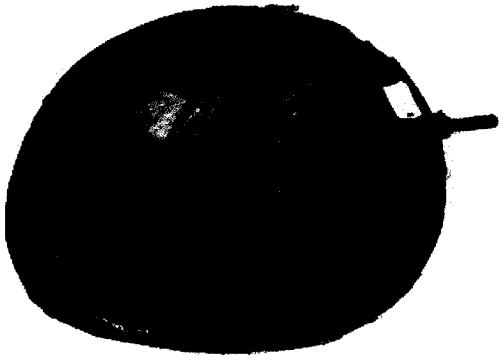

Figure 4.4: Inuinnait drum, Coronation Gulf, circa 1916-1920
National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
Cat. No. 11/3265

Analysis and Interpretation

The first part of Bernard's manuscript features numerous references to music. The second part, on the other hand, contains musical citations that are far fewer in number; yet they remain insightful. As mentioned earlier in this section, Bernard usually played his gramophone on Sundays and on Christmas, days marked by rest and celebration according to the Christian faith. Whether Bernard observed this ritual out of religious conviction or social habit is difficult to say. Even though some observance of the Sabbath's tenets was followed, this was not always the norm. On a number of Sundays throughout the manuscript, Bernard frequently committed himself to a daily work schedule comprised of checking traps and hunting. Taking into consideration the extreme environment he had placed himself in, Bernard did not interpret religious doctrine strictly enough to jeopardize his ability to collect furs and procure game. Nonetheless, it seems quite possible that the local population drew an association between Sunday rest and musical diversion. Moreover, the presence of Tulugak and his somewhat acculturated Iñupiaq family perhaps made it easier for the Inuinnait to follow Western customs.

On his first adventure in the Canadian Arctic, Bernard's gramophone seemed to serve him well as a recreational tool. His use of it was part of a weekly routine that provided rest and relaxation, which presumably helped him cope with the harsh Arctic conditions. Not only did the gramophone enable him personally to pass the time away, it also aided him socially in forming closer bonds with the local natives. Bernard frequently celebrated the arrival or departure of a native party by playing his mechanical device (Monday, November 7, 1910; Wednesday, December 7, 1910; Sunday, December 11, 1910; Sunday, May 7, 1911 and Sunday, April 13, 1913). In turn, the native people themselves also arranged dances to commemorate the same types of gatherings (Sunday, April 30, 1911 and Saturday, May 20, 1911), sometimes requesting Bernard's vessel as a venue (Wednesday, December 7, 1910; Tuesday, December 13, 1910 and March 29, 1911). As evidence of the social bond associated with these musical exchanges, Bernard on one occasion (Wednesday, December 7, 1910) gave "a package of tobacco" as a post-entertainment gift, a gesture that made the locals "happy and grateful" towards him as well (Bernard 1958: 172). Expressions of such social bonding are interesting because Bernard seems to have been moved by feelings of enthusiasm for the performance.

On his second voyage, however, it appears that Bernard's gramophone did not play as an important role in his Arctic experiences. The entry dated Nov. 2, 1918 reveals that it had not

been in use for the first two years of his adventure (1916-1918). Reasons for this neglect are difficult to ascertain. Unlike the first voyage, Bernard had a crew of two white men join him as he headed eastward from the Coppermine area. The winter of 1917-1918 proved to be the first of two that he and his crew would spend ice-bound near Taylor Island in eastern Victoria Land. The second winter of 1918-1919 proved to be more challenging due to dwindling supplies and infrequent contact with the local people. Heading this time into a second dismal winter, perhaps Bernard saw an opportunity to forge a closer relationship with the occasional visiting Inuit. Or perhaps by playing the unusual looking machine for them, he was able to pique their curiosity and thus lengthen their stay.

Bernard seemed to use his gramophone often as a technological "curiosity" (Monday, November 7, 1910; Wednesday, December 7, 1910; Sunday, May 7, 1911 and Sunday, April 13, 1913). Perhaps as a way of "breaking the ice", so to speak, whenever a new group of natives would visit Bernard, he would try to impress them with the strange contraption. Whether the Inuinnait viewed the machine more as an odd toy or as a means to providing musical comfort is open to discussion. Apparently, the locals did not view the gramophone as a unique item in itself.[6] Rather, it was just another example of an unfamiliar culture's technology, a culture that was capable of storing and transporting familiar physical needs such as oil and food (canned oil

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[6] Stefansson made a similar remark about the impression a phonograph had on two Inuinnait men living in Minto Inlet during the early winter of 1915. In his 1921 book *The Friendly Arctic*, he curiously claimed that the two men, who had already made some contact with foreigners, "had never before seen a ship, a wooden house, window glass, stoves, or phonographs...The phonograph, whether it sang or played band music, failed to keep their interest more than a few moments." Stefansson attributed their apparent lack of interest in the machine to culture. He theorized that the "primitive" Eskimo readily accepted seemingly miraculous things like phonographs without truly understanding them. Miracles to the Eskimo are everyday occurrences and because of their banality are uninteresting (Stefansson 1921: 427-428). The missionary Charles Whittaker, who often criticized Stefansson's ideas, apparently shared the same opinion, though, citing that their "sense of wonder is not strongly developed. Rifles, photographs, gramophones, wireless, radio, electric light, and all such mysterious matters are attributed to the "white man's medicine" – magic, as their own medicine-men profess magic activities beyond the range of physical possibility (Whittaker 1937: 35). Of course, many examples in the Arctic literature, including those of Bernard, present the view that northern indigenous peoples were deeply curious about the inner workings of the phonograph and sought to understand them. However, ethnographers generally recorded two types of native reactions to the phonograph: 1) childlike curiosity if they expressed awe and 2) childlike ignorance if they showed little or no interest. Such interpretations reveal much about the observers. In the mind of the Westerner, the new technology demanded, better yet, commanded fascination. If no such result occurred, the only sound explanation was that the native was incurious. Yet, if the native displayed interest, it was that of a child and not an adult. Both ethnocentric interpretations resonated with the accepted theories of unilineal evolution, popular at the time.

and food), and in the case of the gramophone, spiritual, social and recreational needs as well (canned man or spirit).[7]

In *Mimesis and Alterity*, Taussig devotes several chapters to the role of the phonograph in culture contact settings. Rather than focusing on the device's sociology or its effect on the indigenous population, the author is more concerned with the "white man's fascination with [the native's] fascination with these mimetically capacious machines (Taussig 1993: 198). He notes the famous manipulated scene from Robert Flaherty's 1922 film *Nanook of the North* whereby the "naïve" protagonist Nanook reacts in disbelief to the sounds of a phonograph and subsequently tries to eat the record. Taussig also references a poignant photograph featured in Flaherty's wife's book that shows "a dark-visaged Nanook in furry pants peering skeptically into a phonograph precariously perched on a pile of furs. A European man, perhaps Flaherty, seated on the other side of the phonograph, is carefully gazing not at the machine but at the great hunter looking towards it. The caption reads: 'Nanook: How the white man 'cans' his voice'" (Taussig 1993: 201). Numerous uses of the 'canned man' image to anthropomorphize musical apparatus are contained in the ethnographic literature.[8] In fact, ever since Edison introduced the phonograph to his Western public in December of 1877, writers attempted to "animate" the phonograph through make-believe by asserting that there was a tiny human being inside of it (*Scientific American*: December 22, 1877).

Many ethnographers documented indigenous impressions of the novel phonograph. At the same time, one could also claim that they recorded their own personal fascination with the

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[7] References to the early exposure of Eskimo people to the phonograph and the use of the term 'canned men' are common in early 20th century writings. In the February 29, 1924 edition of the *Atlanta Constitution*, for instance, a brief paragraph entitled 'Canned Men' contains a seemingly fantastical description of "when the gold-seekers brought the first gramophone to the land of snow, the little men [Eskimo] fled away in terror and called it 'canned voices'" (Van Paassen 1924: 6). The writer Pierre Van Paassen surmised, perhaps with wishful thinking, that a similar reaction would reoccur with the introduction of the motion picture, not unlike the 'motion picture' scene in Flaherty's 1922 film *Nanook of the North*. As late as 1943, the *New York Times* featured a 'letter to the editor' addressing the alleged origin of this connection. The author Otis Moore wrote that he is reminded "of the Alaska story of an old Eskimo's first experience with a phonograph. His contact with Nome gold-rushers and other pioneers in Yukon Territory had familiarized him with the very extensive use of canned food products. When he heard the phonograph, his comment was 'Canned man'" (Moore 1943: 18).

[8] Julia Stranahan, for example, writes about the reaction of a Seminole Indian family to the newly introduced phonograph in her poem entitled *The Phonograph Arrives, 1904*: "Upon hearing a recording of Sousa's *Stars and Stripes Forever*, Billy's children ran for the door. As he herded the last child out, Billy stopped. *Canned man*, he said. *Me no like canned man*." According to the poem, the phonograph so entranced Julia Stranaham and her husband Frank with its human-like qualities, they gave it two names: "Frank's Pride" and later "Devon" for the boy the couple never had (Haskins 2004: 25).

reactions of native peoples. Bernard's references (Wednesday, December 7, 1910; Sunday, December 11, 1910; Sunday, May 7, 1911; Sunday, May 21, 1911 and Sunday, April 13, 1913) are insightful because they not only include his personal observations of the Inuinnait people's response to the apparatus, but also his descriptions of how those natives, who had recently become or already were accustomed to Western technology and culture – the Inuinnait leader Uulukshuk and the Iñupiat Tulugak family – demonstrated with self-satisfaction, humor, and a sense of authority, the nature of the talking machine to less familiar individuals. Moreover, at a deeper level, both native and non-native treatment of the phonograph has often embodied a magical quality – an endeavor, either self-conscious or not, to frame one's relationship to technology in a mystical manner. Taussig addresses this human desire to show off impressive technology and one's familiarity with it, while at the same time create a magical aura around it, in the following statement:

> What seems crucial about the fascination with the Other's fascination with the talking machine is the magic of mechanical reproduction itself....Taking the talking machine to the jungle is to do more than impress the natives and therefore oneself with Western technology's power; it is to reinstall the mimetic faculty as mystery in the art of mechanical reproduction, reinvigorating the primitivism implicit in technology's wildest dreams... (Taussig 1993: 207-208)

Mimesis or the act of copying or reproducing the actions or speech of others manifests itself in many different ways. Music and dance are two very powerful means by which the people of one cultural group can absorb the speech and movements of another culture as well as the sounds and motions of nature. All the indigenous musical cultures of the Western Arctic share an important characteristic – their music is closely associated with mimetic dance. In fact, much of the traditional music in the region is dance-based and reflects an intimate relationship with animals, nature, and fellow human beings. Through the mimesis of animal, natural, and human movements and sounds, the indigenous people of the North, have developed a cultural ethos that intimately connects them to their surroundings. Furthermore, in culture-contact settings where a mutual spoken language is lacking, music and dance organizes and mimetically expresses meaning that lends itself to cross-cultural dialogue and rapport.

Even more importantly and in agreement with Carr, mimesis also "implies action and agency" on the part of the northerner (Carr 2006: 44-46). Instead of framing the nature of culture contact, as it often has been in the past, in terms of "assimilation" – the wholesale transference of

musical influences from one complex cultural group to that of a simper one, while disregarding the possibility of innovative borrowing and internal decision-making – mimesis leaves room for the 'Other' to absorb and shape, imitate and innovate, elements of another's musical culture. At the same time, musical mimesis as expressed through song and dance acts as negotiating tool for crossing cultural boundaries.

Many of the musical references in the Bernard manuscript concern Inuinnait dance music. The entry (Wednesday, December 7, 1910) is particularly remarkable for its description of two distinct Inuit styles that appear fused together – the *pisik* and *aton*. In comparison to the more common *pisik*, which features an individual performer who both dances and drums, the *aton* showcases a solo dancer who does not drum but who may be accompanied by a fellow drummer. Bernard's entry (Thursday, March 1, 1917) provides a good description of the *pisik*, which exemplifies an Inuit style of drum dancing performed throughout the eastern Canadian Arctic westward to the Mackenzie Delta. The *aton*, on the other hand, is more closely related to the segregated drumming/dancing style practiced in the Mackenzie Delta and Alaska. The dancer normally does not sing but rather the audience and the accompanying drummer join in song (Roberts and Jenness 1925: 9-10, Arima 1974, Johnston 1976a: 117-118). There is another notable difference between the traditional dance styles of the Inuinnait females and their western counterparts. Whereas the latter are generally restricted in keeping their feet stationary and gently gesturing with the hands, the Inuinnait women (and men) may jump around wildly and swirl their arms (Jenness 1970 [1922]: 224-226).

In the dance that Bernard observed in the early winter of 1910, elements of both the western and eastern style Inuit dancing are evident. The use of multiple drums, upward leaps and gradual descent in the vocal line, the linear arrangement of the female dancers, their stationary feet and undulating torso movements closely resemble Iñupiaq (Alaskan) and Inuvialuit style dancing. On the other hand, the more aggressive movements of the main female dancer and the adornment of a richly decorated loonskin dance hat better exemplifies traditional Inuinnait dancing. The male practice of wearing dance gloves appears to have been optional for the Inuinnait but mandatory for the Iñupiat and Inuvialuit (Johnston 1976b: 32). Jenness, the anthropologist who documented and recorded Inuinnait songs only a few years later, also recognized both styles, though he never noted in his writings that such distinct styles were combined in the same performance.

The question arises as to whether Bernard's musical descriptions are accurate. The typewritten manuscript, though based on earlier journals, was prepared decades after he completed his Arctic voyages. A follow-up question is whether the captain's account contained in this source is original or reconstructed. Bernard may have combined two or more different musical experiences. The presence of Tulugak and his family during the performance may have created confusion by perhaps sharing their Iñupiaq style dancing with the Inuinnait. On the other hand, given the fact that his hearing was impaired at an early age, it is surprising to find Bernard's musical observations written with such minute attention especially with regard to the scale and rhythmic patterns. Unfortunately, the original logbook containing the December 7, 1910 entry is not in the archival collection, and its existence is thus far unknown. In Bernard's defense, those original journal entries that include musical references are very similar to the corresponding entries found in the typewritten manuscript. Therefore, Bernard and his editors made a concerted effort to base the later work closely on the primary documents.

Judging from some of the entries (Monday, April 10, 1911; Sunday, April 30, 1911; Saturday, May 20, 1911; and Wednesday, June 27, 1917), the decision to perform music on the part of the Inuinnait did not necessarily depend on an abstract temporal concept such as a seven-day week. Instead, the decision to celebrate in song and dance quite often depended on how the events of the day unfolded, events such as the first seasonal appearance of an animal, a new way of fishing, uncertain success on a hunt, or a happenstance encounter with neighboring kin, bands, or tribes. Periodical contact with other groups developed mutually beneficial trade ties; and dance, especially, played a significant role in solidifying these social connections.

According to other entries (Sunday, April 20, 1913 and Sunday, April 22, 1917), the Inuinnait appeared to place therapeutic importance on their music as well. In the spring of 1913 as Bernard's health began to deteriorate when he contracted scurvy, the female shaman Kolok attempted to cure him by chanting and applying charms. Four years later, Bernard vividly described an unusual incident involving a distraught woman who, apparently as a form of catharsis, sang and drummed in response to a memory of her deceased relatives. It is likely that the drum the emotional woman beat is the one currently housed in the Smithsonian's National Museum of the American Indian.

Another insightful observation found in Bernard's account is an entry (Wednesday, Dec. 7, 1910) that mentions the substitution of the author's dishpans for drums. This indicates that the popular frame drum was not always available for performance nor was it available to all

Inuinnait. Secondly, this action demonstrates resourcefulness on part of the indigenous people to find multiple uses for the same object.

As an anthropologist, Jenness, perhaps less so than Stefansson, was critical of Bernard's influence on the Inuinnait culture. As mentioned earlier, Jenness claimed that Bernard and a couple of other traders[9] in the Coppermine vicinity had brought about the greatest amount of initial change to the Inuinnait way of life. His presence impacted the use of copper among the local population for many began to manufacture copper implements for sale rather than utilize them in a traditional fashion (Jenness 1922b: 89-91). More significantly, by introducing iron and steel implements such as traps and knives, rifles, fish nets, and Western foods to the local population, Bernard helped alter the Inuinnait subsistence practices. As a trader primarily interested in furs, Bernard created conditions whereby the local natives became increasingly more dependent on Western supplies. Fox trapping gradually became the focus of wintertime activity among the natives, replacing the traditional practice of seal hunting. With less seal meat available, caribou became the staple winter food. And as caribou populations decreased, Western foods began to serve as a more permanent substitute (Jenness 1970 [1922]: 240-242).

Interestingly enough, Jenness does point out that though Bernard's actions had such enormous cultural impact, music was one area where he had more limited influence. Jenness believed that the Inuinnait did not understand the "white man's" music and that Bernard's gramophone generated a limited amount of curiosity. On the other hand, Jenness asserted that the use of his own Edison phonograph in recording the native's voices and music prompted different, more engaging results. By hearing their own voices played back by the machine, the apparently awe-stricken locals became more curious and less reluctant to share and record their music (Jenness 1928: 57-58).

Jenness's point may have some validity. Hearing another culture's music for the first time without live performance would seem to have far less of an impact. In a sense, the Western music that Bernard had played: reels and bagpipe pieces, were stripped of their contextual meaning, especially if the music had not been played for dancing. Bernard's gramophone music lacked the visual and interactive elements of live musical performance. Perhaps, if Jenness's remarks are accurate, recorded music may have made it less inviting for the Inuinnait to engage in the "white man's" music. On the other hand, it is interesting to point out that Tulugak and his

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[9] Starting in 1908, the traders John Hornby and Cosmo D. Melville lived on Great Bear Lake. They made contact with some Inuinnait their first year and many more in subsequent years (Jenness 1970 [1922]: 31).

family's Iñupiaq-style dancing may have left a deeper impression on the Inuinnait. Unfortunately, Bernard wrote very little about cross-cultural exchanges between the two Inuit groups, let alone music and dance. As later history has shown, the impact of Iñupiaq settlers over during the ensuing decades, including their compartmentalization of drum ensembles and dancers, left a lasting legacy on the local population

As shown in Bernard's manuscript, dance was tremendously important to the Inuinnait. There is documented evidence of native exposure to Western-derived dance music from the same period. In his diaries, Jenness makes note of a square dance performed by the shaman Uulukshuk (whom Bernard frequently mentions) and one of his wives. It appears that through trade at Great Bear Lake in the summer of 1913, Uulukshuk and his wives made contact with the English trader and adventure-seeker John Hornby and a band of acculturated Athabascans and therefore presumably learned the dance from them (Jenness 1991: 394, 793). Hornby and his trading partner Cosmo Melville had already moved into the area in 1908 and with Stefansson's help opened up trade between the Athabascans and Inuit (Stefansson 1913: 216-220). According to Jenness, the dance, combining Indian and Scotch elements, served to demonstrate to his people, Uulukshuk's special ability to perform the white man's intricate dances and thus show off his medicinal powers (Jenness 1928: 88-89 and Jenness 1991: 400, 794). One can conclude from this that the Inuinnait picked up at least a certain amount of this performed dance music during the first few years of extensive Western contact.

In response to Jenness, Bernard observed that the Inuinnait received his gramophone very well. How much of an intrinsic role the music itself played in the minds of the native listeners is difficult to assess. As the manuscript entries indicate, days and nights spent listening to the gramophone frequently led to native dance performances. This would seem to show that at least some amount of music sharing was taking place at Bernard's home.

For that matter there was also the sharing of music between Jenness's party and the Inuinnait. Expedition members entertained the local people with gramophone concerts, for instance (Jenness 1991: 307). In turn, the Inuinnait often performed dances not only for themselves but in honor of Jenness and his fellow scientists (Jenness 1991: 338, 366, 369, 447). The anthropologist also observed, consistent with Bernard's writings, that some Inuinnait did not always have a drum handy. As in Bernard's case, they borrowed a frying pan as a substitute (Jenness 1928: 54-55).

Regarding musical-related material, Jenness and his C.A.E. party brought into the field two gramophones, two Edison recording phonographs, seventy-five records and two hundred blank cylinders for recording indigenous material (Jenness 1991: 319, 778). Apparently, however, they brought no musical instruments. Jenness, the one scientist in the Southern party known to have had musical training, played the flute, and regretted not having brought his instrument with him (Jenness 1991: 125, 739). Comparing Bernard's list of musical supplies with that of the C.A.E., the only difference was the addition of the recording phonographs and their corresponding blank cylinders. How much native interest in Western music these recording devices may have generated is unknown. Unfamiliar with the phonograph, the locals approached the machine with some apprehension and curiosity (Roberts and Jenness 1925: 7), a reaction coinciding with that of Bernard's gramophone, which again merely played music. It would seem, then, that between the presence of Bernard and that of Jenness's party, there was no qualitative difference in the musical impact on the indigenous peoples. What followed, though, largely because of Bernard's trading activities and to a certain extent the C.A.E.'s scientific pursuits, was the introduction of Western music-related material into the Coppermine region by subsequent traders, missionaries, and government personnel. The presence of Western cultural "goods" such as inexpensive musical instruments and church hymns made a more direct impact on the musical culture of the Inuinnait and gradually transformed it (Jenness 1970 [1922]: 242 and Jenness 1921: 549).

In conclusion, Bernard's ethnography offers a unique perspective of a cultural group on the verge of major transition. In this chapter, I investigated the nature of musical interaction by a European American, an Iñupiat family, and groups of Inuinnait people within an early cultural contact setting. As demonstrated in previous chapters, the use of music and dance helped set up conditions for social bonding and trading opportunities to arise. Bernard's gramophone and the Tulugak family's dancing were a prominent feature of socializing with the Inuinnait, but their impact on Inuinnait musical culture appears to have been limited. At the same time, the Inuinnait had decades before encountered foreigners and had absorbed some technology into their material culture even earlier. Their intellectual culture was still intact during Bernard's travels, however. In a few short years, largely as a result of missionization, this too would begin to erode. The next two chapters will focus on the nature of musical interaction between missionaries and the indigenous peoples of the Western Arctic.

CHAPTER 5:
MUSICAL INTERACTION IN THE WESTERN ARCTIC: ALASKAN INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND MISSIONARIES

> It does not take a new Alaskan missionary long to see and respect one of the Eskimo's prominent celebration talents, music. I have noticed that the successful missionary invariably capitalizes on this excellent trait in the Eskimo character. (O'Connor 1947: 74)

> But God be thanked, we as missionaries are not responsible for results, but we are responsible for faithful testimony, for consistent lives, for preachments of the Truth and against evils diverse in character. And chief among these evils in so far as the Eskimo are concerned, the one evil through which many minor (?) evils come, the daddy of them all in so far as ancestry can play a part, the Pandora's box, if we be permitted a change of figure is the dance. (Greist 8/1936: 9)

Theoretical Discussion

In this chapter, I examine the relationship between music and religion in the Western Arctic. Music played an integral role in the introduction of Christianity into the region. Missionaries used it as a primary means to draw native people to their teachings and eventually into the church. The performance of music in the form of hymn singing either a cappella or to the accompaniment of an organ, concertina or other harmonic instruments created an attractive spiritual, psychological and social atmosphere. It also proved to the missionaries to be effective in "converting" the native population to the new religion.

The concept of *conversion* is problematic in the anthropology of religion. Tied to the notion of *belief*, "conversion" carries overtones of essentialism, which can limit one's understanding of religion, especially as it is practiced among non-Western peoples. For when is an individual converted? At what stage does one become a believer as opposed to a non-believer? Questions such as these reveal the challenges that arise especially when "belief" is thought of as a static state of mind. As shown in this chapter and the next, missionaries frequently turned to external signs, such as the practice of praying, refraining from work on Sundays, and singing hymns, as steps towards conversion. True conversion for many of them did not occur until the individual underwent voluntary baptism and verbally accepted the new faith. It appears that syncretism, or the mixing of religions, was a common result of missionization in the Western Arctic, but most of the missionaries were dissatisfied with anything less than a total acceptance of Christianity.

It is important to point out that the dichotomy between belief and non-belief, conversion and non-conversion was a concern of the missionaries, but not necessarily of the native population. In many of the references I provide, the focus on pure belief and total acceptance of religious doctrine is largely of Protestant origin. From the indigenous standpoint, on the other hand, accepting "opposing" elements of shamanism and Christianity was unproblematic and non-contradictory. To explain this apparent inconsistency, the ability to accept "disparate, occasionally even mutually contradictory, religious practices", scholars such as Thomas Kirsch have gone beyond the concept of syncretism to reframe the problem as a "practice of cyclically regenerating a condition of internalized 'believing'" (Kirsch 2004: 699, 700).[1] Simply put, this shifting of religious practices reflects the ability to believe, even temporarily, in a set of new principles by performative means, that is, by acting out or going through the motions, which in turn reinforces the act of believing. Changes in religious affiliation are not conversions, so to speak, but "profound and systematic change[s] in one's understanding of the ultimate conditions of existence" (Kirsch 2004: 707). Such an argument may shed light on the numerous missionary observations of the native people "heartily" singing new hymns and engaging in prayer. Both concepts of syncretism and Kirsch's will be used to provide an understanding of "conversion" and "belief". I will treat them in a complementary manner, the former offering a more panoramic view of religious synthesis, the latter a more temporal emphasis on religious shifting.

Several different factors may attribute to the widespread acceptance of Christianity among the indigenous people of the North. Applying Nobuhiro Kishigami's essay on the religious conversion of the Inuit and Yuit of Canada and Alaska as a frame of reference (Kishigami 1994), the Alaskan Iñupiaq and Canadian Mackenzie Inuit became Christian for four main reasons. They are as follows: 1) *ideological* in the sense that the spiritual principles of Christianity strongly appealed to the native population; 2) *pragmatic* in that Christian ideas were effective in solving sociopolitical and economic problems and explaining natural and supernatural phenomena; 3) *personal*, that is, the charismatic personality and perceived intentions of individual missionaries mattered a great deal in culture contact settings; 4) *psychological* meaning that the indigenous people genuinely enjoyed church music and the social aspect of music-

[1] In recent decades, criticism surrounding the concept of syncretism has emerged to address the problem of frequent and seemingly sudden shifting in religious affiliation. A consolidation of such ideas known as "anti-syncretism" are contained in the 1994 book *Syncretism/Anti-Syncretism* edited by Rosalind Shaw and Charles Stewart (Shaw and Stewart 1994).

making, i.e., choral singing and the camaraderie among and between audience members and performers alike.

Because of its musical aspects, I will focus my attention on the fourth factor. The power of music to engage and sustain native interest in church ritual and teachings serves as the basis of this chapter. I hypothesize that music was an essential contributing factor to the widespread adoption of Christianity. It was used both as a strategizing tool by the missionaries to gain followers and it seemed to have strong appeal to native peoples across the region. I will furnish evidence that music was both strategically used and that the indigenous population was genuinely attracted to it. Later in Chapter 10, I will examine the socio-musical consequences of church music and present evidence that native acceptance of it led in some cases to less drum dancing and in others to a mixing of native and non-native forms.

In order to achieve a better understanding of how music was instrumental in attracting the indigenous people of the 19th and early 20th centuries to Christianity, I will closely examine missionary-teacher and church records, trading and whaling journals, native accounts, and secondary sources for descriptions of the nature of interaction between the *converters* = missionaries and assistants and the *converted* = eventual followers. Two important insights about missionary perceptions will emerge from this investigation: 1) the role of native individuals in bringing about conversion; and 2) the power of ritual or daily repetition (both conscious and unconscious) of practices as expressed through prayer and hymn singing to bring about a steady acceptance of the new belief system.

My study on the early musical interaction of missionaries and the indigenous peoples of the Western Arctic is framed in two chapters, the first focusing on musical missionization in Arctic Alaska, specifically the territory of the Iñupiaq people, and the second, the musical aspects of competitive missionization in northwestern Canadian Arctic, particularly the homeland of the Mackenzie Inuit and, to a much lesser degree, that of the Dene and Inuinnait.

Turn-of-the-20th Century Musical Missionization in the Alaskan Arctic

Missionization in Alaska's North took a different form than that of other regions in the North American Arctic. Competition between various Christian churches for the salvation of native souls did not occur at the same level of ferocity as in Canada. In Alaska, the missionary policy generally operated on a first-come, first-serve basis. Religious rivalries eventually arose

but seldom lasted. At the federal level, however, political tensions emerged because of the fuzzy overlap of missions and schools and the relationship between church and state policies. Such debates would continue well into the 20th century.

Protestant denominations and the Roman Catholic Church finally began to establish a presence in the territory as late as the early 1860s, long after the successful introduction of Russian Orthodoxy to southern Alaska in the 18th and 19th centuries. Moving westward into Alaska from Canada, the Church of England was the first to conduct missionary work, beginning with the arrival of William Kirkby and Robert McDonald at Fort Yukon. Catholic missionaries followed in their wake but met with little success, partially due to the resistance of Anglican Hudson Bay Company traders (Choquette 1995: 161, Renner 2003 and Renner 2005: 11). In the 1870s, Presbyterians set up missions in southeast Alaska and during the following decade, other churches entered the field. Eventually, the various Protestant denominations forged a comity or courtesy agreement that granted each church exclusive control over a particular part of the territory (Almquist 1962: 126).[2] Under the leadership of the influential missionary Sheldon Jackson, whose 1885 appointment to the position of General Agent of Education for Alaska granted him enormous political influence, the federal government authorized the partitioning of the territory to the Protestant denominations and granted them each educational and religious jurisdiction over their respective districts. Operating out of Unalakleet in 1887, the Swedish Mission Covenant, was the first church to arrive in Iñupiaq country.[3] By 1890, the Congregational, Episcopalian, and Presbyterian churches opened missions at Wales, Point Hope, and Barrow, respectively.[4]

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[2] The Catholic Church was not included in the comity agreement. However, the federal government granted the church jurisdiction of those areas it had already established for itself (Flanders 1991: 47).

[3] The nonconformist Swedish Mission Covenant had not participated in the comity agreement. However, since none of the participating churches had placed Unalakleet under its control, no objection arose (Burch 1994: 84).

[4] In 1892 and 1893, a public school and a mission opened at Port Clarence and Golovin, respectively (Education Report 1895: 1746 and Education Report 1896: 1468). The first teacher of the Port Clarence public school was Miner W. Bruce, who tended mainly to reindeer matters. Officially named "Teller Reindeer Training School", the school continued in operation until 1898 when a new one opened at Eaton Station on the Unalakleet River (Education Report 1900: 1377-1378). The Covenant Church established the Golovin mission school and sent three teachers in its first year: N.O. Hultberg, his wife, and their native assistant Frank Kameroff (Ray 1992: 212).

In the initial stages, even with the added benefits of medical care and education, the missions' proselytizing efforts proved ineffectual. During his first year at Unalakleet, the Swedish Covenant missionary Axel Karlson had his life threatened.[5] The situation among the Congregationalists became even more drastic when, in the fall of 1893, three young native men from Wales murdered Harrison Robertson Thornton, one of the two missionaries assigned there. After seven years of missionary work, neither the Presbyterians in Barrow nor the Episcopalians in Point Hope were able to claim any gain in converts. In fact, the Point Hope Iñupiat seemed better at converting the residing Episcopal missionary doctor John Driggs to their way of life than vice versa. Only with the aid of the Covenant Church in 1895, which a few years previously had succeeded in achieving conversions in Unalakleet, did the Congregational mission in Wales manage to bring some of the local people into their religious fold. It is worth noting that in both the communities of Unalakleet and Wales, native assistants who had already undergone conversion played an integral role in convincing other Iñupiat to join the missionaries (Almquist 1962: 21 and Taliaferro 2006: 137-138). Burch claims that the most persuasive of these early converts was a young man named Uyaraq ("Rock") who helped to firmly establish Christianity in northern Alaska (Burch 1994: 84-89).

Uyaraq, originally from Kobuk, was one of the Covenant Church's early converts. He worked as a sled-driver and interpreter for Alex Karlson, who had apparently saved the young boy's life following the murder of his father (Alquist 1962: 48 and Roberts 1981: 96). In 1896, after their missionary success in Unalakleet and Wales, Uyaraq and fellow Covenant preacher David Johnston[6] scouted the area around Kotzebue Sound and became aware of its potential in attracting new religious members. Bureau of Education commissioner Jackson, however, had

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[5] For several months, Karlson was under the protection of the community leader Nashalook, son of the Malemiut chief Alluyianuk (Ray 1992: 159). The two men first met at Saint Michael and communicated largely in Russian and some English. Karlson, who had a much stronger command of Russian initially preached in that language with the assistance of Eskimo interpreters such as Stephan Ivanoff (Almquist 1962: 19-21). Unalakleet represented a boundary community inhabited by Iñupiaq, Yup'ik, and Athabascan peoples, who spoke each other's languages as well as a smattering of Russian and English. The multicultural composition of Unalakleet created conditions that likely permitted the freer exchange of material, intellectual, and spiritual goods. The latter aspect as well as the community's proximity to Russian Orthodoxy may have contributed to the eventual acceptance of the Covenant Church's belief system.

[6] In 1891, David Johnson came to Unalakleet from Iowa as a young 19 year-old. He worked extensively as a missionary with Karlson and Uyaraq throughout most of the decade. In March 1895, Johnson was the preacher who with the help of two native interpreters brought about a large number of conversions in Wales (Roberts 1981: 59 and Taliaferro 2006: 137-138).

already decided to assign the district to the Society of Friends otherwise known as the Quakers. Upon his approval, the group set up a mission in the community of Kotzebue the following year. Deferring to Jackson and the Friends church, Uyaraq provided useful assistance to the denomination's newly arriving missionaries by determining the most suitable location for the church and by preaching to large numbers of natives attending the annual trade fairs. In 1899, after only two years of evangelizing, the religious workers succeeded in making their first converts. By the following year, 70 natives had joined the church and in 1902, over a 100 became official members. Soon, newly converted Iñupiat began to proselytize without the assistance of the missionaries and the new religion spread relatively quickly across northern Alaska (Burch 1994: 89-91).

I will now examine the nature of musical interaction that occurred between the various missionary groups and the Iñupiaq peoples during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. I will begin with the Covenant church in Unalakleet, followed by the Congregationalists in Wales, the Episcopal church in Point Hope, the Presbyterians in Point Barrow, and the Friends church around Kotzebue.

Unalakleet and the Covenant Church

The Covenant Church labored for several years to gain its first converts. One reason was linguistic barriers. Having a limited command of English, Axel Karlson, who was Swedish, needed the help of young native interpreters such as Stephan Ivanoff and Misha Kamaroff to translate his knowledge of Russian into various Eskimo languages and dialects (Almquist 1962: 21).[7] Commenting on the initial lack of interest in the missionary's preaching, an early convert named Etagea said "when Pastor Karlson held services with us, we did not care to go; we cared only for our own gatherings, plays, and feasts" (Almquist 1962: 20). The two years that it took

[7] The Swedish-born Karlson gained fluency in Russian during his missionizing efforts in the Caucasus region, which led to his imprisonment and eventual banishment to Siberia (Almquist 1962: 19). According to Ticasuk (Emily Ivanoff Brown), Stephan was the son of a Russian father named Sergei and a Yup'ik Eskimo mother named Chikuk (Ticasuk 1981: 49, 71). His ability to speak fluent Yup'ik, Russian, and English enormously benefited Karlson's teachings (Ticasuk 1981: 96). Stephan was also a musician and an instrument maker. He played on a self-made violin for many audiences during his fund-raising travels across the United States in later years (Ticasuk 1981: 100). Misha Kamaroff is possibly the same person as Frank Kameroff, an interpreter and dog-team driver, who assisted in teaching at the newly established Golovin mission in 1893-94 and in subsequent years (Ray 1992: 212-213 and Almquist 1962: 26).

Karlson to establish an official school in Unalakleet also delayed the chances of winning over the local population to Christianity. Once the school opened, however, native participation increased rapidly – 29 children attended the school in October 1899; 40 students enrolled a year later and by 1899 the number rose to 93 (Almquist 1962: 21, 57). Since enrollment was voluntary, such results demonstrate the strong determination of the local people to receive a formal Western education.

Music played an important role in the Covenant Church's teaching curriculum. Within a couple years, the local population participated in gatherings that featured foreign songs. Hanna Svenson, one of the first white women to live in Unalakleet, who later married Karlson, arrived in Unalakleet in 1891 to supervise the orphanage. She remarked on the singing of religious songs during the Christmas season later that year:

> At Christmas time and during the week of prayer many were touched by the Holy Spirit. We had a full house every evening. The natives sang, prayed, and testified. Even a young Shuman [sic] arose and said that he should not like to be left when the Lord would come. (Education Report 1898: 1625)

From 1887 to 1910, under Karlson's leadership, many residents in Unalakleet and the vicinity were trained in Western music and passed their knowledge on to others. One such individual was Kiatcha Ivanoff, a member of the well-known Ivanoff teaching family, which included her brother Mischa, half-brother Stephan and a cousin Paul.[8] A musically competent teacher, Kiatcha taught school at Unalakleet for several years in the early 1900s (Almquist 1962: 59, U.S. Bureau of Education 1908: 383 and Congressional Serial Set 1910: 480). Alice Omegichuak, another prominent Unalakleet musician, studied in Iowa prior to 1897 and married Mischa Ivanoff in 1904. She played the guitar and was a church organist (Roberts 1978: 170 and Almquist 1962: 59-60). Laypersons skilled in languages such as Aaron Paneok also assisted the missionaries and schoolteachers by translating Western songs into the Iñupiaq or Yup'ik languages (Almquist 1962: 60).

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[8] Other members of the Ivanoff family were active as interpreters and teachers throughout the Seward Peninsula and Norton Sound region. Siblings Mischa and Kiatcha like their half-brother Stephan taught school (Almquist 1962: 59). They also shared the same Russian father who married a second time after the death of his first wife. Born in the 1880s, Mischa and Kiatcha received primary schooling in San Francisco (Ticasuk 1981: 99, 103). Their cousin Paul (or nephew, possibly Stephan's son) also taught and worked as an interpreter and guide for Knud Rasmussen towards the end of his 1924 expedition across the North American Arctic (Almquist 1962: 59 and Gidley 2003: 129).

Even after two decades of the missionary presence in Unalakleet, it should be noted that the native population retained at least some of its traditional ceremonial practices. For instance, on December 31, 1906, Karl Hendrickson, a member of the Covenant Church who worked with Karlson, remarked matter-of-factly that "the people of Unalakleet are preparing to go to Stebbens [Stebbins] for a dance that will come off there in a short time" (Unalakleet Log Book 1903-1915: 224).[9] He observed that the next morning, New Year's Day, "a great portion of our people went to the dance" and that many of them returned two weeks later claiming "they had a good time and plenty to eat" (Unalakleet Log Book 1903-1915: 224, 226). Coinciding with mid-winter holiday celebrations, this inter-village event lasted for several days. Before the dance, members of the Unalakleet mission and the rest of the population celebrated Christmas with a series of festivals that included singing around the holiday tree (Unalakleet Log Book 1903-1915: 223-224).

Native ceremonial gatherings independent of the church also continued in the village of Unalakleet. A year later on Sunday, January 26, 1908 Hendrickson observed that "while we were in church attending the forenoon service the natives from Saint Michaels and below arrived at Unalakleet where they were invited for a feast. They were taken over into the counq [qargi] house where the feast is solemnized" (Unalakleet Log Book 1903-1915: 253-154). The people ritually commemorated this inter-village exchange in the qargi and it is unlikely that the ceremony included many Christian elements, if any. Even under the long-term influence of the Covenant Church, feasting and dancing were still enjoyed in Western Alaska communities.

After Karlson's death in 1910, Henning and Hilma Gustafson served at Unalakleet for six years. The missionary couple was musical, particularly Hilma who taught piano to the locals and organized choirs of various age groups and sizes (Almquist 1962: 44). At the same time, other musically skilled missionary wives such as Ruth Ost worked throughout the Seward Peninsula (Almquist 1962: 42). Eskimo women continued to contribute their musical skills to the Covenant Church. Among them were Edda Tomrun and Uyaraq's daughter Eva Rock, who became choir leaders and organists at Unalakleet in 1911 and 1919, respectively (Alquist 1962: 35-36, 49). By the 1930s and 1940s, having cultivated a strong musical tradition for several decades, the church

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[9] The community of Stebbins maintained a ceremonial house or qasgi for decades and has continued to practice its music and dance traditions unbroken to the present day (Bogeyaktuk and Steve 2004). Inter-village feasts, however, ceased for several decades during the mid-century, partly because of objections raised by the strict Catholic priest Father Marin Lonneaux, who served in the area between 1925 and 1948. In 1971, the Stebbins community reintroduced the Challenge Festival, a variant of the Messenger Feast, and included the participation of numerous villages in the area. Celebration of the event continues to the present day (Fienup-Riordan 2004: xi-xxvi).

community was able to routinely put on musical activities, including a choir rehearsal, a girls' chorus, a male chorus, and a string band (Almquist 1962: 37-38).

The focus on Western music, much of it religious in nature, and the establishment of church conferences are factors that gradually eroded indigenous ties to drum dance traditions. According to the Alaska Covenant Church historian Almquist, by 1930 conferences had "come to replace the annual pagan feasts and dances, filling the Eskimos' need to congregate and visit and feast in the spring" (Almquist 1962: 36). In other words, the spiritual and social functions of native dance found new forms of expression within the framework of a Christian-based musical system.

One obvious reason for the disapproval of native-style dancing by the church was its perceived heathen associations with the animal and natural spirits. The musical accompaniment's strong rhythmic component is probably another. A 1961 report based on the founding of the community's new radio station KICY reflects this concern:[10]

> A wide variety of music is included in several thousand long-playing albums found in the KICY record library. The station serves musical interests that range all the way from the classics to country-western tunes, including band, pop concerts, easy listening, and religious music. Station policy prohibits the use of 'rock and roll' type records and most other popular music with emphasis on rhythm rather than musical quality. (Almquist 1962: 97)

The obvious bias against music grounded on rhythm, as opposed to melody and harmony, relates to the church's historical condemnation of dance in general. In the case of native dance, the combination of both pagan and rhythmic elements was especially unsettling among church officials and some members of the congregation.

To this day, Alaska natives disagree about the return of old drum dance traditions. For example, recent efforts to revitalize traditional Cup'ik dance on Nunivak Island, an area impacted by Covenant Church missionization, still sparks controversy among the local population. The following brief article reflects divisions that not only run along religious/secular lines, but also generational ones.

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[10] Although radio access had already existed in the Seward Peninsula, inhabitants of the region experienced poor reception. The construction of Unalakleet's first radio station in 1959-1960 marked an important milestone in the community's history. In terms of music, greater exposure to global sounds, though filtered to large degree, created new challenges for the Covenant Church in providing "appropriate" types of music.

Traditional Eskimo Dance Reintroduced to Cup'ig Culture

> MEKORYUK, AK (December 6, 2006) – The new pastor of the Evangelical Covenant Church here believes the return of traditional dance once banned by missionaries is good for the community. The dance is part of the Reindeer Messenger Festival, which was first held in 2002 and is held every other year. The three-day event that begins Thursday includes elements of a traditional festival banned in 1936 because it was considered heathen, according to a news report from THV-Channel 2 in Little Rock, Arkansas. Nathan Hannah is the Covenant church's new pastor and a teacher at the village school. "It's an extraordinary activity for the kids," he told the TV station. "It's learning about the culture. It's a positive expression, a creative expression about the good things of the Cup'ig [sic] culture. There's just a lot of positives that comes out of it." Hannah, who refers to himself as a "plain old white guy," is married to a Cup'ig [sic] woman from Mekoryuk. He returned to pastor the village's only church in June after having lived in the village until several years ago. Hannah noted he did not speak for the church in the Cup'ig [sic] Eskimo village. According to the report, some older members of the congregation and community had opposed bringing back the festival and dance. The young people had wanted to bring back the festival as part of their desire to connect more with their culture. According to the broadcast, "The village school now offers Cup'ig [sic] immersion classes to its youngest students. It holds regular school-wide culture weeks where students learn about dancing, mask-making, ivory carving and drum-making. Older students get outdoor survival training, learning how to shoot and butcher reindeer and musk oxen during winter camping trips. (*The Evangelical Covenant Church*: 2006)

The belief that drum dancing is inherently heathen still persists in a number of Alaska native villages. Much of the opposition to its reintroduction has come from elders who grew up shunning the tradition. As the above article indicates, a contemporary divide over the decision to revitalize the practice generally exists between the young and older generations. Recently, however, communities as a whole have begun to view their past culture in a different light, embracing their ancient ways, including their drum dance songs. Unalakleet is one of those communities that experienced a significant loss in native drumming and dancing, due in large part to the Covenant church presence. I have shown that church music appealed greatly to the local population and that it played an important role in the denomination's activities. In Chapter 10, I will address in more detail those factors responsible for the decline of drum dancing in villages such as Unalakleet and others across the Western Arctic.

Wales and the Congregational Church

In the early summer of 1890, Sheldon Jackson and four missionaries appointed to the villages of Wales, Point Hope, and Barrow traveled northward to Alaska on the steam schooner supply ship *Jeanie*. Two of the hired men, William Thomas Lopp and Harrison Thornton, arrived at Wales[11] where they began their work with the native population (Taliaferro 2006: 20-23). Adopting Jackson's teach-then-preach doctrine, Lopp and Thornton proceeded to teach English and other subjects before preaching their religion. Providing house chores for the bachelors, a young twelve-year-old boy named Sokweena quickly learned English as a result and assisted later as a useful interpreter (Taliaferro 2006: 35-36, 39). In order to communicate better with the locals, the two missionaries also worked hard to learn the Iñupiaq language. Immersing themselves into native culture, both Lopp and Thornton visited the qazgi (ceremonial house) where they witnessed native drum dancing and singing (Lopp 2001: 369-370, Taliaferro 2006: 40, and Thornton 1976 [1931]: 113).

Thornton, killed in 1893 by three young men in the community, left a memoir of his life in Alaska. Published in 1931, his account provides a lens into the mind of an American missionary and educator working among the Iñupiat of Seward Peninsula. One detailed chapter (Ch. 31) concerns the nature of the qazgi and the dance music held there. One other interesting chapter (Ch. 19) in the posthumous work is devoted to the musical talents of the local population. Like many other observers of the Iñupiaq people, Thornton commented on the fondness they have for song and their ability to learn foreign music quickly and accurately. He also remarked on the native people's initial difficulty to understand musical harmony.[12]

Thornton, Lopp and their fellow missionaries introduced hymns and patriotic songs as part of the daily school curriculum, which included English, arithmetic, and geography (Lopp 2001: 365). They also taught the locals college songs, such as "The Bull-Dog", which the Wales Iñupiat parodied and altered by adopting lyrics that related to more common Arctic animals such as the ringed and bearded seals. Besides the drum, Thornton also observed a second instrument based on the construction of a banjo and guitar, a variant of the "Eskimo fiddle" (Thornton 1976

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[11] Wales, also known by the Iñupiaq name Kingegan, was actually comprised of two villages: Agenamete and Gaytarnamete, now spelled Agianamiut and Kiatanamiut, respectively (Taliaferro 2006: 36).

[12] Nelson made a similar observation during his four-year sojourn conducting ethnographic and natural history fieldwork in Western Alaska (1877-1881). See quotation on p. 51, fn 29.

[1931]: 77-78). These Iñupiaq alterations of songs and instruments exemplify a localized shaping of foreign musical goods that suited the artistic and social tastes of the community.

The performance of native music continued as well as adherence to its associated taboos. Periodically, the observance of such traditions interfered with the missionary activities. Whenever a death occurred in a native family, for instance, relatives of the deceased had to abstain from singing or dancing for an entire year. Custom also dictated that children stay at home for 10 days. Thornton remarked that although those youngsters affected were "dying to join in the singing along with the other children, we detected only one violation of the rule: the little fellow held his hand over his mouth to conceal the crime and sang softly to himself" (Thornton 1976 [1931]: 196-197).

In July 1891, after one year in Alaska, Thornton and Lopp received a visit from Jackson at Port Clarence, whereupon the two missionaries expressed disappointment "that no ladies had been sent up to reenforce [sic] their mission (Education Report 1894a: 940). Traveling to Wales aboard the U.S.S. Revenue Cutter *Bear*, the three men witnessed a performance of Iñupiaq dances. After Jackson inspected the mission and village, Thornton and Lopp demonstrated to their boss and the crew of the *Bear* the progress their students had made during the past year. They "called the school children to the cutter and gave an exhibition of what their schools could do in arithmetic, language, and singing, after which there was a race of 12 umniaks [sic] from the beach to the ship and return" (Education Report 1894a: 941). One may interpret the singing as a public relations stunt, a convenient and entertaining way to demonstrate the "positive" acculturative effects of native exposure to missionaries and the perceived progress in their education. Not all those who witnessed the event were impressed, however. Mary Healy, the wife of Captain Michael Healy, thought poorly of Thornton's character and recorded in her diary that "his will be slow work if they [the Eskimos] learn as little in another year as they have in this (Taliaferro 2006: 45).

In the winter of 1891-1892, Thornton went to the States while Lopp supervised the mission alone. The latter reported on the educational progress of the Wales children during the school year. Along with reading, writing, listening and speaking English, he regarded singing as an important part of the curriculum and as a mark of progress:

> Many of the children mastered the alphabet, learned to spell and pronounce simple English words, read in the first reader, write a neat and readable hand, and sing gospel and patriotic songs. They also became familiar with several hundred English words, and

> learned the necessity of greater cleanliness in their habits. (Education Report 1894b: 874)

Lopp also found that his teachings were spreading beyond the Wales community. On a dogsled trip northward along the coast that winter, he was astonished to hear children who had never attended his school count to ten and sing the hymn "In the Sweet By and By" (Taliaferro 2006: 67). The oral dissemination of Christian hymns between communities in the absence of outside of missionary activity is an important indicator of the popularity of the new music as well as the new teaching. Both adults and children participated in the proliferation of religious music across northern Alaska. Moreover, native youth considered the foreign songs meaningful enough to pass on to their peers.

In late June 1892, Thornton disembarked from the whaler *Newport* with his new wife Neda and a fellow teacher named Ellen Louis Kittredge, who within a period of two months married Lopp. The presence of the two women brought a deeper musical element into the Wales community. At the Lopp's wedding, for instance, Mrs. Thornton provided music on the organ, a new instrument that had come up North with the missionaries (Lopp 2001: 41 and Taliaferro 2006: 82). The organ became early on a source of great attraction for the local population. During the school week, the missionary couples incorporated it into the practice of hymn singing, which in addition to reading, writing and arithmetic became standard subjects of the teaching curriculum. On the first Sunday school class in mid-November 1892, one hundred people from the community attended in order to hear the organ music (Taliaferro 2006: 86, 88).

Suggesting the importance of the keyboard instrument in their lives and work, Mr. Lopp expressed an interest in acquiring an organ from his parents. The desire for an additional organ in the community may have been due to Thornton's insistence that the two couples divide their living quarters (Lopp 2001: 43, 45) and perhaps even their possessions. Another possibility is that Mr. Lopp wanted two organs, one for the mission house and the other for the school. Returning to Wales from Teller after a one-year absence due to the Thornton's murder in August 1893, the Lopps were excited to find the organ still functioning after so many months of neglect. By the time the Lopps took a one-year sabbatical in 1895-1896, however, they decided that a new organ was in order. Shortly before their departure north to Alaska in June 1896, the couple purchased one for $32.50, an expensive item on their shopping list (Taliaferro 2006: 132, 147 and Lopp 2001: 120). The Lopps probably kept the second organ in their log home, a popular place for locals and visitors to congregate.

Finally, in August 1901, a year before their permanent return to the States, the missionary family received yet another organ presumably from relatives residing in Westborough, Massachusetts (Lopp 2001: 317). Frances, a sister of Mrs. Lopp's who had arrived in Wales the previous year, commented in a letter about the instrument: "The next day the organ box was opened. There had been considerable discussion when the organ was loaded in the umiaks as to whether it was an organ or piano" (Lopp 2001: 321). Despite the high costs involved in shipping large objects from the States (Lopp 2001: 42-43), the acquisition of an organ indicated how much value the Lopps placed on music. The instrument was probably one of the most valuable items in their household.

Over the decade the Lopps spent in the Wales area, the organ proved to be a great draw for natives and non-natives alike. Young native women in particular were interested in playing the instrument (Lopp 2001: 98, 108, 131, 152, 212, and 342). Three of them – Woodlet, Elubwok, and Nowadluk – spent an ample amount of time with the Lopps assisting with house chores and babysitting the Lopp children. Woodlet reportedly demonstrated a good musical ear and could tease out all the tunes she knew on the organ using one finger (Lopp 2001: 98). Elubwok occasionally played the instrument for Sunday School while carrying a baby on her back and Nowadluk spent time accompanying Mr. Lopp's singing (Lopp 2001: 212, 342). As the following image indicates, females participated as church organists in nearby communities such as Mary's Igloo where Congregationalist church influence held sway (Figure 5.1).

Figure 5.1: Young Native woman seated at outdoor organ, "The Church Organist, Mary's Igloo, Alaska," circa 1900-1914. Photograph by Beverly Bennett Dohbs Wickersham State Historic Site. Photographs, 1882-1930s, ASL-PCA-277 Alaska State Library Historical Collections, ASL-P277-009-107

Younger and older boys also played the organ, including the Lopp's student Arthur Nagozruk[13] and their four-year-old son Dwight (Lopp 2001: 207, Greist 1968: 13, and Taliaferro

[13] The nurse Mollie Greist, who lived in Wales in 1920-21 commented not only on Arthur Nagozruk's fine organ playing but also his interpreting and teaching skills (Greist 1968: 13). Nagozruk was a student of the Lopps during the 1890s and started a well-respected career in teaching the following decade (Lopp 2001: xiv). The superintendent of the Bureau of Education's Northwestern District in Alaska, Walter C. Shields, wrote a very positive account of Nagozruk's role as a teacher. Shields also commented on another native teacher educated by the Lopps named Charles Menadelook of Wales: "The most hopeful thing that I have to report this year is the great success in school and village work attained by our Eskimo teachers. The entire work at Kotzebue, Wales, and Solomon was under the direction of Eskimo teachers. At other places Eskimo assistants were employed with great efficiency. Wales is one of our largest centers and largest schools. This entire work has been under the direction of Arthur Nagozruk, and has been most efficiently done. He has been mayor of one of the best councils any Eskimo village ever had. He organized the reindeer men into a local club that has done good work. Wales has a large church building, but has had no missionary for several years. Arthur Nagozruk and Warren Adlooat, with the assistance of a good church committee, managed the church themselves. The school, mission, and village work at Wales the past year was very successful. It shows what Eskimos can do under the leadership of one of their own race. I consider the work done at Wales by the Eskimos under the direction of Arthur Nagozruk the past year the very best "exhibit" that our service has to show in this district.

At Kotezbue the work was under the direction of Charles Menadelook. He was a stranger to that section, and even had to become accustomed to the change in the dialect. Kotzebue is not an easy place, with its choice assortment of old-timers who pose as experts on everything connected with the natives. It has tried white teachers to the limit. Charles Menadelook took hold with considerable energy. He worked through the church and through the council and forced his personality on the entire village. Both of these young men are a great credit to the service, and we should be proud of them. With such possibilities among

2006: 311). Nagozruk, who in the early 1900s became one of the first Native teachers in western Alaska, "was gifted as a fine organist" and read music (Lopp 2001: xiv and Greist 1968: 13). Visiting non-natives with a keyboard background also showed their competency on the instrument much to the delight of the children:

> Mr. Lewis is here, a government surveyor from Nome and a member of the Nome church. He can play the organ and is quite congenial. The children stand around in awed silence when Mr. Lewis plays. They have never heard an organ played properly before, with the four parts. (Lopp 2001: 248)

After the Lopps departed from Wales in 1902, they corresponded with community members. On February 13, 1904, Nowadluk's sister Nora, who helped take care of the missionaries' children, wrote about two organs in a letter addressed to Mrs. Lopp: "The little organ is no good now. The other one is at church, and is used for the meetings. Mrs. Lee has a little organ like the one you had. I would like to hear Lucy and Dwight play on the piano" (Nowadluk: February 13, 1904). The passage reveals a strong musical bond between Nora and the Lopp family and the continuing importance of organs in both the church and home setting.

Besides the organ, the Lopps also had two Regina music boxes (Lopp 2001: 267), interchangeable disc music players that were highly popular in Europe and North America between the 1890s and 1910 but eventually lost favor to the phonograph (*Regina MusicBox Center* n.d.). In a letter written in October 1899, Mrs. Lopp remarked on receiving a music box as a gift, one that her husband had begged to have (Lopp 2001: 235). It was most probably an 8" model not unlike the one pictured below (Figure 5.2). The music box apparently appealed enough to Mrs. Lopp that she soon thereafter requested the following two discs from her sister living on the East Coast: the river song "Down on the Wabash" and the 1894 sentimental song "I Don't Want to Play in Your Yard" (Lopp 2001: 239).[14] The mechanical device became a popular

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the Eskimos there is every reason for us to look forward to the time when a great part of the work in this district (except the medical work) will be in the hands of Eskimo teachers. Both of these men, Nagozruk and Menadelook, are from Cape Prince of Wales, and received their early training under the present chief of this division, Mr. Lopp" (Education Report 1919: 12-13). In 1917, Arthur Nagozruk contributed a report of the Wales public school to the Bureau of Education and remarked "this was the first time that no white teachers and missionaries were sent to this place for 27 years, and all the work was carried on by the native teachers during the year" (Education Report 1919: 47-48).

[14] Mrs. Lopp lists the title of "I Don't Want to Play in Your Yard" as "Sliding Down the Cellar Door" which is actually a line from the song that became a well-known idiom in the American language.

source of entertainment providing music for events such as a wedding reception given in the honor of the Lopp's two native helpers Nowadluk and her sister Nora (Lopp 2001: 267).

Figure 5.2: Regina 8" Mahogany Disc Music Box
© Regina Music Box Center
(*Regina Music Box Center* n.d.)

One other type of instrument that the Lopps made interesting use of was the cornet. In October 1899, Mr. Lopp wanted reindeer herders in the area to play them, presumably in order to signal one another or to control the animals (Lopp 2001: 235). The herders were a multicultural lot comprised of Alaskan and Siberian natives as well as Saami. However, by the time the Lopps supplied such instruments, the majority of those remaining were Iñupiat from the surrounding area. Humorously, Mrs. Lopp remarked that even though she thought the herders could learn to play the cornets, "it takes a great deal of wind. I can't make a sound on them and one of the herders couldn't" (Lopp 2001: 235). This example shows that not all musical interventions introduced by the missionaries succeeded.

Hymn singing, however, did succeed and it became an essential component of the Sunday Services. During the school week, moreover, children and adults learned both religious and patriotic songs, such as "Battle Hymn of the Republic" (Lopp 2001: 101, 134, 284, 365). Since the Lopps and Thorntons served as both missionaries and educators, the religious content contained in their services and school sessions often blurred. Yet, for the first few years of missionary work, very little preaching per say took place. To counter this trend, during the winter

of 1894-1895, the Lopps began to incorporate more intense religious instruction at Sunday school.[15] Despite their efforts, it was not until Covenant Church missionaries David Johnson and two native assistants visited Wales in late February and March 1895 that observable cases of conversion or at least religious syncretism began to occur. Mrs. Lopp recorded the visit:

> Mr. Johnson, Swedish Evangelical missionary from Unalakleet, has been here a week. He is on a missionary tour, and we have been having meetings instead of school. The people are very much interested. Many say they believe the Bible and what they have heard preached. Today about forty said they would like to be Christians. They have never before heard the gospel preached in correct Eskimo and, I suppose, have learned more this week than they had learned before, in all. (Lopp 2001: 106)

The visiting missionaries restructured the religious format replacing school sessions with daily revival meetings. Lasting the entire day, the gatherings combined preaching with prayers and hymn singing (Taliaferro 2006: 137-138). The use of competent native interpreters and the steady inculcation of biblical ideas via speech and song made an obvious impact on the local people. Such a style and method would serve as a model for later missionary groups, particularly denominations like the Friends' Church and even later on evangelical Baptists and Pentecostal churches.

While raising funds upon his return to the States in 1895-1896, Mr. Lopp spoke at various meetings about the progress made at the Wales mission. On one occasion, dressed in Eskimo clothing (*American Missionary* 1895: 386), he gave the following words:

> This last year we have done something in the way of giving the people some religious instruction. We have held a Sunday service every Sunday, beside some special services, and we have found that the Eskimos are quite capable of understanding the plan of salvation, and that many of them gladly accept it. To-day, at Cape Prince of Wales we have thirty or forty praying Christian Eskimos, and the work has not stopped. Some of these have gone to the settlements to the north and south of our own settlement, and have taken the good news. (*American Missionary* 1895: 419)

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[15] This new course of action may have been a response to internal conflict shaped by Iñupiaq influences. In a letter from September 1894, Mrs. Lopp revealed her concerns about adopting native ways of thinking. She wrote: "No one can know, without trying it, how much out of line with good things one can be when under bad influences. At home there are so many good influences – new people, new papers, new books, new ideas, and new combinations of all – things changing so fast that no one influence has its way. Here I have found that gradually I have changed my opinions in several matters, I remember how I used to think and try to get myself back into line, but can't now" (Lopp 2001: 100). Perhaps as a way to counter this perceived change, she and Mr. Lopp redirected their educational goals by complementing their teaching with more preaching.

Iñupiaq observance of the Sabbath indicated the effectiveness of the missionaries' teachings. The Lopps were probably especially pleased when the village chief's son Kokituk forewent a whale hunt in order to attend a Sunday prayer meeting (Lopp 2001: 107). Mrs. Lopp saw an important connection between the Sabbath and singing with all of its spiritual and recreational dimensions. Writing in November 1897, she considered it a pity that no addition had been put on the house: "I am sorry, as I wanted a room where the Natives who wanted to keep Sunday could spend Sunday afternoons singing, reading and looking at pictures, and where we could let them wash their clothes and take baths" (Lopp 2001: 174).[16]

By 1898, native Congregationalists for the first time began to conduct official missionary work in the Wales area. Lopp and Thornton's one-time pupil Sokweena and his wife Elubwok went to the nearby village of Mitletok to provide an education for both children and adults. Despite the fact that Lopp and his wife were unable to visit the mission more than three times a year, the former remarked positively about the school's progress writing that "some of the children at his mission learn to spell and write a little and to sing" (*American Missionary* 1899: 27). Mrs. Lopp was sorry that the newly established mission had no organ but understood how it was too expensive an item to consider at the time (Lopp 2001: 212). Elubwok, who showed proficiency on the instrument, may have desired one as well for the mission; she died, however, sometime in 1900 or 1901, probably due to illness (*American Missionary* 1901: 82).[17]

Despite the consistent exposure among the Wales inhabitants to Western music and Christianity during the turn of the 20th century, Iñupiaq dance traditions continued but with less intensity. By the time Lopp and Thornton had arrived in the area, the number of qazgi had decreased from four observed in 1854 to just two (Trollope 1855: 863; Anderson and Eells 1935: 68). In January 1854, while searching for information concerning the lost Franklin expedition, Captain Henry Trollope of the *Rattlesnake* arrived in Wales. He wrote glowingly about the community's dance music performances held in the ceremonial houses: "The place is a sort of

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[16] On December 3, 1899, Mrs. Lopp noted in her diary that a music and reading room had opened for the afternoon Sunday Service (Lopp 1899: December 3, 1899).

[17] Mr. Lopp reported that a devastating measles epidemic broke out during the summer of 1900 and that "both of Sokweena's children died, and his wife, before she had regained her former health, was taken down a few weeks ago with pneumonia and at this writing is still very sick. Although convalescent, she is very weak and seems to have some heart trouble. They are in a cabin near our house. We are planning to have Sokweena and his wife open up the Mitletok Mission again" (*The American Missionary* 1901: 70). Mrs. Lopp's sister Frances and brother Charlie also commented about Elubwok's improving condition due to the aid of a ship's doctor (Lopp 2001: 284, 285).

capital in these parts and has four dancing houses, which is a very expressive manner of estimating the extent and population of a place" (Trollope 1855: 863). Mary Ann Larson remarks that the remaining permanent qargi (qazgi) in Wales shut down sometime in the 1960s. For decades prior to that, elders had only occasionally used the structure for sweatbathing. By the end of the 1930s, other qargi functions like celebrations and feasts that featured drum dancing and singing had already transferred over to communal buildings (Larson 1995: 215).

As indicated earlier, both of the missionaries received invitations to visit the qazgi on a number of occasions. Lopp wrote in his diary a detailed description of one particular visit that took place in December 1892:

> Chief Kokituk, according to promise made last year, sent Tom word to attend Kosga [qazgi] and see Oomaligzruk speared. Went down about 2:40. Kosga full. Few women and children. Lamps burning brightly. Sat over one. Oomaligzruk talking about spirits in Siberian dialect. Roof or ceiling decorated with wooden images – whales, walrus, birds, seals, and boat. An old-fashioned whale spear suspended, 8 ft. long. Oomaligzruk talked Siberian to Nugedlena and two or three other old men who understood a little of the language. Doctor [shaman] Ibiono drummed and had vision about whale hunting. Doctor Peneret and Alureruk, 4 Drumapaths. Whaling crew of 8 young men, pants, and Kawituk danced in circle. Each had wooden masks. Splendid dancing. Doctor Oomaligzruk performs – licks head of spear, etc. Call on "stick," a path from Owoodlowke (80 miles up coast). Tries one or two candidates, but finds Alureruk head to be suitable. Sokweena also performs with Koogrook. Doctor Peneret performs. Kokituk tells me that if I didn't think I could stay with it until late in night I had better go now. Oomaligzruk asked several times if I was tired.
>
> Crew went out found dogs in entrance, had owners to go out and take them home and tie them. Brought whale vertebrae in. Dance several times and each doctor performed. Poogootuk passed and everyone prepare for spearing. Kokituk and Sooksruk (spearman) nervous. I am shirtless and sweating. Goes down in Kosga door (hole) blows around it. Comes up several times. Spirits cause him to talk Siberian and ancient dialects which only a few can understand. Thought he told them spear him fourth time; he shoved his back under the hole. Everybody talking at once, during which Kawituk appeared four times. General discussion, young men scared, dummy kept on appearing. Called on the Drumapaths and Stickapaths to help them out. Refused to spear him. After much calling, he came up and gave their instructions again. (hands were tied all time.) Disappeared. In short time dummy appeared at hole again. On fourth appearance Sooksruk speared it. Spear quivered and was drawn down through hole. Thong and bow was attached. Other end thong made fast to timer. Doctors hard at work. Everybody sings for half hour. Draw him up. Back shoes bleeding where the thong attached to spear entered his back. Showed head. In pain. Blood oozed out of his mouth. Ivory head was in lower part chest. Went down again. When he came up thong and spear head fell from him. Got up through hole, fell over. But responded to their Ki-Ki. Arose to his feet and spit blood, pressed his breast, and blood ran out from under his belt. Set Sokweena and Oowoodlet going.

> Masked dancers came up to me several times and remarked to me that he was a small doctor. Made me feel unpleasant. Didn't know what to say. Repeated masked dances. Drinks from finger bowl and washes his breast with it – body bare. Worn and smoked out; half after eleven. Poogootuk's two dancers, country doctor, children, Methodist revival. Idea of sacrifice prophesy? Dancing while on knees. Much smoking. Boys dancing. Crew and Oomaligzruk went out before anybody else. (Lopp 2001: 369-370)

The event as described above was very elaborate and lengthy. Among the objects, ceiling decorations depicting animals, wooden masks, hunting implements, a whale vertebrae, and a dummy provided a rich visual display brightly illuminated by the stone lamps. A good portion of the performance involved dancing, drumming, and singing. The participants were largely, if not exclusively, male. Most of the performers were adults comprised of shamans and young whaling crews, although, some boys danced. The main shaman act was particularly intricate. The smoke and heat in the crowded space was likely overwhelming for the partially naked, sweating Mr. Lopp. The use of ancient speech instilled an even greater degree of mystery in the performance.[18]

Shaman drum dances continued during the Lopp's tenure at least among the older members of the community. For instance, eight years later in 1901, Mrs. Lopp's 19 year-old brother Charles witnessed such a performance at an individual's house:

> The other day while coming from school, I passed one Eskimo house where there was a great drumming and singing. Enowseok, the boy who was walking with me, asked if I did not want to go down into the house and see the doctor work. I made sure that the folks of the house would not be offended or disturbed by me coming in at such a time and then went in. Kitsin, the man of the house who is very sick now, was sitting on the floor in the middle of the room. The old doctor was sitting beside Kitsin, drumming for all he was worth but keeping a regular Eskimo song tune. He was accompanied all the time by his wife, who sat in the same position directly behind him, singing. When I came in, the old doctor did not open his eyes, but the others all looked at me and beckoned me to a place on the floor in the back of the room with some others of the family. I lay down on the floor with my head on my elbow and for an hour and a half I enjoyed myself thoroughly. At certain times the music would stop and the doctor would pray, with his head between his feet, to the spirit. Sometimes he would dance. Three times he managed to get the evil spirit into his mouth and blow it out the door. This sent the old fellow into contortions each time. At times they would all change places. Altogether it was a fine time. (Lopp 2001: 298-299)

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[18] The references to Siberian dialects, a distant location 80 miles to the north, and a kneeling dancer with its possible association to the central Yup'ik dance style are important in that they exemplify alterity or a sense of otherness.

The non-judgmental tone in the above quote is remarkable, especially compared to that of other ethnographers of the period. Like Charles, Mr. and Mrs. Lopp and her sister Frances maintained a fairly open-minded attitude towards the customs and behavior of the native people. With particular regard to dances and ceremonies held at the qazgi, the Lopps and in-laws supported or at least remained neutral about such matters. Throughout their diaries, they referred to shamans respectively as doctors and to individual natives by their personal names. Mrs. Lopp even came to the realization that the Iñupiat were challenging her way of thinking much the same as she was theirs. In a letter from September 1894, she writes "that is something I never thought of in regard to missionaries. In a foreign country to Christianize heathen people, they are inclined to become somewhat heathenized themselves" (Lopp 2001: 100).

Mrs. Lopp surely noticed the Iñupiaq influence on her children. Writing in late January 1895, her 20-month-old baby Lucy "toddles around some and can do a little Eskimo dancing. They don't move their feet when they dance. There is nothing objectionable about their dancing except the overcrowded rooms they dance in (Lopp 2001: 103). The Lopp children Lucy and Dwight also heard songs sung by their young native nannies Kongik and Woodlet (Lopp 2001: 108 and Taliaferro 2006: 133). Since the children were becoming bilingual, even at times communicating better in Iñupiaq than in English, they likely understood the meaning of the song words (Lopp 2001: 104, 155, 186, 195, 217, 274, 293).

Returning to the topic about the sustaining power of indigenous musical traditions in the Wales area, those aspects of dance and song relating to health, the weather and hunting remained during the early stages of missionization under the Lopps and Thorntons. For example, on July 25, 1898, after having accepted some medicine from Mr. Lopp, a mixture of ipecac and opium to counter a life-threatening cold, a native man invited a shaman to drum and sing for him. The shaman warned his ill patient not to take any more of the medicine but by the next day, the man died followed by thirteen others (Lopp 2001: 196-197). Presumably, most villagers adopted a pragmatic approach to various methods of healing and opted for both native and non-native procedures to cure their ailments. It is important to note that Western medicine during the 19th and early 20th centuries was generally ineffectual in curing a whole range of diseases. In fact, one could argue that it harmed more patients than it healed (Vanast 1996). Over time, however, thanks to the introduction of antibiotics, Western medicine in the 20th century began to prove its effectiveness in countering disease in the native population. As a result, the practice of

shamanistic healing began to decline. In contrast to "curing" drum songs and dances, those pertaining to the weather and hunting tended to endure, however.

A couple examples of local performances featuring weather incantations took place in the latter half of 1893. While waiting for a violent storm to subside following the murder of her husband, Mrs. Thornton observed native singing and drumming on shore. She mistakenly believed that the "ceremony" was sounding her death knell when in actuality the locals were performing a spiritual incantation to improve the weather and allow for safer passage across the water (Taliaferro 2006: 114).

Later that year, another terrible storm threatened the lives of some seal hunters camped out on a sand spit. The local people resorted again to a weather incantation:

> They had their doctors drumming and singing, their kind of praying. The wife of one came and had Mr. Lopp read the Bible and pray. She had been baptized into both the Greek and the Roman churches, but had her Eskimo doctor drumming a long time before she thought of praying. (Lopp 2001: 76-77)

Remarkably, the shaman's wife resorted to both the animistic/shamanistic and Christian forms of prayer to bring about a desired end. For Mrs. Lopp, after having lived among the Iñupiat of Wales for over a year, there was little difference between prayer and incantation at least in terms of function. By 1893, the native people in the area may have already fused incantations with Christian elements, perhaps due to the influence of the *uivvaqsaat*, the millenarian cult that had spread from the Kobuk area to Pont Hope and Barrow by the 1880s. As missionization continued over the course of the 20th century, however, Christian forms of prayer would gradually replace incantation. The 1890s saw a fusion of the two belief systems. A brief passage such as the one above powerfully reveals the blurred meaning of "conversion" and the difficulty of trying to measure it. Instead of viewing one's allegiance to a particular religion, or musical culture for that matter, in a dichotomous manner, it is more helpful to think of it as part of a spectrum.

Almost eight years later, the indigenous people of Wales still exhibited a strong cultural link to the hunt via song. While returning home from school on April 3, 1901, Frances and Charlie observed the following:

> We saw Ounknuk with seven or eight men taking his umiak, which he had been covering with walrus skins in the mission workhouse, over to his house. There were perhaps fifty children from seven to sixteen years of age playing about the workhouse, outdoors. The boys separated from the girls and followed the umiak, singing Eskimo songs. While the

> men were tying the umiak to the rack, out of the way of dogs, the boys sang for all they were worth. As soon as the umiak was tied, the men moved a little ways off on one side. The boys gathered in a close crowding pack on the other side of the umiak, close to the bow, while the girls stood in one group several rods off. The boys kept singing until a woman came out of the house having a wooden dish containing pieces of boiled seal meat, cut into one by two inch pieces or smaller. With one toss she threw all the meat to them and there was a "free for all" scrap and pushing among the pack of boys until the meat was all secured, some boys getting two or three pieces, and some none at all. (Lopp 2001: 306).

The meaning behind the singing is unclear but the apparent organization of the performance about the umiak indicates a link to hunting. The fact that only the boys sang and that they segregated themselves from the girls on the walk over to the umiak suggests a possible functional connection to the mission workhouse and the qazgi. Moreover, the mention of boys ranging in age between seven and sixteen shows that this cultural expression took place among a segment of the population whose formative years were already shaped by the missionary presence.

Finally, what follows is a visual example of enduring music and dance traditions and their strong bond to the subsistence lifestyle. The photo was taken about 1906 by Susan R. Bernardi, a U.S. government schoolteacher. The image depicts a man performing a dance presumably before embarking on a whale hunt (Figure 5.3).

Figure 5.3: Ceremonial Kingikmiut Eskimo dancing around a whaling boat during the month of May, Cape Prince of Wales, Alaska, circa 1906, photograph by Susan R. Bernardi. University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections Division

The reference to a suspended wolf skull charm illuminates the idea that long-held cultural beliefs managed to persist despite the impact of Christianity and Western education. Several factors may account for this. Compared to other missionaries, the Lopps and their relatives were much more tolerant and more encouraging of native ways.

The continuation of two qazgi in 1890 probably strengthened the cultural ties between generations. Wales boasted a relatively large population, which helped to expand the community's range of knowledge transference. The initial impact of missionization and disease in the area, though great, does not compare to what followed. Waves of much stricter and more ideologically-minded missionaries and educators would arrive over the course of the 20th century as well as more devastating epidemics, particularly the 1918 "Spanish Flu" pandemic, which severely reduced the Wales' native population. Furthermore, the introduction and development of the reindeer industry initially led by Sheldon Jackson and William Lopp and others, though well intentioned, helped to further erode the dance music traditions. Reindeer fairs, or conventions, started in northwestern Alaska as early as 1915, roughly around the time the Messenger Feasts and other large trade fairs disappeared or became dormant. Within a few short years, the practice of holding reindeer fairs spread from Mary's Igloo on the Seward Peninsula to Unalakleet, Noatak near Kotzebue Sound, and Noorvik, located on the Kobuk River (Fair 2000: 479-485). The events attracted indigenous peoples from all around the region, and provided a venue to discuss issues related to reindeer herding as well as other native themes (Education Report 1919: 5). Reindeer fairs continued every few years until the 1940s (Fair 2000: 484) when America's participation in World War II created an economic shift towards military defense.

In terms of music, reindeer fairs placed more of an emphasis on Western elements. In the winter of 1917-1918, for instance, the Alaska's Northern District superintendent Shields wrote a patronizing report about the use of patriotic songs at the reindeer fairs and their popular acceptance among the native population, especially the older generation:

> The most impressive thing connected with the fair was the salute to the flag each evening. This was arranged by Mr. Maguire. At the beginning of the evening meeting in the big tent Mr. Maguire played a bugle call on the organ; then he began to play "My Country, 'tis of Thee." From the back of the tent came a procession. In front marched two of the most prominent head herders, each carrying a 30-30 rifle. Next marched an old Eskimo carrying the flag. He was followed by two of the younger reindeer men with rifles. They lined up in front of the audience and then all sang the first verse of "My Country, 'tis of Thee." During the entire verse the audience stood and held the right hand rigidly at salute. It was exceedingly impressive to see old, decrepit Eskimos, men and women,

> struggle to their feet and hold that salute. I noticed some of the old folks, who did not thoroughly understand the salute, holding their hand over their eyes, and I saw their lips move, as in prayer. There are no people who love and honor the Government more than do the Eskimos. (Education Report 1919: 16).

Just as Western holidays like Christmas and Thanksgiving conveniently fused into the Iñupiaq seasonal patterns, reindeer fairs served as a substitute for inter-village social gatherings. The inclusion of Western secular music at such events paralleled the incorporation of religious songs into native churches throughout northwestern Alaska.

Point Hope and the Episcopal Church

The missionary doctor John B. Driggs is the most enigmatic church figure in this study. An Episcopalian, he arrived at Point Hope in 1890 and spent most of his remaining years in the area, dying at Cape Lisburne in 1914. After learning about his commercial whaling and trading activities and becoming more increasingly aware of his eccentric behavior, the church forced him out in 1908, which placed his subsequent missionary and medical work in the shadows. Driggs's own writings reveal a style that is frequently opaque and multi-layered. Taking into consideration his long tenure as a missionary doctor in northwestern Alaska, he wrote with surprisingly little detail about native culture. Therefore, his music- and dance-related observations are also rather limited, which is all the more ironic considering the fact that he had previously worked as a house manager for an American opera company that traveled throughout the United States and Canadian border provinces (Lowenstein 2008: 198). Yet, because of his more open-minded views about native culture and his seeming reluctance to alter it to any substantial degree, the musical impact of his presence in Point Hope and vicinity is important to consider.

When Driggs came to Point Hope, there were two settlements in the area: the Iñupiaq village of Tigara with a population of a few hundred people and the recently established shore-based whaling station of Jabbertown located seven miles away. Jabbertown, which opened in 1887, continued to operate until 1910 following the demise of the commercial whaling industry. Similar to the term Babel, Jabbertown was coined out of a multilingual and cosmopolitan atmosphere where people spoke various American dialects including African-American, Irish, Welsh, Scottish, other foreign languages such as Portuguese, German, Hawaiian, Filipino, and

several regional Iñupiaq dialects (Lowenstein 2008: 91-92).[19] The native population had therefore experienced substantial outside contact prior to Driggs's arrival. The commercial whaling industry, as noted earlier, seriously impacted native culture in the region by introducing disease and alcohol, and severely reducing marine animal populations. Consequently, the village of Tigara experienced a high number of deaths during the end of the 19th century.

Shortly after his arrival, Driggs lost a large portion of his provisions in a boating mishap. Since Driggs makes no mention of music-related items in the subsequent months, instruments, hymnbooks, and the like may have been included among the unrecoverable supplies. The first important musical reference he makes appears in a leaflet written in April 1891:

> My singing class has been a great aid in one respect as it nearly obliterated the alphabet class. It would have amused you to see the beginning. I wrote the numbers up to eight. The children laughed, but soon became interested, and tried to sing. I was struck by the very limited range of their voices, and so, calling each one up, tried them individually. As soon as they saw what I was going to do there was a general stampede. You could see little Esquimaux heads sticking out from under the benches and tables; but not one tried to leave the room. As each one was called by name they would come out of their hiding place laughing, and make the effort; for they are very obedient. After practicing their voices for one or two weeks, the first tune taught was the alphabet, arranged for singing, the first verse being the capitals written in regular order, the second the small letters written backwards. The tune proved very popular and was sung all over the village. I heard of one young man seventy-five miles away who had learned the alphabet by hearing it sung by some of the Tigara people. He had also procured some of my little slips of manilla [sic] papers on which simple words are written to drill the children before advancing them into the primer. (Driggs 1891: 29-31)

Driggs's reference to the children's limited vocal range is insightful taking into account his experience working with opera singers. What is even more illuminating about the above passage is two-fold. As Lowenstein asserts in his book *Ultimate Americans* (Lowenstein 2008: 188-189), Driggs had found an effective way to connect with the people and he had made an important

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[19] One of most prominent members of the community was a German trader named Franz Heinrich "Cooper" Koenig (Henry King) who operated a trading post for nearly two decades. Koenig like a few other whaler-traders such as the fellow Westphalian Johannes Hachmann, Welshman Joe Tuckfield, and Irishman Jim O'Hare married local Iñupiaq women and adopted an indigenous lifestyle. There presence likely helped to stabilize native/non-native relations and curb negative influences coming from outside (Lowenstein 2008: 65). An examination of Koenig's collection at the University of Alaska Fairbanks Rasmuson Library Archives yielded no information about music-related items with the exception of a Gospel Hymn Book. The hymnal containing Koenig's inscription featured text but no music (Koenig Collection n.d.). The trader, known to have been a pious man, developed a good relationship with Driggs and was one of the first people to meet him upon reaching the shore (Lowenstein 2008: 72-73, 173).

contribution to the musical heritage of Tigara, a singing community that placed a high value on maintaining and expanding its song repertory.

To emphasize the popularity and endurance of the A-B-C song in the Point Hope region, ethnomusicologist Thomas Johnston observed in the mid-1970s the same song consisting of an Eskimo melody set to letters of the English alphabet. He noted that Driggs had taught it over 8 decades earlier and added: "The Eskimo residents, amused by the comic sounds, took the meaningless syllables under pretext of learning them in order to become "civilized", and made a vehicle of satire from them. This is a common use of Eskimo songs" (Johnston 1976c: 442). Chapter 7 includes a closer look at this song and others as pertains to perceptions of other cultures through the medium of music.

Driggs developed a harmonious relationship with the native inhabitants of Tigara and viewed their culture positively. In a letter from June 1892, he wrote "I have been particularly favored in the people I labor among...although we look upon them as savages, yet they have traits to be admired" (Lowenstein 2008: 227). With an even-keel disposition, Driggs probably received numerous opportunities to witness native customs, even those of a mysterious nature. In his book *Short Sketches from Oldest America* published in 1905, he wrote the following interesting and well-detailed passage about the meaning and role of Point Hope songs:

> Many of the songs of these people relate fragments of tradition, while others deal with a crude mythology. There is yet another class, looked upon as prayers; some of these are very old, and are highly treasured by the possessors, being guarded as great secrets. When a father is about to pass away, he will call his son and impart to him the song as a legacy. No one else is allowed to be present on such an occasion, it being regarded in the same solemn light as a dying parent's blessing. The son in his turn, when he has grown old, and is about ready to take leave of the world, will impart the song to the next one in line of inheritance. These heirlooms have descended through families from one generation to another for an immense length of time. They are supposed to have a mystic charm and are never sung loud, but are hummed in a low voice. No outsider is allowed to learn the words or hear the tunes. If a seal on the ice is very watchful, the hunter that has received such a legacy will lie still and sing the magic words, at which the animal is supposed to go to sleep and so be readily approached. The same is said about the whale; if it has been struck, and there is danger of its being lost, the initiated will sing the magic words, after which the whale can be captured. (Driggs 1905: 101-102)

Judging by the above reference, Driggs's understanding of Iñupiaq musical culture was extensive. With his background in opera and theater, he was perhaps more intuitively aware and appreciative of the cultural and artistic dimensions surrounding native performance. Throughout

the years, the missionary doctor participated in native celebrations. He visited one or both of the two ceremonial houses at Tigara.[20] Unfortunately, he wrote little about his experiences there. Since there are so few first-hand accounts of Point Hope qargi activities, it is unfortunate that the missionary doctor declined to leave behind any detailed account of the institution. He may not have thought it important to document such observations in the first place. Less likely, he may have thought it inappropriate to record the event without permission. Or, he may not have wanted to give the impression that he was involved in the village's "pagan" traditions. In one of Driggs's few accounts mentioning qargi life, however, he made a revealing observation in a letter to a medical friend in Delaware:

> During the long night I attended their mid winter festival – the first evening was their religious exercise and feast of whale meat eaten raw. The next night was a dance, also another one a few nights later. Although the assembly house was one mass of ice and bitter cold inside, yet the leading ladies and the gentlemen of the orchestra were naked above the waists. The musical instruments consisted of a sort of drum made by stretching the covering of the young whale's liver over a narrow wooden ring, made of driftwood. (Lowenstein 2008: 198)

Writing to a friend, Driggs undoubtedly felt less constrained to express his opinions about the native customs. Here, he makes no disparaging or condemnatory remarks about the performance, even describing the naked women and men in equivocal terms. There is no description of the drum or of native dance in any of the letters addressed to the Church Mission in New York. In his published work *Sketches from Oldest America*, Driggs names the drum as only one of two musical instruments among the Iñupiat, the other being the *ahtooktoora* or one-string fiddle. He notes that the one-headed drum or *calown* "is by far the more important, being used on all festive occasions both to beat time for the dancers and also to accompany the singers" (Driggs 1905: 101). Mentioning the one-string fiddle is remarkable since ethnographers have observed such an instrument across the North American Arctic and the Chukchi Peninsula (Johnston 1976a: 107-108 and Arima and Einarsson 1976). As noted in Chapter 2, Hooper of the *H.M.S. Plover* frequently recorded the use of the one-string fiddle among the Chukchi people. Unfortunately, the ethnomusicological literature lacks a detailed study of this instrument, also known as the

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[20] Prior to the 1870s, at least six or seven qalgi houses existed in the Point Hope area. At the end of the 1870s, the number went down to five and by the mid-1880s, the number dropped even further to three. Sea erosion destroyed one of structures in the late 1880s leaving just two by the time Driggs came to the area (Lowenstein 2008: 321).

Eskimo fiddle. Documentation of the Eskimo fiddle would shed light on the musical processes of globalization in the Arctic region.

Driggs continued to attend qargi events. Unlike other early missionaries in northern Alaska, however, Driggs not only observed but probably also participated in shamanic practices. His background in theater may have made him more receptive to the performative aspects of shamanism, a practice that often drew a grey area between reality and illusion and emphasized the power of song, art and ceremonial ritual to affect and transform mental and physical states. During the Christmas celebrations in 1894, he went to a dance accompanied by a fellow missionary named Edson and the two traders Koenig and Hachmann from the nearby settlement of Jabbertown. The four men observed native dancing and presumably shamanic ritual. By the next month, Driggs himself witnessed the latter. Traveling alone with a native friend Anaqulutuq[21] and his wife Mammanniina near Cape Lisburne, he wrote a brief, yet poignant statement about such shaman performances in his journal. On January 27, 1895, remarkably a Sunday, it was "Very stormy. I staid in iglu all day. M (Mammanniina) and A (Anaqulutuq) did the hoodoo act to change the wind. Mon 28 Very high north east wind" (Lowenstein 2008: 217). Four years later, Driggs inscribed another entry into his diary dated May 2, 1899, revealing a possible belief in the efficacy of shamanistic ritual: "Wind south. Changed to N.W. temp. +18 +34. [The shaman] Ayauniq changes the wind. First two whales killed by Lieb and Nelson. Lieb's has 7 or 8 ft bone" (Lowenstein 2008: 218).

The two references illuminate a side of Driggs uncommon among the missionaries of northern Alaska – a mental disposition to complement both Christian and shamanistic belief systems. Lowenstein succinctly relates Driggs's dualistic framework of religion to that of the Point Hope Iñupiat:

> this simple journal statement reveals that Driggs the missionary was not merely sympathetic to shamanism but that he was able to collude with both its premises and its putative results – and in this respect his beliefs lay more or less parallel to those of Point Hope's early Christians, who similarly lived within two systems of faith. (Lowenstein 2008: 218)

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[21] Anaqulutuq was one of the first people Driggs met upon his arrival to Tigara. He and his wife stayed with the missionary-doctor in the new mission for the first few months. Driggs wrote "at that time I had the aid of two natives, Anakaloota [sic] and his wife Mummumingya [sic]. It was the beginning of a friendship that has lasted since" (Driggs 1906: 7-8). Anaqulutuq was an umialik and shaman and likely had some command of the English language (Lowenstein 2008: 194, 195n, 217).

Unlike other missionaries, Driggs noted positive aspects of shamanism. He writes that that "these 'Ongootkoots' have undoubtedly rendered a service to their people in the past by acting as their historians in preserving their traditions; they have also done good in the class of cases where nothing more than a faith cure is needed for the sick" (Driggs 1905: 53-54). Although skeptical about the shaman's curing abilities, the missionary doctor did appear to accept some of their other alleged powers.

The following source illuminates this important distinction. Keeping in mind that Driggs was writing for a specific audience in the States under the watchful eye of the Episcopal Church, his paternalistic tone is understandable. Despite the self-censored approach, the passage below reveals a subtle endorsement of shamanistic powers in terms of connecting with the animal spirits and controlling the weather. As a trained physician, Driggs was critical of shamanic healings. His claim that the shaman had no medicinal herbs to utilize is probably inaccurate since indigenous peoples of the Arctic knew about curing properties of plants such as Labrador tea.[22] Still, the inability of a shaman to treat diseases successfully, especially newly introduced ones, lessened his or her stature. On the other hand, when it came to a deeper connection to animal subsistence and the natural world, Driggs appeared to remain either neutral towards or supportive of the shaman's powers. Such phenomena remained beyond the explanatory power of Western science. He wrote:

> From the nature of the place, the ground being frozen the major portion of the year (even in the hottest day of summer the earth remains frozen just under the surface), herbs are unknown to the Ongootkoot or medicine men. They rely entirely upon their incantations and the supposed practice of some magic art by which they claim to have the power of driving off Toonak, their evil spirit. Toonak is supposed to be the cause of their misfortunes when they occur; and if one is ill, it is that unwelcome spirit that is thought to be at the seat of the trouble so it is but natural among these innocent and childlike people that they should have, in the past, the utmost confidence in their medicine men. It is a sort of a faith cure. My personal experience with the Ongootkoots has been that they had considerable confidence in their own powers but as I have shown them our more civilized and better methods of treating disease, they have to a large extent given way, and are now mostly confining their art to the making of whales and seals come more plentifully when scarce. Or, if a big south-west storm is raging during the fall, before the ice pack has come down from the north, then the Ongootkoots beat their drums and sing their songs, hoping thereby to stop the fury of the gale; for it has been during such storms in the past, that the ocean waves have been driven up upon the land. They also claim to have the [power?] of driving off eclipse, but as I have explained what occasions the eclipse, and

[22] Male shamans did not usually use herbs and related medicines. These were left to women in a household.

> have told them a number of times (after consulting the almanac) when one would occur, they are losing the confidence of the people in that [line?]. Taking it all through, I believe that the Ongootkoos are now gradually losing their influence among the people. (Driggs 1906: 23-24)

The above quote shows an important link between drum songs and shamanic practices. Whereas medical and celestial incantations proved ineffectual or inconsequential in Driggs's mind, they did serve a meaningful purpose in attracting animals on the hunt as well as changing the weather.

Although Driggs established a school within two months of his July 1890 arrival, he delayed any serious attempts to present Christian teachings for at least a couple years. With the exception of his singing classes, no other mention of music-related items in the classroom exists in his writings. When Driggs made a list of school equipment to order for the 1891-92 school, he requested nothing specific to music such as instruments, songbooks, or hymnals (Lowenstein 2008: 194-195). In 1893, Driggs opened a Sunday school for about forty students but apparently introduced little or no church music. As a lay missionary, Driggs probably felt uneasy in his early years to convert the native population. He had been of the understanding that a trained minister would soon take over the missionizing responsibilities, therefore allowing him to contribute to the community as a doctor and educator (Lowenstein 2008: 209).

Not until 1894, however, did Reverend Elijah H. Edson arrive in Point Hope to introduce more intense religious teaching. One of the most prominent changes was the introduction of prayers and hymns, additions to which the children responded very positively. Edson remarked:

> There was nothing new in our methods the past year save opening the school each day with prayer, and closing it with prayer and a few songs. The children were also taught two or three Christian hymns, which they rendered very well. Also the Missionary hymn "From Greenland's Icy Mountains". They learn tunes very readily. There are several voices among the boys that any choir master would be glad to have. The mission needs a small "chapel organ". (Lowenstein 2008: 224).

The absence of a "chapel organ" after five years of missionizing in Point Hope is somewhat surprising given its common use at the other missions of Unalakleet, Wales, Kotzebue, and Barrow. The lack of such an instrument even captured the attention of a local native named Billy Fishtail, who after being informed "that far away in the States, the singing on Sundays was accompanied by an organ, so on the following Sunday Billy brought his small accordion to church and tried to

accompany the singers" (Driggs 1905: 157).[23] Driggs worked for one year with Edson before taking a twelve-month furlough. After returning in July 1896, Driggs noted much greater attendance numbers at the Sunday services and children singing from hymnals for the first time:

> The children know a number of hymns, so I distribute the Hymnals, and the singing adds to the enjoyment of our worship. I notice a tendency among the adults to try to do their share by joining with their voices, although they may not know the words. (Lowenstein 2008: 271).

This reference clearly shows that hymn-singing created a joyous atmosphere in the church and that the local people actively participated in the practice. The quotation above also heightens the educational disparity between children and adults. The ability of young people to read English texts – and perhaps even Western musical lines – opened up new ways of thinking far different from their non-literate forbearers. The inability of the adults to read the words and music contained in the hymnals parallels that of medieval churchgoers who could not understand the Latin that they were singing in earnest.

The ease with which the younger generation responded to Christian ritual reflects the effectiveness of the teach-than-preach method of conversion. By teaching the children various subjects such as reading, writing, arithmetic, and music, missionaries sought a way to establish an initial foundation, a fertile soil of understanding into which religious seeds could be planted and slowly nurtured. As older generations, less assimilated to outside ideas, passed away, those succeeding ones, brought up with a Western and Christian-influenced worldview, represented a new ethos, a new groups of leaders poised to meet the challenges of their day.

As discussed earlier, the meaning of conversion and its testability are open to debate. Besides a self-proclamation of faith, missionaries regarded external behavioral signs such as prayer, the singing of hymns, and the keeping of the Sabbath as growing evidence of Christian allegiance. In 1901, Driggs noted that some remarkable transformation had taken place at Tigara over the past three years. Writing to Church Missions House in New York City, he claimed that "the young men visit their sick companions, singing and praying with them, and as they pass away take their hands and bid them farewell, hoping that they may meet again in the future life" (Driggs 1901: 3-4). Here again, it is important to point out the perceived efficacy of the new practice of singing and praying. Interpreting the event as a moment of "great change", Driggs compared such a response to what had

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[23] Fishtail's possession of the accordion probably resulted from contact with whalers and traders from nearby Jabbertown.

occurred in the past: "the dying were carried out and allowed to breathe their last alone" (Driggs 1901: 4). What appeared to be an act of conversion on closer inspection might be more accurately described as a convergence of two faiths, a religious syncretism where Christian hymnal prayers and crosses for that matter respectively supplemented Native incantations and amulets. Another explanation following Kirsch and perhaps more reflective of the indigenous perspective, is that an impermanent shift in religious belief – a restaging of the will to believe – had taken shape (Kirsch 2004).

When Bishop Rowe visited Tigara in 1903, Driggs and the community took great efforts to prepare for the momentous event. Naturally, the singing of hymns was an essential part of the ceremony. Rowe recorded his impressions of the service held on August 6:

> It was an ideal Arctic summer day. At the appointed hour, the bell rang out its clear call and soon the spit was alive with the Eskimo...There were 200 or more. I think they understood the meaning of the service, for I had explained it to them the day before through a Native interpreter [Uyagaq Sam Rock].... They filled the school-house, transformed into a chapel as far as our means permitted. The service was held. Many of the younger Natives seemed to be able to repeat intelligently the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, while all sang the several hymns. They were intent, reverent and interested. (Rowe 1903: 50)

Driggs and the native people showed an earnest depiction of the Christian presence at Point Hope, but it was not a complete picture. The bishop little knew that the native population continued to perform ceremonial rituals and shaman drum dances, which included the invoking of natural spirits with songs and incantations. Rowe's visit in 1903 represented one a pinnacle in Driggs's missionary career but the next time the bishop returned to Point Hope in August 1909, following an investigation of commercial trading allegations, he formally dismissed Driggs.

Leading up to his removal, Driggs had plans to expand the mission. He hoped "to see one or two ladies arrive to take charge of the school and conduct the music Sundays" (Driggs 1908: 7). He continues: Then we can have a good Woman Auxiliary and the work will prosper. I feel sure ladies will prove popular both locally and along the coast" (Driggs 1908: 7). The musical influence of women missionaries in the field was an important insight in the Wales and Unalakleet case studies. Similar examples signifying the importance of women's musical role at the missions of Point Hope and especially Kotzebue and Herschel Island will follow. In my research, I have noticed a strong correlation of women missionaries with singing and the presence of organs and other instruments. Apparently, no foreign woman, that is non-native woman, worked at the Point Hope mission during

Driggs's 18-year tenure, including the two years that he took off on furlough. It is reasonable to assume that the relative dearth of church music in the area during the turn of the 20th century was a factor that helped the indigenous population to maintain its drum dancing traditions. The absence of women missionaries and their effective role in imparting hymn singing to the accompaniment of an organ may have helped at least indirectly stave off religious influences from outside, including those of a musical nature.

The situation would change with Rowe's replacement of Driggs with Augustus Hoare, who had already taken over missionary work in 1908. The following year he wasted little time to remove reminders of the former missionary's presence. Together with Rowe, the two men tore down Driggs's igloo-style church (Figure 5.4) and used its material to construct a new frame-style mission (Figure 5.5).

Figure 5.4: Dr. Driggs's igloo-style church, circa 1906-1909,
Episcopal Church Archives, Austin, Texas
Courtesy of The Archives of the Episcopal Church

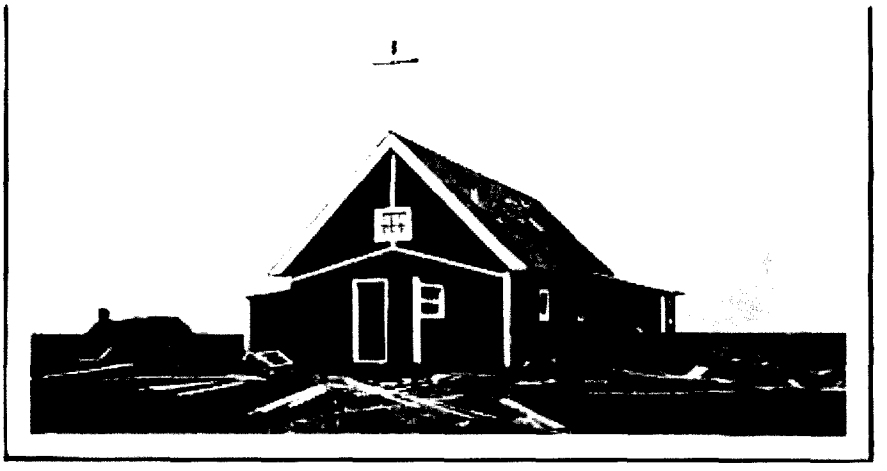

Figure 5.5: "The reconstructed church at Point Hope, this represents the united work of Bishop Rowe and Mr. Hoare, with eight native helpers" (*Spirit of Missions* 11/1909: 946)

Next, Hoare removed the material constituting the old native graveyard – a "forest of stakes" with over 2000 whale jawbones (Figure 5.6) – to build a fence around the new Episcopal church and cemetery (Figure 5.7).

Figure 5.6: The Point Hope "forest of stakes" circa summer of 1895. "Up on the sticks", "Burying Ground." Present is Dr. William Hamilton of the Bureau of Education holding an Eskimo drum and stick that he had collected, Candace Waugaman Collection, University of Alaska Archives, 2007-124-36

Figure 5.7: "Cemetery at Point Hope, fenced with jawbones of whales" (*Spirit of Missions* 11/1909: 945)

Both architecturally and musically, Bishop Rowe praised the work of Hoare and Edward Knapp, who at the time of the Bishop's notation had each spent one year at Point Hope. His failure to mention Driggs's own missionary contributions in the following quotation is striking. The significance of music as an outward sign of Christian faith and obedience is evident. The reference also shows how the missionaries measured the success of their work according to the native people's knowledge of the hymns:

> The condition of the work at Point Hope was most pleasing and encouraging. Mr. Hoare has accomplished a great deal, due in part to the effective work done by Mr. Knapp. It was a surprise and a joy to hear that congregation of Eskimos able to say or sing the responses of all the usual services, the Canticles, Psalter, and about fifty or more hymns. I don't know whether it would be possible to find another congregation anywhere so well trained. (*Spirit of Missions* 11/1909: 946)

In fact, training of the Point Hope choir had become so robust that by 1916, Hoare boasted that it sang "like the best-trained congregation in the States" (King 1951: 100).

Finally, although one cannot prove it, Hoare may have also played a role in the disappearance of the two remaining qargi structures. According to Larson, the last two ceremonial houses were gone sometime between 1908 and 1910. Two possible factors may account for their abandonment: 1) erosion, which caused the destruction of earlier qargi or 2) the dismantlement or deliberate neglect of the houses, largely due to missionary influence. The coincidence of Hoare's arrival in 1908 and the demise of the qargi by 1910 make the latter factor more plausible (Larson 2004: 86-87 and Lowenstein 2008: 321-322).

The demise of the qargi did not bring about an end to the drum dance and song traditions of Point Hope. Much of the repertory continued in other buildings. It is important to note that during Driggs's early years, the mission/school house itself functioned in some ways as a qargi. No

dancing took place there, but it provided an educational venue, a treatment center and a place for villagers to congregate (Lowenstein 2008: 208). Following Driggs's removal and the loss of the ceremonial houses, the native people of Point Hope turned to the school, Native store and other large structures to perform their drum dance songs. Other drum dancing and singing venues were held at camps or in private homes. What did disappear over time was the ceremonial ritual, which played an essential role in preserving Iñupiaq village's belief system and heritage. Despite the loss of their ceremonial houses and associated rituals, however, the native people of Point Hope managed to retain two of their original qargi groups, Unasiksikaaq and Qagmaqtuuq, a feat that enabled them to maintain a bridge to a part of their pre-missionary culture. Moreover, around 1920, the Point Hope Council made up of elders and umialiks began to make a greater effort to preserve their traditions (Lowenstein 2008: 309-314, 321-322). In chapter 10, I will examine in closer detail some of the factors responsible for the maintenance or loss of musical traditions including drum dance and fiddle- and accordion-accompanied square dancing.

Barrow and the Presbyterian Church

Leander M. Stevenson, a Presbyterian, was the first missionary to arrive in Barrow[24] and establish a mission school. Between the years 1890 and 1897, he juggled his duties as a teacher, preacher, medical assistant, and keeper of the nearby refuge station. Stevenson opened a school within months of his arrival and introduced secular and, later on, religious education (Jackson 1894: 306). Unfortunately, Stevenson left little of his observations about Barrow and virtually nothing about music. In a November 1893 address to an audience in the United States, he wrote briefly about the Barrow people's shamanistic beliefs and vaguely mentioned one particular ritual. The quotation below contains no details about music but it one can reasonably infer that drumming, singing, and dancing occurred:

> They have an idea of a Supreme Being, one who does everything good, and in opposition to this they have an idea of one who does everything evil. And while they do not appreciate the good, they worship Him. They are continually at warfare with the devil (or Tun-rock or Toon-rock, as they call him), and will kill him about 10 or 12 times every winter. It is an amusing sight to see them kill Tun-rock. They will surround the village

[24] Barrow will refer both specifically to the village of Utqiagvik (Barrow) and generally to its surrounding area, which includes Nuvuk (Point Barrow).

> where he is and drive him in to the centre of it, where they have a large fire. They will drive him into the fire, when one of the big doctors will finish him. (Stevenson 1893: 3).

Stevenson's dichotomous interpretation of the Iñupiaq belief system, pitting a good Supreme Being against an evil being Tun-Rock, is based on a limited understanding of traditional Barrow religion. *Toon-rock* or *toongaq*, for example was not a Satan-like devil as found in Christianity, but a helping spirit, a spiritual force, most commonly an animal spirit that assisted the shaman in achieving a desired end such as procuring game, healing the sick, changing the weather, or more malevolent intentions (Chance 1990: 120-121). Stevenson and missionaries in northern Alaska had some reason to conflate the two belief systems. By the 1880s, the Christian-like teachings and prophecies of Maniilaq had reached Barrow and the distinction between pre-contact indigenous religion and missionary-introduced Christianity began to blur. Like Driggs in Point Hope and others, Stevenson may have failed to appreciate the enormous influence of the uivvaqsaat or millenarian cult movement that had spread throughout northwestern and northern Alaska the previous decade (Lowenstein 2008: 249-268).[25]

Non-native missionaries were central to the introduction of their new religion, but it was the local people who were the most instrumental in the dissemination of both Christian and quasi-Christian teachings. For instance, in 1893, the same year that Stevenson delivered his address, a cook from one of the whaling stations in Barrow observed the influence of a "couple of Christian Natives from far inland in a southeast direction. They made several speeches about God and Christ to the people. From that time on all the people have begun to notice our Sabbath day. They call it 'Sawakutl Pehchok,' that is, 'a day of no work'" (Abe 1893 in Blackman 1989: 18).

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[25] An interesting problem to investigate is what kind of music was associated with the uivvaqsaat movement. Was it essentially indigenous or was there any Western musical influence in the form of religious or popular song passed on perhaps from a devout whaler, trader, or explorer? One song about Maniilaq and perhaps accurately attributed to him was recorded in the 1970s. The singer Beatrice Anausuk Mouse was about 87 years old when she sang it on December 27, 1978. She introduces the song with the following: "This is as far as I shall speak of Maniixaq [sic] for now. However, as I have remembered what I had heard about him, a song entered my mind. I used to know two stanzas of it but I will sing just the first" (*Alaskool* n.d.). A translation of the lyrics is as follows:

> I will lighten the darkness
> I will make the darkness into light
>
> (*Alaskool* n.d.)

In terms of music, I have shown that indigenous peoples, adults and children, spread foreign songs by word of mouth without the presence of foreigners. As an original source of music, it is important to note that missionaries were essential to teaching hymns and other forms of church music.[26] Stevenson was unable to make a single formal convert but he did manage to pique the local people's interest in Christian teachings through song. According to Spencer, who interviewed Barrow elders in the early 1950s, community members were attracted to Stevenson's hymn singing. One elderly woman recalled:

> ... when she was a girl, shortly after her first menstruation, she went to a church 'sing' with friends. At first she was much afraid of going, but when she heard the music she was quite pleased with it and decided to attend the church sings. There were three groups of singers and she was assigned to one. She enjoyed it immensely and from that day she has continued to sing the hymns she learned. (Spencer 1959: 380)

The reference demonstrates the wish to attend a church 'sing', a desire all the more convincing because of her initial hesitation to go. It also shows that hymn singing was a crucial factor in drawing and sustaining church participation.

Following Stevenson, the missionary physician Horatio Richmond Marsh and his wife Emma[27] arrived in Barrow, Alaska in 1897 and spent twelve of the next fifteen years there

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[26] Prior to the arrival of missionaries, whaler, traders, and explorers also introduced indigenous peoples to religious song. For example, Barrow resident Terza Hopson born around 1917 commented on a great grandfather who had learned one such song from the whalers. She said "Nasunuluk, my great grandfather, learned to sing the Glory Hallelujah song in English from these whalers who came to his house to eat seal meat. He was a good sea hunter, and kind-hearted. He lived to be over 100 years old" (Spriggs 1899-1908). The song she is referring to is either the spiritual "Glory Hallelujah" or the religious-laced Civil War song "Battle Hymn of the Republic," which contains the same well-known words. Henry Greist remarked that Terza Hopson (née Ungerook), a granddaughter of an Irish whaler, "was a soprano singer, who, had she been trained in voice by a competent teacher, would have gone far" (Greist n.d.: 300).

[27] Horatio and Emma Marsh raised a large family of seven children, four of whom were born in Barrow. I was able to locate a descendant of theirs, a granddaughter named Dr. Josephine Fletcher who is interested in preserving their legacy. In an interview that I conducted in June 2008, Dr. Fletcher told me that her mother Elizabeth, one of the first children of white parents to be born in the community (1902), learned some of the Iñupiaq drum dances while growing up there. In a collection of memorabilia kept by Dr. Fletcher was an old picture from 1913 or 1914 showing her young mother and two uncles demonstrating an Iñupiaq-style dance at the school May Festival in Glendale, Oregon. I will elaborate on this example of musicultural reciprocity in a later chapter. Interestingly, Elizabeth was a very musical person who sang and played the piano. She entertained World War I soldiers at the YMCA in Oregon and later worked as a pianist for the silent film industry. Elizabeth also taught voice and piano, was very active at her church as a choir director and organist, and left a lasting musical impression on a number of people who remember her (Josephine Fletcher, in discussion with the author, June 16, 2008).

teaching the local people English, collecting a large Iñupiaq language vocabulary, and translating parts of the Bible into the Iñupiaq language,[28] including a large number of hymns. Emma also helped teach Sunday School and the bible to children and young people. Part of the teaching featured music including hymn singing to the accompaniment of an organ. In a letter written to a friend in 1899, Mrs. Marsh remarked how well the local people liked the music: "They are fond of singing, and were delighted when Dr. Marsh translated some hymns into Eskimo. They never tire of listening to the organ" (*Assembly Herald* 1899: 117). During the same year, Dr. Marsh opened a church of thirteen members and gave three services every Sunday, one for the men, a second for the women, and an evening song service. He also prepared meetings the rest of the week except Wednesdays, which he spent to hold a service at Point Barrow (Marsh 1900: 1). By 1900, church membership had reportedly increased. Marsh figured that as many as 115 people joined that year (Dimmitt 1948: 3). The following summer, however, more conservative estimates ranging from an official number of 43 to possibly 80 or 90 were given (Spriggs 1901: 5).

A couple of years after their arrival in Barrow, the Marshes received the assistance of another missionary couple, Samuel R. Spriggs and his wife. Dr. Marsh and Rev. Spriggs collaborated on transcribing English hymns into Iñupiaq. In a 1901 letter summarizing the work at Barrow, Spriggs commented that the most popular hymns among the local population were those that related to heaven. According to answers he heard from the locals, Spriggs claimed that the main incentive for the Barrow Iñupiat to 'believe' in Christianity was that they wanted to go to heaven. Consequently, those hymns that describe the land of heaven such as "There's a land that is fairer than day" [actually "Sweet By and By"] and "When he cometh when he cometh" especially appealed to the people (Spriggs 1901: 6). Below are examples of both hymns (Example 5.1 and 5.2).[29]

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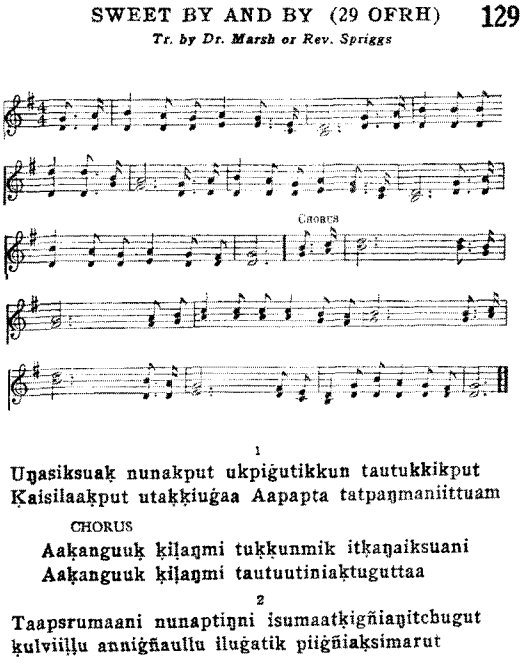
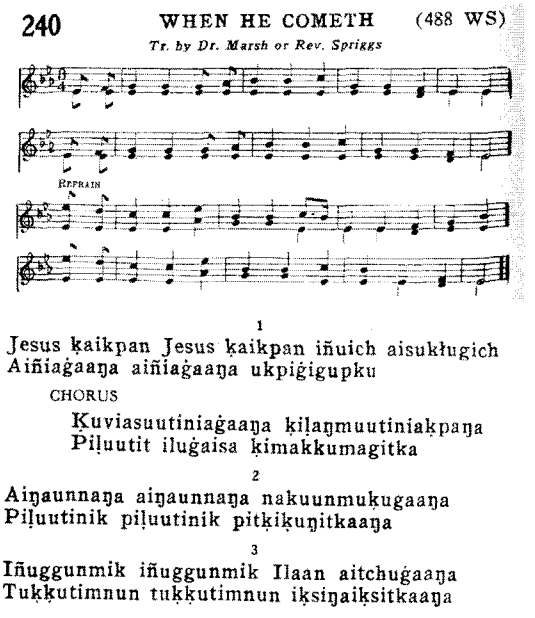
[28] According to granddaughter Josephine Fletcher, a copy of the finished work is located in the Smithsonian Institute in Washington, D.C. (Josephine Fletcher, in discussion with the author, June 16, 2008).

[29] Note that the following hymns are limited to two or three stanzas each. According to the 1849 Presbyterian hymnal *Church Psalmist*, verse brevity was emphasized, "SINGING IN ORDER TO BE EFFECTIVE MUST NOT BE TOO LONG" [Emphasis in original] (Clark 2009: 88-89).



Example 5.1: The Iñupiaq Eskimo Hymnbook, Hymn 129 (Chambers 1965)



Example 5.2: The Iñupiaq Eskimo Hymnbook, Hymn 240 (Chambers 1965)

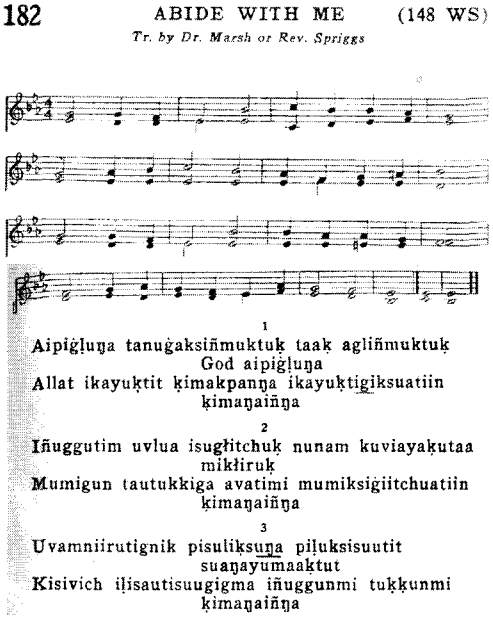
The nature of this appeal likely derived from a lingering adherence to traditional shamanistic beliefs. Stefansson, who closely observed the relationship between with the Barrow Iñupiat and missionaries such as Marsh and others, made the following remark:

> There are also in every community Eskimo who are in the habit of visiting heaven and conferring there with Christ Himself, with Saint Peter and others, quite in the manner in which they used to visit the moon while still heathen and have discussions with the man in the moon. The man in the moon used to teach the shamans songs and spells, and now St. Peter teaches the deacons of the Eskimo church hymns and chants. (Stefansson 1913: 429)

As an example of syncretization – the fusion of Christian and indigenous religion – hymns served as a substitute for incantations.

Spriggs next commented on a hymn (Example 5.3) whose metrical phrase structure worked particularly well with that of spoken Iñupiaq. The missionary also seemed to be of the opinion that an indigenous aesthetic appreciation of the hymn reflected a true belief in and an inspiration from the Christian spirit:

> I have translated a number of hymns during the past year. I found "Abide with me" to be susceptible of almost exact translation into metrical (?) Eskimo, the hymn being almost identical in thought line for line, with the English. Some fail to see much in it, while others particularly emphasized how good a hymn it was. The latter were those whom I consider the Christians of the place; and in this way I realized that there is progress in the lives of some, and that the Holy Spirit is doing His Work in their hearts. (Spriggs 1901: 6)



Example 5.3: The Iñupiaq Eskimo Hymnbook, Hymn 182 (Chambers 1965)

The hymn's straightforward, quadruple meter and use of simple quarter notes and half notes accommodate polysyllabic and guttural languages like Iñupiaq. The apparent ease in singing this particular hymn may have also contributed to its popularity.

According to the trader Charles Brower, by the winter of 1901-1902, the Barrow Iñupiat had abandoned their shamanistic ceremonial ritual, at least within the confines of the qargi (Brower n.d.: 568, 572 and Brower 1952: 31). Around the same time, many of the indigenous people adopted Christianity and learned church music. An examination of this major turning point and the various factors to explain the transformation follow.

In July 1900, the indigenous community of Barrow hosted a messenger feast that included the Nunamiut or interior Iñupiat as guests. The season was a very successful one boasting 35,000 pounds of whalebone, which made for a particularly grandiose celebration, featuring drum dancing, singing, running races, and feasting. Messengers had earlier traveled throughout the region to deliver their formal invitations and at least 200 Nunamiut showed up to participate in the three-day event. After the conclusion of the feast, many inland Iñupiat decided to wait for whaling and trading ships to arrive. On board one of the incoming vessels was a sick sailor who passed his disease – measles, whooping cough, or pneumonia – onto the native population. Many Iñupiat, particularly the Nunamiut, contracted the illness and died (Brower n.d.: 21-26, Brower 1952: 23-24 and Brower 1994 [1942]: 225-229, Spriggs 1901: 7).

Many of the inland shamans received blame for the deaths because of their insistence that the sick people leave the coast for healthier land to the south. The tragedy led the local population to reevaluate their belief systems. According to Brower, a large number of Barrow Iñupiat began to question their allegiance to the powerful figures (Brower 1994 [1942]: 230-232). After a series of setbacks, those shamans who remained in Barrow took one final decisive stand to keep some of their power. They hoped to win back their people by claiming to possess a new religion that was better than that of the missionaries. Despite some interest among the community members, they eventually lost all of their prestige. Brower claimed that by the end of the 1901, all shamans had renounced their old beliefs, left the community, or committed suicide (Brower n.d.: 568, 572). This assertion seems highly exaggerated. It is more realistic to conclude that shamanistic practices did not disappear by 1901 but rather went underground. During his 1937-1938 residency at Barrow, for instance, the physician Otto George "found the old people, and many of the young as well, continuing to patronize the native medicine man" (George 1979:

146). Further examination of George's insightful account of native traditions will appear in Chapter 10.

The following two pictures taken by Spriggs capture scenes related to the celebrations of Nalukataq and the Messenger Feast and are insightful to examine in light of Brower's observations. The photographs were taken sometime during Spriggs's tenure from 1899 to 1908. It is too difficult to assert a year for the drum dance scene shown below (Figure 5.8). According to the corresponding notes:

> Four women dancing on blanket made of bearded sealskin outside during Nalukataq (spring whaling celebration). Well-dressed women dance with babies on their backs. The metal bucket near drummers is filled with water used to keep drums moist for better sound. Man seated under right end of umiak, seen between two dancers on left is wearing wooden snow goggles. Mukluks were replaced yearly and unique to each community. (Spriggs 1899-1908)

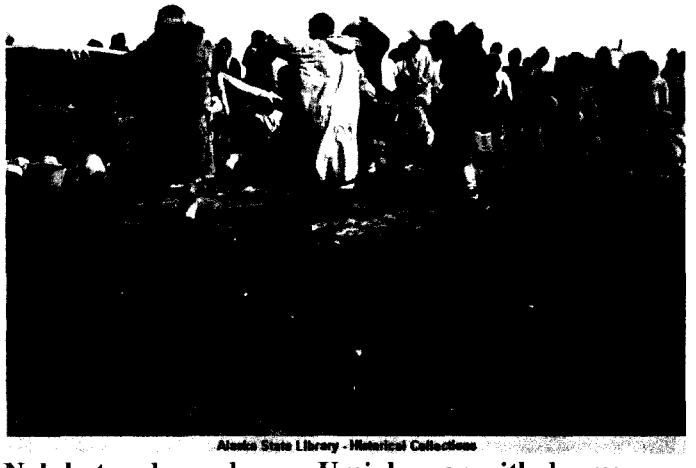


Figure 5.8: Nalukataq drum dance. Umiak, men with drums, women dancing. Reverend Samuel Spriggs Photograph Collection, Point Barrow, Alaska, 1899-1908 Alaska State Library Historical Collection, ASL-PCA 320

Unlike other northern Alaska indigenous festivals, Nalukataq has continued without interruption as an important traditional ceremony. Taking place at the end of the spring whaling season, which is normally around June, it features dancing, feasting, and games, including the ever-popular blanket toss. The umialik who sponsored the feast usually received, together with

his wife and whaling crew, the first dance called the umialikit. Subsequent dances featured members of other crews (Chance 1990: 115-116).

The next photograph reportedly depicting a Nunamiut man with invitational sticks is from around the year 1900, or perhaps 1903 (Figure 5.9).[30] Brower made no mention of another Messenger Feast following the year 1900. Moreover, he stated that during the winter of 1900 and 1901 the Barrow villagers demolished their qargi houses and used the material for fuel (Brower 1994 [1942]: 232 and Brower n.d.: 573). Since the Messenger Feast took place in the qargi (Spencer 1959: 49 and Bodenhorn 1993: 197), the destruction of such a structure makes it unlikely that the photo is from a later time. Notes describing the photograph are as follows:

> Messenger Feast (Kivgiq) Runner (Aqpatat) holding Messenger Sticks (Ayauppiaq). Runner would travel from host village to another village to invite them to the Kivgiq. The messenger sticks would have items attached to them to symbolize gifts the host wanted brought to him and to remind the carrier of his message. The stick on the left has an ermine skin hanging from it, and the stick on the right has the tail of an unidentified small animal attached to it. He has labret holes in his lower lip. (Spriggs 1899-1908)

[30] Nunamiut Arctic John Etalook recalled as a young boy that in the summer of 1903 a measles epidemic killed off a large number of inland Iñupiaq who had attended a messenger feast at Barrow. He claimed that "a ship came to Uuliktuq [Barrow] and an epidemic of (Kaviqsi Nuvaksiqpak) measles and a flu spread quickly, causing a lot of death among the people. Mostly old people died from the epidemic. My grandparents died from measles. Their bodies turned red and bad coughs stayed with them; and to make matters worse, nightmares occurred, distressing their tired bodies. So that's how a disease killed off a lot of our people. During the fall people coming back from the Coast spread the sickness to the inland people. I remember our family and Tulugauluk family having suffered from bad colds" (Spearman, Etalook, and Riley 1982: 46-47). Since Etalook's description of a measles epidemic corresponds to one that broke out in Barrow in September 1902, according to a Brower source, (Brower 1994 [1942]: 232-233), Etalook's childhood recollection may yet be accurate. In July 1906, Stefansson recorded a story about a dance that took place at the qargi in Barrow sometime around 1900. Both inland (Nunamiut) and Barrow Iñupiat celebrated the event. "The dance continued two days, and few, if any slept. Plenty eating. Nunatama and Point Barrow danced alternately. The following winter many of the Nunatama who took part in the dance died of hunger inland. No hunger then at Point Barrow" (Stefansson 1919: 189). Possibly, both stories refer to the same tragedy.

Figure 5.9: Messenger Feast. An inland Eskimo who has come with invitation represented by stick notches to a dance feast.
Reverend Samuel Spriggs Photograph Collection, Point Barrow, Alaska, 1899-1908
Alaska State Library Historical Collection, ASL-PCA 320

The above photograph may depict one of the last images associated with the Barrow Messenger Feast of the early 1900s before it became a dormant tradition.[31] Efforts to revitalize the event and the qargi at the community began many decades later in the 1980s and have since then taken place during the winter (Chance 1990: 115). It is worthy to note that the photo relating to the Messenger Feast depicts a summer background.

According to Spencer, the last Iñupiaq Messenger Feast occurred in 1914, but he gives no further explanation beyond a mention that the winner of the foot race was from Barrow (Spencer 1959: 311). Susan Fair concludes that the Iñupiat throughout northern Alaska discontinued the festival by the year 1918, the year of the influenza pandemic that devastated native population throughout western Alaska. Remarkably, the last references to the event originate from Wales, Teller, and Mary's Igloo, communities situated in the Seward Peninsula, the festival's so-called birthplace. One telling description from Mary's Igloo referred to the final festival as a "dance

[31] Susan Fair argues that there is much confusion over the term "Messenger Feast". Ethnographers often referred to any type of festival that involved messengers as a "Messenger Feast", when such celebrations were clearly Inviting-In Festivals (Fair 2000: 469-470). To make matters even more complicated, various Iñupiaq communities throughout northern Alaska used a different name to refer to the event. In the Barrow and Wainwright dialect, for instance the festival was known as Kivgiq, which means to literally "to have a Messenger Feast" (Fair 2000: 469-470).

event" that excluded traditional shaman performances due to the influence of Christianity (Kakaruk and Oquilluk 1964: 1-2).

Besides the impact of epidemics, the abandonment of the qargi, due in large part to the pressure from missionaries and educators to renounce ceremonial ritual and other "pagan" practices, factored into the loss of native dance traditions. As indicated in the following quotation, Brower was sorry to see the qargi houses disappear in Barrow and noted their social value:

> One of the biggest mistakes, I think, was in tearing down the dance houses for fuel. While this put an end to young people freely congregating there at night and sometimes, no doubt, doing things they shouldn't, it didn't improve matters to take away this common family rendezvous. (Brower 1994 [1942]: 232)

The destruction of the remaining ceremonial houses in Barrow marked the beginning of a wave of qargi abandonment throughout the Western Arctic. The disappearance of the structures in nearby Point Barrow (Nuvuk) occurred probably around the same time (Spencer 1959: 49), followed by Point Hope circa 1910, and other communities.

Within a few short years, Brower observed the great changes that a missionary presence had brought to Barrow. By 1913, indigenous social life in the community revolved around the church and Brower, who did not attend religious services,[32] noted that village life was very different from his early days living in northern Alaska, circa the 1880s:

> Outside of our business there was not anything of interest going on these days, the Eskimo were so religious, that nearly every night there was one of some kind. Never was there any more dancing or story telling as there had been in the first years. Even their games did not seem to be played with the zest that they had been used to showing. (Brower n.d.: 670)

As mentioned earlier, it would be naïve to assume that all the shamans had renounced their practices by 1901. It is more probable that those who retained their belief system went underground. Although the qargi had disappeared, there were still opportunities for the shaman to perform, especially in remote camps beyond the watchful eyes of the missionaries.

Even in the remote native camps situated along the Arctic coast of northern Alaska, however, one could hear the influence of hymn melodies. In the winter of 1913-1914, the

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[32] David Greist noted that Brower and Fred Hopson were among the very few in Barrow who did not attend church (Greist 2002: 68).

ethnologist Diamond Jenness, working for the Canadian Arctic Expedition, noted the pervasive presence of hymns in the region and the degree to which they had replaced the traditional indigenous song repertory. For instance, on Sunday, January 11, 1914 the young Nunamiut Itaqluq[33] "brought out his accordion and gave us selections, mostly hymns" (Jenness 1991: 113). A few years later, he wrote:

> Many of the young men have cheap accordions bought from the traders with fox skins. They soon learn to squeak out a few missionary hymn tunes, and occasionally try to play some of their own native songs... Missionary hymns have largely taken the place of native music, even among those Eskimos who seldom come into contact with the whites. Many of the old familiar tunes common to all the Protestant churches have here undergone so great a change, both in the time and in the notes, that they are almost unrecognisable. (Jenness 1922a: 383)

Jenness's observation that the Iñupiaq renditions of Protestant hymns had undergone considerable change from their original sources is evidence that the local population shaped the music from the outside world, not only rhythmic but also its melodic elements. The Iñupiaq style of singing, characterized by vibrato-less, high-pitched and strident tones, probably describes the musical quality observed by Jenness.

It is important to point out that vibrant drum dance performances continued during the 1910s, especially in those nearby villages where missionization was less intensive. In Wainwright, for example, Presbyterians did not establish a church until 1923 (O'Connell 1999: 62-63). Almost a decade earlier, the schoolteacher William B. Van Valin[34] witnessed drum

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[33] Itaqluq became known as Arctic John Etalook. More details about him are found in Chapter 10.

[34] Van Valin is known for his valuable ethnological collections and visual documentation of northern Alaska indigenous culture. Between 1916 and 1919, he worked as an avid collector for the University of Pennsylvania Museum as part of the John Wanamaker Expedition. According to a 1918 source (*Geographical Review* 1918: 177), Van Valin made "phonograph records of Eskimo songs and stories ... as well as motion pictures of the native dances and occupations", while studying the Iñupiaq people of Point Barrow. Reference to the alleged recordings and their intrinsic value is contained in another 1918 source, "What is of more importance he has begun taking phonograph records of the native Eskimos, recording their songs and stories. He also has a moving picture camera and is taking films of their native dances and occupations. He reports that there is enough important work on hand to occupy him a full year..." (*Science* 1918: 41). Following the conclusion of his expedition in 1919, Van Valin reportedly sent to the University of Pennsylvania Museum "a lot of motion picture films and photographs, as well as phonograph records, which will be of interest to the public, and especially to scientists" (*Pennsylvania Gazette* 1919: 99). His silent films are extant but, to my knowledge, the whereabouts of his audio recordings are unknown. If located, they would along with examples from the Diamond Jenness collection, represent the first known recordings of Iñupiaq songs, an extremely important find in northern ethnomusicology. Incidentally, Van Valin was a very musical individual, who played the guitar and sang for his family and native communities

dances during his stay between 1913 and 1915. On one occasion, he observed the fusion of traditional Kivgiq drum dancing and kalukaq (box drum) drumming with a more secularized celebration of Christmas, featuring Santa Claus (Van Valin 1941: 53-58, 130). Apparently, use of the qargi at Wainwright had already disappeared by at least 1914. The locals celebrated in the schoolhouse, which served as a replacement for the traditional ceremonial house.

A Post-script on the Musical Impact of a Native Missionary

Roy Ahmaogak, the son of an Iñupiaq woman and a man from southern Europe (Greist 1933a: 57), was born around 1898. Known as a hunter, trapper, and Native Store manager, he later became a Presbyterian minister who played an active role in spreading Christianity throughout northern Alaska. The son of parents who were among the first Barrow Iñupiat to convert to Christianity, he initially worked as an interpreter for missionaries, namely Dr. Greist and Mr. Klerekoper, and translated hymns from English into the Iñupiaq language (Agnew 1951 and Libbey 1981: 42-43). His numerous letters written to the head of the Presbyterian Church during the 1940s reveal an insightful perspective on the religious influence of Christianized Iñupiat in Canada and the use of the hymn singing in the communities.

Writing from the Wainwright Presbyterian Mission in January 1941, Ahmaogak recorded the following impression about the experience of a recently deceased elder in Wainwright:

> During the first part of this month we held a funeral service for an old woman who died in the Lord. She was a member of the Episcopal Church of Point Hope. Perhaps a little of her history might be of interest when she witnessed for the Lord. Some years ago about 15 years or more years ago she had the privilege of going far eastward to Canada by a Canadian ship operated by Hudson's Bay Co. to visit her son who had married a girl to the eastward and had raised a family. During this visit she came across natives who were living in the primitive way. Just in the same way our forefathers lived with heathenish practices. There were no missionaries. Only visitors these natives occasionally had were the Canadian Mounted Police. She began to tell these people that there was a God in heaven who they could see. She told them that this God in heaven heard every word they said and saw every action they took and that He had laws by which we should live in order to please Him. She also told them that this God had send [sic] His Son to save mankind. This woman testified that she had some remarkable answers to prayer, especially when she prayed for the sick. And these natives respected

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(Van Valin 1941: 51, 125, Casberg 1989: 29-30, 155, and Sylvia Casberg, in discussion with the author, July 3, 2010).

> her and her words. No one but her Lord knows how much good she has done in the far eastward. (Ahmaogak 1941a: 1-2)

This reference shows the Christian influence of Iñupiaq people in the Canadian Arctic. More about the topic will be discussed in the next chapter.

Throughout the year but especially during the Christmas and Easter holidays, Ahmaogak wrote at length about the practice of singing hymns in the community. Regarding the Christmas season in 1940,[35] he made the following comment:

> We are having our choir rehearsals twice a week so that we may be able to sing our songs on Christmas Day...We had special Christmas Day Service and sang the songs that we rehearsed during this month. We also sang to the people in the feast and they enjoyed our songs. We had night caroling on the "Holy Night". We sang Christmas carols to every home from out of doors with stars and heavens for our roof and occasional northern light playing above our heads, perhaps to remind us of the glory of the Angel Choir when they sang the Christmas Carols to the shepherds of old. We completed the homes about 5:30 in the morning and I rewarded the faithful ones who endured to the last with hot cocoa after our caroling. We all enjoyed the night and retired for few hours to be up again for eleven o'clock service. During that day many of the people, especially the whites expressed to us their appreciation of our caroling which they did not expect. I had told the choir to keep it to themselves when I told them my plans about caroling and it served as a surprise to many homes. One of the members of a family, awakened by our singing thought that they had gone to sleep without turning off their radio and as she was getting up to turn it off she realized that it was not the radio but people singing outside of their house. (Ahmaogak 1941a: 2-3)

The dedication to learning the songs and the warm reception, particularly by the non-native population suggests that the quality of singing was quite high and that the community greatly valued the music. Similar incidents occurred on other holidays. Later in 1941, Ahmaogak wrote early on in a letter about preparing songs for the Easter commemoration:

> As we approach the "Easter Season" it seems to put into us a new vigor for the tasks that are ours to do for Him whom we are serving. It is with joy and pleasure that we are

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[35] Decades before Ahmaogak wrote about hymn singing rehearsals leading up to the holiday season, members of the Barrow church trained hard for the Christmas services. For example, one program from Christmas 1919 outlines a series of exercises comprising songs, prayers, scriptures, recitations, drills, solos, and selections. The head of the church, missionary doctor Dr. Frank H. Spence and a number of adults and children are listed as participants. The program consists of the following songs: "The Wonderful Christmas Story" translated by either Marsh or Spriggs, "Do You Know the Song?"and "It Came Upon the Midnight Clear" translated by Ahmaogak, "Opening Chorus", "I Love Him", "The Man of Galilee", "The Holy City", "When We All Get to Heaven" translated by Alfred Hopson, Sr., and "Good Night and Good Will" (Spence 1919 and Chambers 1965).

> preparing our songs for "Easter Service". On Sunday afternoons we are learning the anthems in the "Choir Herald" and on Wednesday night after Prayer Meeting we take up the translated songs which we are going to sing in the program on "Good Friday". (Ahmaogak 1941b: 1)

That year the "Good Friday" and Easter services attracted between 230 and 240 people. According to the attached program, the singing was in the Iñupiaq language. Ahmaogak's influence as a missionary and educator spread to communities all across the northern coast of Alaska where he taught the Iñupiaq alphabet and primer and continued work on translating the bible (Agnew 1951). His work makes the point that native people themselves played an enormous role disseminating Christianity and Western education throughout the local population. Kotzebue was arguably the original source of the movement to Christianize Arctic Alaska and eventually the Canadian Arctic.

Kotzebue and the Friends Church

The widespread acceptance of Christianity among the Iñupiat of Alaska originated in the Kotzebue Sound region sometime around the late 1890s (Burch 1994). As shown above, missionaries had already established themselves at various coastal communities about a decade earlier. However, only a small number of successful conversions had taken place up to that point, namely in Unalakleet and Wales. I will discuss now the use of music by the Friends Church and its imminent influence on indigenous peoples throughout northern Alaska and northwestern Canada during the turn of the 20th century.

Music was an important way for the Friends Church or Quaker missionaries to introduce Christianity to the Iñupiat of northwest Alaska.[36] All of the early missionaries-teachers had at least some musical ability. Robert and Carrie Samms, Anna Hunnicut, Martha Hadley, Otha and Dana Thomas sang hymns, led singing classes, and played musical instruments (Hadley 1969: 9, 15, 17, 40-48, 141 and Roberts 1978: 169, 170, 207, 239, 442). Carrie Samms was especially a musical person. Arthur O. Roberts, who extensively researched the history of the church's movement in Alaska, remarked about her musical role:

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[36] The Friends Church or Quakers are officially known today as the Society of Friends. A non-denomination group of various forms, the Friends traditionally followed a code based on severe simplicity and abstained from smoking, drinking alcohol, and dancing.

> Carrie Samms loved music. In addition to playing the violin and teaching it, she played the organ that had been sent to her. She taught a number of people to play, and a succession of male organists in the Eskimo Friends church testifies to her success as a teacher. Many evenings were spent practicing music, a custom that helped to make the Eskimo Friends church a singing community. (Roberts 1978: 206)

Mentioning male organists in the church services is noteworthy.[37] The almost daily singing classed offered by the Samms couple facilitated the learning of English and Christian tenets contained in the Quaker hymns.

From the very first Friends service held in Kotzebue on August 8, 1897, music was instrumental in garnering the attention and participation of the local people.[38] Competing against a shaman who had disrupted the initial worship, Carrie Samms reportedly played the organ, which succeeded in regaining command of the service:

> Robert preached and Uyagaq interpreted. During worship an angatkuq from the Kobuk came tearing into the midst of the audience. With many incantations he sought to assert his position of leadership in opposition to that of the missionaries of the Gospel. He informed them all that his spirit had just come back from flying around the moon. This was a new experience for the missionaries. They didn't know how to handle it. Carrie Samms finally began playing a hymn at the portable organ. Then everybody began to sing. They felt the Lord helped them gain victory over the shaman. It was an open-air meeting with a windscreen provided by umiaks. About 500 people were present. (Roberts 1978: 175)

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[37] Roberts also observed that "men were more often than not the organists" (Roberts 1978: 371). Barrow too had male organists. During the late 1920s, for instance, Rex Ahvakana (1912-2000) learned to play the organ and piano from the missionary doctor Albert W. Newhall and served as a church organist there for twelve years (Ahvakana 1994 and Greist 2002: 30). Dr. Newhall also educated Simeon Oliver a.k.a. Nutchuk at the Jesse Lee Home in Unalaska during the first two decades of the 20th century. Musically inspired by Newhall (Nutchuk 1941: 26-36), Nutchuk, who was half Yup'ik and half Norwegian, gained fame throughout the United States as a concert pianist and as the co-author of two best-selling books based on his life, *Son of the Smoky Sea* (Nutchuk 1941) and *Back to the Smoky Sea* (Nutchuk 1946). He later dedicated much of his rest of his life to documenting Alaska Native music and dance traditions.

[38] Not all foreigners who imparted their Quaker beliefs onto the native people of Kotzebue were missionaries. A good number of miners who had entered the country were also Quakers. Roberts writes of an 1898 Quaker Christmas Eve party on the Kobuk that featured both Christian and native traditions: "...the Quaker miners were celebrating around a decorated Christmas tree at *Penelope* camp. They even had a Santa Claus. Miners from Hanson's camp joined the festivities. The Eskimos obligingly used knives and forks in order to please their hosts. Toys were distributed, after which the Eskimo boys and girls gave a dance accompanied by the beating of tin cans and loud singing. Thirty Eskimos and thirty whites were present at that Quaker Christmas Eve party on the Kobuk (Roberts 1978: 186-187).

In the summer of 1899, the Quaker Martha Hadley arrived in Kotzebue to assist the mission. Hadley, who sang and played the autoharp, regularly cited musical observations in her diaries, particularly those related to singing classes and native dancing. The Friends Church sang and played music, but opposed dancing.[39] Roberts claims that the Friends missionaries objected to those aspects of indigenous celebrations that recognized evil spirits and offered sacrifices of food to them (Roberts 1978: 207). Since dance represented a major component of native gatherings, missionaries often linked it to spirit conjuring and devil worship. Roberts summarized one particularly relevant event (most probably two separate events) that had occurred a few months after Hadley's arrival. His travel reference to the use of the boat, however, conflicts with the time of year and Hadley's more seasonally accurate mention of sled dogs. Many of the details reflect a trip taken to Anneoch [sic] or Okolok (Hadley 1969: 35, 78), twenty miles away from Kotzebue:

> About Thanksgiving time in 1899 Robert and Carrie and Martha went across the channel to attend the Messenger Feast. Carrie even took her organ in the boat for meetings... There were football games and races. There were the ritual dances with the exchange of new suits of clothing. The missionaries arrived when the feast was in full swing. Although some were not sure about the white people being there, the ones who knew them made the way open for them, and native songs were sung in greeting...The Sammses wanted to conduct a meeting, but they were asked to wait until after the feast was over and not to do it at the same time. The singing and drum beating and feasting continued until the time came for offerings to the good and bad spirits. Everything was fine until food was offered to the devils. At that time the Sammses left. It was the offering of sacrifices to the evil spirits to which Samms objected...They recognized the sense of community present in the old feasts but sought to provide a substitute that would not involve sacrifice to evil spirits. For that reason Thanksgiving and Christmas festivities became very important...During the Christmas week there was much singing and giving of praise to the Lord and feasting together. (Roberts 1978: 207)

After a few years of missionary work, some locals began to question the role or, at least the necessity, of dance in native traditions. Towards the end of November 1902, for instance, one such individual announced that he would quit dancing after having participated in a recent feast (Hadley 1969: 156). Concern about alleged associations between dance and evil spirits, likely played a role.

Despite the seasonal discrepancy, the obvious desire to bring along the organ on the trip across the water is important to consider. Such an instrument would have undoubtedly helped to

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[39] The Friends Church did not oppose all forms of social entertainment involving music. Hadley wrote on August 4, 1902 that she and her fellow missionaries including the Samms had "in the evening ... spent a while in a social way, had music" (Hadley 1969: 143). Presumably, they played instruments and sang.

draw an audience to the Quaker meetings. Individuals like Nellie Baldwin and Peter Atoruk who remembered the Samms' early years in Kotzebue, recalled that not only Robert Samms' powerful preaching, but also Carrie Samms' organ playing had left a lasting impression on them (Roberts 1978: 239).

The repeated devotion to hymn singing throughout the week undoubtedly helped solidify native participation at church-related functions. Carrie Samms led singing classes usually on Tuesdays and Saturdays while vocal gatherings took place at Wednesday meetings and Sunday services. Christmas, Easter, and other holidays as well as weddings and funerals provided numerous venue opportunities for singing religious music (Hadley 1969: 22, 23, 30, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 47, 48, 67, 70, 80, 84, 89, 119, 122, 124, 137, 140). Compared to other churches in Arctic Alaska, the Friends' highly disciplined and sustained approach to hymn singing instruction may have contributed greatly to the Kotzebue Iñupiaq people's rapid membership in the church. The following graphs show the estimated figures and rate of church membership among the five denominations between the years 1890 and 1902 (Figures 5.10 and 5.11).

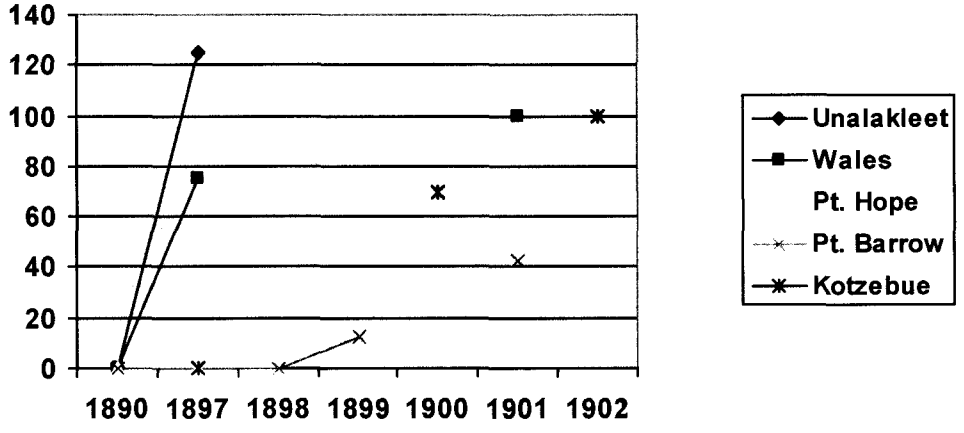

Figure 5.10: Line Graph of Native Church Membership in Northern Alaska, 1890-1902

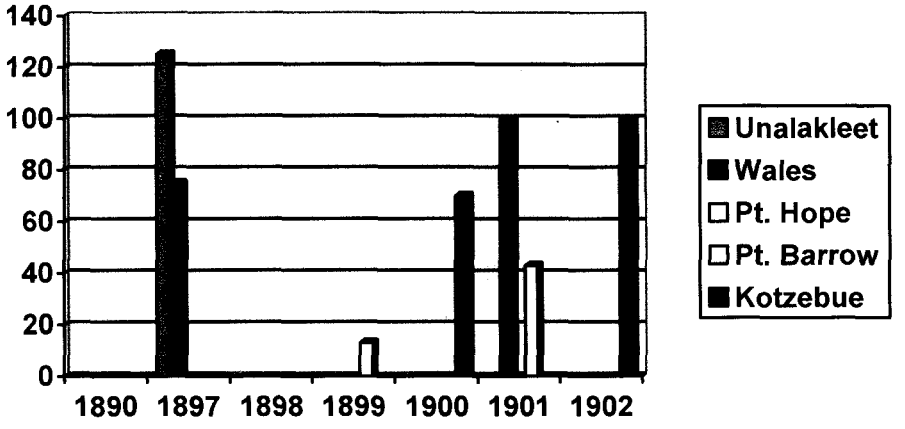

Figure 5.11: Bar Graph of Native Church Membership in Northern Alaska, 1890-1902

Note that the mission in Unalakleet began in 1887, three years before Wales, Point Hope, and Point Barrow. Kotzebue established their church much later in 1897. In that year, missionaries in Unalakleet and Wales reported 125 and 75 members in their respective churches, whereas Point Hope and Point Barrow accounted for none (Burch 1994: 88). In three short years, the young mission at Kotzebue, on the other hand, attracted about 70 followers and by 1902 well over 100 joined the church (Burch 1994: 90). In comparison, the Point Barrow and Point Hope churches during this time had gained fewer members,[40] though the missionaries even there were beginning to observe a "great change" (Driggs 1901: 4, Dimmitt 1948: 3, Spriggs 1901: 4, 5), a more widespread native allegiance to Christianity that coincided with the successful missionization in the Kotzebue area. Within a span of five years, the Friends Church built a membership larger than that of Wales, Point Hope, and Point Barrow, despite having a seven-year late start.

When the Sammses left Kotzebue in 1902, the unofficial number of Friends Church members was substantially higher than the figure of 100 (Burch 1994: 90). Their replacements, Otha and Dana Thomas, continued the work of increasing membership. In 1905, a year before the latter couple left Kotzebue, the number had shot up to 900 (Roberts 1978: 215). The

[40] The number of Point Hope "conversions" of church membership is unknown. Writing in 1901, Driggs reported that the locals were "filling the school-room each Sunday" and even asserted, perhaps hyperbolically, that there were no "real pagans left among the Tigara [Point Hope] people" (Driggs 1901: 3).

Thomases shared musical abilities that left a strong impression on the local population. A couple days after her arrival to northwest Alaska, for instance, Otha led the Wednesday prayer meeting. The large number of native people in attendance listened very closely to the new missionary play her guitar (Hadley 1969: 141). On a more personal level, Dana Thomas introduced Mary Curtis to the harmonica when she was young. More than seven decades later in 1975, the octogenarian Curtis played the gospel tunes "I Feel Like Traveling On" and "Farther Along" on such an instrument (Roberts 1978: 446).[41] Curtis did not learn these particular songs from Thomas since the music appeared well after his departure from Alaska in 1906. However, she apparently maintained the practice of playing religious songs on the harmonica.

How much musical performance increased church membership is difficult to assess. However, as already demonstrated, the correlation between initial native interest in Christianity and the presence of music in the service as well as the numerous ethnographic observations that reveal a native appreciation for church music makes a strong case for such an assertion. The dedication of native assistants in translating hymns and leading the congregation in singing was indispensable to the church. For instance, individuals such as Andrew Greene demonstrated a great skill interpreting for the missionaries at meetings and helped to engage fellow natives in church singing (Roberts 1978: 230 and Hadley 1969: 167).

As many missionaries observed, hymn singing among the native population was common and did not require prodding by non-natives. For instance, in July 1899, on her journey to Alaska by ship, Hadley received news from the captain that some of the native passengers were singing hymns in their cabins in observance of the Sabbath (Hadley 1969: 15). For another example, on February 28, 1901, she heard from a visiting miner the following story about a musical incident that had occurred 200 miles away:

> It was a dark stormy night and as he and his party were pushing on, he heard a strain of music. He listened and he said to his party he heard singing but they laughed at him. He insisted and the beautiful words "Nearer my God to Thee" was borne upon the breeze. By and by they came to a native house, prayer was observed by the natives, to the astonishment of the travelers. He asked the woman where she learned the song. She said Mr. Lapp [Lopp] taught her. (Hadley 1969: 89).

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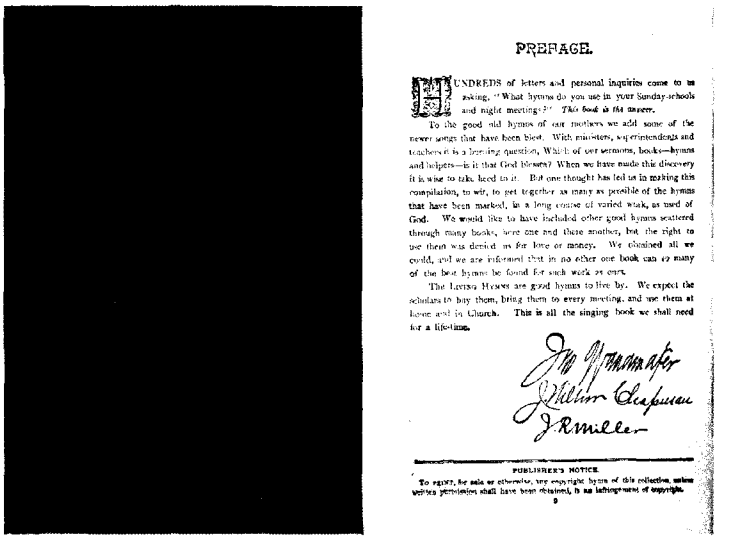
[41] Curtis undoubtedly learned gospel songs well after the Thomases departed Alaska in 1906. Such religious music did not take root in northwest Alaska until at least the 1940s.

Not only was the dissemination of hymns in the aural form popular, so too was the exchange of hymnbooks. Just before departure to the Arctic on May 27, 1899, Martha Hadley received the *Living Hymns* hymnal (Figure 5.12) as a gift (Hadley 1969: 6). Those associated with this well-known compilation of hymns, advertised it as an essential book for all aspects of church functions including services, Sunday School, nightly meetings, and home use (Wanamaker and Sweney 1890).



PREFACE.

HUNDREDS of letters and personal inquiries come to us asking, "What hymns do you use in your Sunday-schools and night meetings?" *This book is the answer.*

To the good old hymns of our mothers we add some of the newer songs that have been blest. With ministers, superintendents and teachers it is a burning question, Which of our sermons, books—hymns and helpers—is it that God blesses? When we have made this discovery it is wise to take heed to it. But one thought has led us in making this compilation, to wit, to get together as many as possible of the hymns that have been marked, in a long course of varied trials, as used of God. We would like to have included other good hymns scattered through many books, were one and there another, but the right to use them was denied us for love or money. We climbed all we could, and we are informed that in no other one book can so many of the best hymns be found for such work as ours.

The Living Hymns are good hymns to live by. We expect the scholars to buy them, bring them to every meeting, and use them at home and in Church. This is all the singing book we shall need for a lifetime.

J. H. Wanamaker
William Chapman
J. R. Miller

PUBLISHER'S NOTICE.

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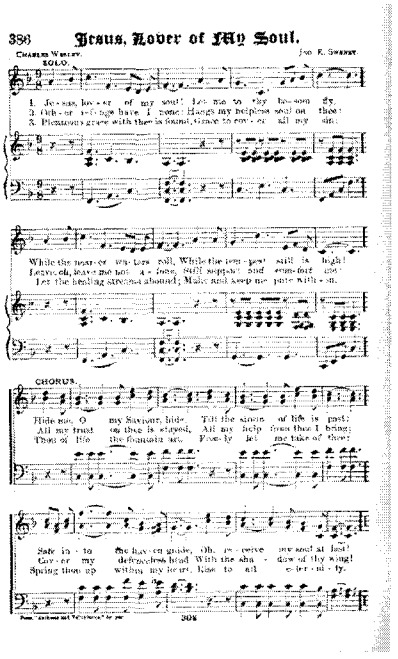
Figure 5.12: Front cover and preface of *Living Hymns* (Wanamaker and Sweney 1890).

A few days later on June 1, Hadley sang aboard the ship one of the book's hymns "All Hail the Power", also known as "Crown Him Lord of All" (Hadley 1969: 7). During another occasion on September 5, 1899, shortly after her arrival in Kotzebue, she sang the hymn "Jesus Lover of My Soul" to comfort a young dying girl (Hadley 1969: 67).[42] Below is a musical example of this hymn obtained from an original edition of the hymnal (Example 5.4).

[42] Within his first year of missionary work, the Anglican cleric Isaac Stringer introduced "Jesus Lover of My Soul" to the Mackenzie Inuit of northwestern Canada. It was presumably one of the earliest hymns the native people learned (Stringer 1893: 50).



Example 5.4: Hymn "Jesus, Lover of My Soul"
from *Living Hymns* (Wanamaker and Sweney 1890: 386)

Continuing on the voyage northward, Hadley also received hymnals from a fellow passenger named Mr. Fickes who assisted her in organizing services. She in turn gave some of them to a group of native passengers made up of Christians and non-Christians (Hadley 1969: 17). Hymnals also served as wedding gifts. On September 29, 1901, Mrs. Samms gave one such present to a native couple shortly after their wedding ceremony (Hadley 1969: 115). Furthermore, in an interesting example of barter, Robert Samms in March 1900 collected twenty dollars worth of Iñupiaq articles to be sent down to the States in exchange for song books (Hadley 1969: 47). In agreement with Roberts, since few books of a general nature were available in Arctic Alaska during the early 1900s, native people regarded both Bibles and songbooks as very valuable possessions (Roberts 1978: 230).

The connection between linguistic and musical reading is also important to recognize. The Friends missionaries provided formal schooling five days a week, normally between Tuesday and Saturday, and throughout most of the year. Naturally, the ability to read Iñupiaq and English opened up a new world of knowledge to the local inhabitants. Musical literacy, in the form of reading melodies and multiple vocal parts as well as instrumental music, was also another skill imparted onto the community and one that likely raised the value of hymnbooks in general.

Hadley wrote about one Saturday practice on December 14, 1901, in preparation for the upcoming Christmas celebration, that the native people were "doing fine on reading music; they seem to enjoy it" (Hadley 1969: 124). Whereas other churches appeared not to place as much of an emphasis on reading music as opposed to reading texts, the Quakers apparently included it as part of the school curriculum.

Ethnographic literature about Quaker activities in northwestern Alaska refers to a variety of musical instruments. Carrie Samms' use of the organ at church meetings was especially prominent (Hadley 1969: 84, 85, 124, 142). The autoharp, which Hadley brought to the Arctic, was another instrument used for accompanying church music. Mrs. Samms helped Hadley "mark some music" in one of her books in order to incorporate the instrument into meetings (Hadley 1969: 27). The musically versatile Mrs. Samms also played the violin and instructed people like the native man Mangnok on the instrument (Hadley 1969: 124). As mentioned earlier, Mrs. Samms' replacement Otha Thomas and her husband Dana were also musically able individuals who played the guitar and harmonica, respectively (Hadley 1969: 141, 172 and Roberts 1978: 446). While traveling northward aboard the ship *Alaska*, Hadley heard accordion music on one occasion and flute music during a church service (Hadley 1969: 7, 8). Finally, Hadley remarked on the use of mechanical devices such as the music box and phonograph among miners traveling through the Kotzebue area. On two separate occasions, August 6, 1900 and July 3-4, 1903, she observed how the foreigners sought to entertain the native population with such machines (Hadley 1969: 63, 183).

The Quaker missionaries commented on traditional native music and dance in their journals, usually viewing the practice in the context of Christian influence or lack thereof. In a more detailed description of the dance festival that took place towards the end of November 1899 at the nearby settlement of Anneoch, Hadley provides revealing information about native and non-native attitudes surrounding the event. In the morning of November 27, she left Kotzebue with a party of sixteen people and thirteen dogs:

> We...arrived about 3:30 P.M. but it was getting dark very rapidly. A number came out to bid us welcome or "HOW DE DO"...We went into one of the houses where they were in the midst of preparing for their big native feast. After we had prepared our suppers at the campfire we went to the snowhouse or dance house where they said they were going to dance all night. We were treated with kindness. One man brought a deer skin and blanket to spread over us but we could not sleep. And I think we helped spoil their plans a little for some did not seem to want to dance. We finally went to one of the Igloos (the one we first went into on our arrival) and invited ourselves to stay the remainder of the

> night. Our sleep was far from satisfactory, everybody seemed crowded. We went into another house in the evening but prospects there were about as full. A number of sacks of seal oil occupied the center of the room where we all lay down who could. Carrie was disturbed by a child kicking at intervals and one of the inmates seemed to be either performing some Shamanism on another or else receiving the help of the another. Some were engaged in making a DELICIOUS? CONCOCTION of deer fat and I don't know what all. Then a man with bared arm was vigorously stirring it, not a little while but by the hour. (Hadley 1969: 35-36)

The next morning of November 28,

> We prepared our breakfast at the dance house where there was a stove so we did not try the campfire cooking. There were plenty to watch us as we prepared our table which was on the ground. After washing dishes we read and had prayers. It seemed we had made our visit at an unfortunate time. They told Robert that if we would stay until after the feast was over we could have meeting, but we felt before the day was done that it would not be very good policy to wait. The drum-beating and singing soon began and the food came in great quantity. By evening we saw there was no hope for services that night. Before the company in the house where we stopped had awakened a native came in and spoke out loudly (Ahgeyenukpuk), A BIG DAY. After the preliminaries were over they began feasting in the snowhouse, and presenting gifts of clothing to several persons. Each who received put it on then and there. After they had passed food and beaten the drums accompanied by SINGING BY THE QUIRE (choir), they went outside. A number of rods in the distance a company stood while another stood near the snowhouse. Those clad in the new garments marched in solemn procession until a shout was given by those in the distance when all in the marching line jumped to either side and tried to look as grotesque as possible, shouting and laughing. And each time the shout from the farther company given and these gymnastic performances gone through some would drop something. (Those in the new clothing were not the possessers [sic] of it, or not all at least.) Then when they finally reached the company at the extremity of the parade grounds they ran back after which the performers disrobed and put their own garments on again. They made more music?; some of their heroic songs after which they began passing the food. First however; giving some to the Devil and some to the Good Spirits. The clothing was next given to the rightful owners. We left the dancehouse after dark and went to the house where we were to stay the rest of the night, or thought we were, but we found too many already there. We went to Anamak's house and stayed. We did not sleep very well, all of us of course on the floor. In the night his mother and a number of others came in. They talked plenty. I don't know what they said but we remained until time to get up and go. We sang and had prayers before retiring. He said his was the only house where they prayed. (Hadley 1969: 36)

The same time next year, the Kotzebue natives celebrated two separate inter-village feasts, one that they hosted and another held across the channel. Between November 23 and 30 and December 7 and 12, 1900, Hadley recorded singing, dancing, and feasting. On Friday, Nov. 23, 1900, she first noted the "Natives preparing for their feast. I heard them passing to and fro until

far into the night. They had some kind of a performance we think at Pashona's. Spent the evening after prayers working at the Christmas things and also part of the noon hour" (Hadley 1969: 78). Pashona, appeared to be one villager who resisted non-native rules and regulations. Besides offering space for native dancing, he received severe punishment from a Revenue Cutter patrol for making whiskey the previous year (Hadley 1969: 22).

The following day on Saturday, November 24:

> Six sleds came this eve for the feast. They had the opening tonight. They have made snow house and covered it with tent cloth. They dug into one of the big drifts. I went over a while with Nellie, did not stay long my feet were getting cold. They sang their native songs but did not have their drums tonight. The house is not so large as the one at Okolok last winter and the enthusiasm does not run so high. Some disappointed in not getting food at the mission for the feast. I think they have but little to feast over. Two persons had received two suits apiece and one was for another who was absent. They put their suits on right there. (Hadley 1969: 78)

The absence of drums is peculiar but difficult to explain. Hadley's comment that people were less enthusiastic about the dance compared to the previous year may actually reflect a desire on the part of the native population to control their music making in front of the missionaries, in order to avoid condemnation. While the exchange of clothing as gifts is noteworthy, the mention of a transitory dance house may indicate that the permanent ceremonial house around Kotzebue had already disappeared by 1900.

The next day, Sunday, November 25, the participants of the feast began to show more excitement in the festivities, accounting in numerous absences at the Sunday School and Church service:

> This morning the feasters gave a performance on the ice. Some dancing between the two companies stationed at each end of the space covered. These companies gave their YELLS at stated times. S.S. and Church not so large as it ought to have been. But I think the snow house was kept open and the afternoon occupied by feasting. They were to end it tonight with a dance. The room full at prayer meeting. (Hadley 1969: 78)

To Hadley's dismay, celebrations that were to end on Sunday continued into the following week leading to school absences and a missionary realization that the local population was still observing the taboo system. Concerns about food moderation occupied the missionaries' minds as well. However, the reference to a full prayer meeting suggested to Hadley that those locals

who had become Christian were not participating in the feast. On Wednesday, November 28, Hadley wrote:

> We hear they are going to have another feast. What a shame! And pity they will simply waste so much food in over-eating then be ready to beg. Prayer meeting led by saying they were working deer skins. Said they were all afraid I suppose. One year ago the 28th we stayed at Oomavik's house over at Okolok. (Hadley 1969: 78)

Finally, on Friday, November 30 "we heard there was dancing in one of the igloos. If so that may account for some of the absences from school (Hadley 1969: 78).

A week later on Friday, December 7, Hadley wrote "Natives getting ready to go to the feast across the channel" (Hadley 1969: 79) and that the next day "a number went this morning to the feast, [but] none of the young boys went" (Hadley 1969: 79). Again, alluding to the loyalty of the Christian members, on Sunday, December 9 Hadley writes that "all the natives at S.S. [Sunday School] and Church except one" were present. Within a couple days, Tuesday, December 11 and Wednesday, December 12, a number of those who attended the feast, returned for prayer service and school (Hadley 1969: 79).

Hadley also noted that native dancing took place during the summer months. In late July, 1900 many of the children around the community participated in games and dancing well into the wee hours under the midnight sun (Hadley 1969: 62). Two years later in early August 1902, she observed a demonstration of the nalukataq, the walrus skin toss that featuring singing. There is, however, no mention of the spring whaling festival, known by the same name, in her diary (Hadley 1969: 143).

Finally, Hadley also writes about shamans but mainly in terms of their resistance to the "white man's" medicine, missionary teachings, and their appeal to some community members at least through 1902 (Hadley 1969: 22, 68, 122, 143, 146). Perhaps not surprisingly, very few details about shamanic performances, let alone their drum dancing and singing, appear in Hadley's diary. An interesting observation Hadley made was that missionaries did not always agree on what constituted a shamanic performance. On one occasion in mid-January 1900, Carrie Samms interpreted the emotional prayer of a young Iñupiat woman as a shaman spell, or ecstatic fit, and subsequently reproached her. Hadley did not believe that the woman was still under the influence of shamanism (Hadley 1969: 41). Remarkably, such apparent emotional outbreaks fit more closely with the preaching style and demonstration of faith conducted by later evangelical churches, namely that of the Pentecostal and Adventist.

As with the case of Pashona, it is important to note that some Iñupiat strongly resisted the presence of the Christians. Much of the resistance came from shamans who were intent on maintaining their elevated social position within the community. Opposition also came from families who, either turned off by the new religion or uninterested in it, went so far as to build their own settlement away from the main village (Burch 1994: 90). Anneoch or Okolok and the community across the channel may represent such settlements. Factions in the Kotzebue Sound area did not always diverge along traditional/modern lines. Interestingly, some members of the native community adopted Western secular ideas as a way of opposing the church's teachings. Deliberate acts of disobedience such as drinking, smoking, gambling, even playing and dancing to Western popular music (VanStone 1980a: 178) provided avenues for some Iñupiat to protest the new religious power base. Despite these defiant attempts, most records agree that the Iñupiat largely accepted the missionaries and that their conversion was both sincere and long-standing.

Several reasons may account for the Society of Friends' hugely successful efforts in spreading their brand of Christianity across the Western Arctic. First and foremost, the devastating slaughter of the whale, walrus, and caribou populations and the introduction of deadly diseases during the commercial whaling period brought havoc with the native populations. In facing such staggering losses, the Iñupiaq peoples found themselves at a cultural crossroads where traditional belief systems and subsistence practices began to deteriorate. According to Burch, such a period of uncertainty created a climate whereby new religious ideas and ways of living, even those of foreign origin, held enormous appeal (Burch 1994: 92-93).

Secondly, Burch points out that the previous work of other denominations in the Bering Strait northward along the Arctic coast demonstrated to the Iñupiat that at least some outsiders were genuinely interested in the welfare of their people. Besides religious teaching, their work also included medical and educational services. The medical treatment provided by the missionaries often proved more effective than that of the shamans. The inability of the shamans to cure or even explain diseases both old and new weakened their position in the society, which in turn generated greater acceptance of the missionary-doctors (Burch 1994: 93).

The enormous influence of the missionary Uyaraq is another contributing factor in explaining the Kotzebue Iñupiaq allegiance to the Friends Church. According to Burch, he convincingly demonstrated the alleged power of Christianity to native audiences by conspicuously breaking various shamanistic taboos without suffering any retribution. As an

Eskimo, raised under the strict rules of a taboo belief system, Uyaraq was in a more effective position to undermine the old ways than any outsider (Burch 1994: 94).

As a fourth very significant reason for the denomination's success, Burch argues that the structural make-up of its doctrine made it more conducive to attracting native converts. Much less ecclesiastical in nature and less bound to sacramental rules than other Christian denominations, the Quaker religion appeared more flexible and practical to the average Iñupiat. These characteristics not only enabled the local population to adopt the religion more easily, they facilitated its dissemination to other regions by granting the individual native the power to evangelize on his or her own (Burch 1994: 97).

Lastly, Burch contends that the Friends Church adopted an effective strategy that allowed them to deal with the thorny problem of animism (Burch 1994: 96). Whereas the Episcopalians and Presbyterians denied the existence of spirits by relegating them to the derided level of warped superstition or plain ignorance, the Quaker missionaries and Uyaraq instead accepted them as real, the catch being that they were simply products of the Devil. Because of this interpretation, the Kotzebue Iñupiat were able to retain elements of their traditional belief system and synthesize them with the new religion – the end result being "Eskimoized Christianity" (Stefansson 1913: 680), which I will discuss in the next section pertaining to the Mackenzie Delta.

The Sammses returned to northwest Alaska in 1912, where they helped lead missions in the communities of Selawik, Oksik, and Noatak. By this time, educational responsibilities were shifting from churches to the government. Reporting to the Bureau of Education in 1912-13, Roberts Samms wrote an account describing the state of education among the people of Selawik. Very early in his report, he delved into the topic of Western music and remarked how the community received it with such enthusiasm:

> All Eskimos love music. Six have taken lessons regularly on the organ. Three are able to play at public gatherings, and one boy has a small organ of his own. One evening each week has been given to training in vocal music. This was open for all, and was much appreciated. A native choir supplies the music for Sunday gatherings. For about three months in midwinter we gave one evening a week to the study of good literature; attendance was voluntary and confined to those who could read. The Interest was good. (Education Report 1914: 43)

During the same year in the village of Noatak, the teacher Frank B. Snowden[43] also commented on the ready acceptance of Western music and instruments among the native population, especially the youth:

> The natives take a great interest in music; the organ furnished us last year, the cornet, mandolin, and guitar are all in constant use. Crowds will gather to hear the music and everyone joins in the singing. A few of the girls can play fairly well on the organ. (Education Report 1914: 42)

As further evidence of youth interest in Western music, in 1914-1915, while teaching at Shungnak on the Kobuk River, the Fred M. Sickler observed that "the young people were seldom absent from singing lessons as they greatly enjoyed music" (Education Report 1917: 54).

The teaching of music and the singing of national songs were representative of a highly organized and disciplined curriculum. Reporting on the public school in Noatak during the 1917-18 year, the teacher James H. Maguire wrote:

> The following subjects were handled in regular classes: Arithmetic, reading, spelling, writing, drawing, history, geography, and chart and kindergarten work. Special attention was devoted to the use of English and to composition and correspondence. Neatness and cleanliness were insisted upon, both of person and in every department of school work. The results obtained were in many cases surprising. Much time was given to music and our patriotic songs were explained and always sung with vigor. Competitive spelling and mental arithmetic were used as relaxation and were always popular. (Education Report 1919: 40)

The reference, particularly the words "sung with vigor" shows how passionately the young students responded to the music.

Some educators also recognized the effectiveness of using music to teach the English language and in developing memory skills. The teacher Frank M. Jones, writing about the 1917-18 school year at Selawik, remarked that "the school music received its share of attention this year. It is of value in the teaching of English and as memory work. The usual program was given by the children at Christmas" (Education Report 1919: 45). The previous year, Mr. Jones' wife

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[43] Frank Snowden and his wife Monetta were teachers at Noatak. In addition to their teaching responsibilities, the couple preached at church services and funerals, helped the local people construct a church, oversaw the reindeer herds, and helped distribute supplies throughout the area. A diary of their teaching experiences beginning in October 1912 is located in the Alaska State Library archives in Juneau. (Snowden, Frank B. n.d.).

taught the schoolchildren "the A, B, Cs, chart work, jingles, and songs" as part of the primary education (Education Report 1918: 49).

Great concern about the negative influences of non-natives, particularly those of miners and traders on the indigenous population, continued through the 1910s. In response to the government school district superintendent's decision to strengthen social and cultural "interchange", or secular assimilation in the eyes of the missionaries, the Friends Church established a Bible Training School during the summer months. The intensive program consisted of three hour-long evening sessions held four days a week. Among several subjects taught at the school was music based on the interpretation of songs and hymn stories. Carrie Samms again played a prominent role in covering the music and singing (Roberts 1978: 228, 231-232).

In conclusion, the Friends Church organized a conference in 1917 to celebrate the 20th anniversary since the establishment of its mission. Held on July 24-27, participants of the Eskimo Friends conference focused on the church's progress in introducing Christianity to the native way of life. In addition to speeches and prayers, religious song played an integral part in the proceedings. Hymns sung by native soloists and choirs, adults and children, were featured throughout the multi-day event. One such singer was Roberts' informant Kitty Wells, whose first Christian song she remembered learning was "Bringing In the Sheaves" (Roberts 1978: 230), a hymn included in the "Living Hymns" songbook (Wanamaker and Sweney 1890: 89). The emphasis of music in the conference and the indelible impression it made on Wells' memory shows the power of music to 1) establish and shape particular identities or images, in this case that of a Christianized, "civilized" Eskimo and 2) trigger memories of meaningful social events from the past. The appropriation of new musical forms arises from an active and sustained level of participation. In the program containing a report of the 1917 Eskimo Friends conference (see Appendix 1), note how frequently and evenly hymns are interspersed throughout the proceedings. Here we see that church music is an important thread used to bind the event together.

As shown, active native involvement in the practice of church music occurred rather early in the history of missionization in the Kotzebue area. Due to the effectiveness of the Friends' Church in renouncing drum dancing, it served to replace the area's older traditions of religious expression relatively quickly. Unalakleet was another village, discussed in the first section, where strict missionization led to the gradual loss of a drum dancing tradition. In the past few decades, however, native communities have taken steps to revitalize their past customs. The latest village to do this is Noorvik, located near Kotzebue in northwestern Alaska. In September

2009, in preparation for the 2010 United States Census, the elder's council and the Noorvik Friends Church body voted to allow traditional Iñupiaq dancing for the first time since the community was established in 1914. The practice had been banned for almost a century due largely to pressure from the Friends Church (Barber 2009 and D'Oro 2010). The change in fundamentalist church attitudes towards drum dancing is remarkable. Also, the role of village councils and the impact of their decision-making are important to consider as communities work towards reviving their traditional drum songs and dances. A closer examination of this topic will continue in Chapter 10. The next chapter will focus on the musical interaction between missionaries and indigenous peoples of the northwestern Canadian Arctic.

CHAPTER 6:
MUSICAL INTERACTION IN THE WESTERN ARCTIC: CANADIAN INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND MISSIONARIES

> He was a loafer, but, being besides rather a clever fellow, he had managed to impress the other Eskimos with a modification of the Christian religion, and was now the promoter of the said religion and high priest as well, living high on the toil of the other natives, and resorting to menaces, such as condemnation to eternal punishment, if they did not fall in with his wishes. The white men were his greatest enemies, and one day during the spring he carefully explained to Dr. Howe and Ned Erie that they would go to hell while he would be sitting in heaven playing the accordion and gloating over their misery. (Mikkelsen 1909: 123)

In this chapter, I focus on the history of musical interaction between missionaries and the Mackenzie Inuit. The chapter comprises two main sections: the first covering the late 19th century and the steady introduction of the Christian faith and music; and the second, addressing the early 20th century and the seemingly sudden Inuit acceptance of Christianity and active participation in church music activities, including composition. Since neighboring Dene Indians had embraced Western religion and music much earlier and had helped introduce such systems to the Inuit, I will begin with some background information about Dene exposure to Western musical culture.

Late 19th Century Musical Missionization in the Western Canadian Arctic

During the latter half of the19th and early 20th centuries, Christian missionaries worked to spread their religious beliefs throughout the Western Canadian and Alaskan Arctic.[1] As in other

[1] Christian missionaries in the Eastern Arctic, namely Greenland and Labrador, followed in the wake of post 16th century Arctic exploration and commerce. As part of a Danish-Norwegian colonization effort, the first official church movement began in southwestern Greenland with the 1721 arrival of the Norwegian Lutherans under the leadership of Hans Egede. Believing that descendants of the Norse colonists were still living in the region, the denomination's original mission was to revive the faith of their longlost countrymen. Kleivan writes that the Lutherans, after soon realizing that the colony had entirely disappeared, began to focus instead on converting the Inuit to Christianity and teaching them to read and write by translating the Bible into Kalaallisut, the language of the Greenlandic people (Kleivan 1984: 596-597). The early missionary presence in Greenland and Labrador brought about profound changes in the Inuit culture. By providing both religious teaching and trade-related opportunities, their influence became broader and more pervasive. With regard to religion, Christian doctrine gradually replaced traditional Inuit practices of animism and shamanism including their associations with the drum dance. In terms of trade, the establishment of mission-operated trading posts increased and regularized the flow of material goods

parts of Canada, Protestant and Catholic churches competed aggressively for native converts.[2] Starting in the 1850s, Catholic clerics began to make significant headway among the northern Dene, namely the Gwich'in and Hare living along the Mackenzie River. Prior to the missionaries' arrival, northern indigenous peoples had already become familiar with Roman ritual, prayers, and presumably religious music due to their contact with the Métis, descendants of French Catholic voyageurs and native women. Arriving in northwestern Canada by the mid-18th century, this small but influential group exposed many of the Dene people to Christianity, long before Catholic and Anglican missionaries entered the territory (Vanast 1996: 57-58, 95).

As noted in Chapter 2, Gwich'in and Hare observed the performance of Western music and dance by the beginning of the 19th century, perhaps as early as 1805 when the trading post at Fort Good Hope opened. Both Dene groups maintained their own drum dancing for the next few decades. For instance, Hudson's Bay Company records show that drum dance exchanges between the two peoples took place at Good Hope in 1826 and 1827, the same year the trader and explorer Warren Dease, a skilled fiddler, took charge of the fort (Barr 2002: 10). In the late 1830s, the explorer Thomas Simpson noted that the Gwich'in enjoyed Dease's violin playing and often asked him to perform for them (Simpson 1843: 164-165).

The founding of Peel's River Post (Fort McPherson) in 1840 created more opportunities for the northern Dene to experience Western fiddling and dancing. Beginning in 1841, a young

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into the eastern Arctic region. In this manner, the early missionaries played an integral role in acculturating the Inuit of Greenland and Labrador not only by way of religious conversion but also by maintaining continuous exposure to European material culture through trade.

[2] The arrival of missionaries in the central and eastern Arctic regions outside of Greenland and Labrador took place at a much later date. The first mission on Baffin Island was established in 1894 under the leadership of the Anglican minister E.J. Peck. Erected near a whaling station at Blacklead Island in Cumberland Sound, the mission also served as a hospital and a school. According to Neatby, numerous examples of such multi-purpose churches combining religion, health, and education, sprang up across the Arctic (Neatby 1984: 386-387). As the Hudson's Bay Company and its commercial rivals expanded westward and northward into the heart of Canada, missionaries soon followed in search of souls. By the early 1900s, the Anglican and Catholic churches vied against one another for native converts. Usually, the church that established itself first in a given area maintained supremacy even after its competitor moved in (Dorais and Saladin d'Anglure 1988: 501-503). Compared to the effects of missionization in the Western and Eastern Arctic, however, the initial impact of Christianity on the Inuit of central Canada was less pronounced. One reason is that sustained contact with missionaries began historically later. Vanast also contends that those native groups caught in the middle of the Anglican/Catholic rivalry frequently were able to take advantage of the situation both materially and spiritually (Vanast 1996). In order to gain trade goods and medical care from missionaries attempting to curry their favor, the locals often switched religious sides. On a more spiritual level, the Canadian Inuit, perhaps observing the multiple versions of Christian teaching as practiced by the two competing faiths, naturally retained their own traditional belief system and syncretistically incorporated certain elements of the newly introduced religion into it.

Métis named Antoine Houle trained to serve as an interpreter at the fort and lived for several years with Gwich'in chiefs in order to learn their language. A few short years later in 1848, his name became associated with fiddling when he ordered two coils of violin strings at the newly established trading post of Fort Yukon (Hudson's Bay Company Archives from Mishler 1993: 15). Houle had likely picked up the instrument during his time spent at Peel's River Post or earlier. Like the Alaskan Gwich'in, it is reasonable to assume that he exposed the Canadian Gwich'in, and quite possibly visiting Inuit, to fiddle music as well.

Houle seemed to have had a strong interest in music for ten years later in June 1861, the naturalist and explorer Robert Kennicott wrote a letter from Fort Yukon mentioning that the Métis was eager to obtain an accordion as payment for his services as a specimen collector:

> Antoine Hoole [sic] the interpreter of the post is as I have said a very keen hunter and takes kindly to the collecting, in which I have gotten him thoroughly interested; and he declares there shall be a very loud cry of bereavement among the parents of rare eggs every spring hereafter throughout this region. I consider his work and interest with the Indians a matter of prime importance to arctic zoological operations. I have bribed him with many very acceptable presents and shall give him some of the things sent from The Grove[3] for my own use. That accordion you sent he has been very anxious to get, as he will. I have promised him that so long as he will collect well for the gentleman in charge here, I'll send him annually from the States, after my return, things which he is highly delighted in the expectation of. (Lindsay 1991: 113-114)

It is interesting that Kennicott refers specifically to a musical instrument as a form of compensation and one that Houle was very interested in acquiring. It shows that by the early 1860s, Western musical instruments were highly sought after by at least a certain segment of the local population. The reference to the accordion also suggests that the Métis collector was familiar with the instrument. In fact, the man in charge of the Fort Yukon post during this time, James Lockhart, was a versatile musician who owned a squeezebox. In a letter written in mid-December 1860, Kennicott remarked that he "sings very well, and plays the violin, flute and accordion which three instruments he has, while Bras [Brass] the postmaster has a jewsharp! We have grand concerts now and again" (Lindsay 1991: 94). It is likely that Houle heard Lockhart perform the accordion and was perhaps keen on obtaining an instrument for himself.

While the musical influence of Métis traders on northern indigenous peoples is important to consider, the role of the Hudson's Bay Company's Scottish and Orkney servants was probably

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[3] "The Grove" was the name of the Kennicott family home in Illinois (Lindsay 1993: 156fn46).

greater. By 1848, seventy-five percent of employees working in the company's northern outposts were from the region (Ballantyne 1972 [1848]: 33). On a visit to Fort Yukon almost twenty years later in 1867, the explorer and naturalist William Dall observed that most of the community's inhabitants were originally "from the Orkney islands and the north of Scotland, while a few were French-Canadians with a mixture of Indian blood" (Dall 1870: 103). One of the earliest reports of fiddle-accompanied dancing among the Gwich'in took place on Christmas Day, 1861 at the trading post of La Pierre's House near the Canadian border. Managed by an Orkneyman named James Flett, the post attracted a number of natives and non-natives from around the area. Kennicott, who observed the event, considered a Gwich'in couple to be the best dancers, performing Scotch reels of four and jigs (Kennicott 1942: 109-110).

Before the 1850s, the Mackenzie Inuit had limited contact with Westerners and their religious beliefs. They briefly encountered some exploring and trading-scout parties during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Intermittent skirmishes with the Gwich'in, often amplified by the latter's attempts to block trading relations with the Hudson's Bay Company and North West Company, kept the Inuit wary of outsiders. Furthermore, Mackenzie Inuit concerns over their own trading connections coupled with a religious belief that viewed strangers as the embodiment of evil spirits, contributed to misunderstanding and distrust (Vanast 2009h). During periods of relative peace, however, it is reasonable to assume that at least some individuals from the coast traveled south to the trading posts to engage in trade. Upon their arrival at Fort Good Hope[4] and Fort McPherson (Peel's River Post), established 1805 and 1840 respectively, they had opportunities to witness the performance of Western music and dance, including the singing of church songs.

In 1850, the Mackenzie Inuit had one of their first direct encounters with a Christian missionary. Sailing eastward along the Arctic coast in late August, the *H.M.S. Investigator* under the command of Robert McClure, made contact with local bands near the Mackenzie Delta. Aboard the ship was a Moravian cleric named Johannes Miertsching, who having worked among the Labrador Inuit for many years, was able to converse with the locals. Committed to the expedition's search for the missing Franklin party, Miertsching regretted that he was unable to impart more of his religious teachings onto the population. He believed, though, that the Inuit were ready to receive Christianity and that they responded positively to Jesus' message (Neatby

[4] In 1839, traders reestablished Fort Good Hope at its present location after having moved and rebuilt it several times. In the late 1820s, for instance, the post moved more than a hundred miles to the south (Vanast 2009h).

1967: 51-63). This encounter, which included barter and medical attention, may have improved the image of Westerners along the coast and encouraged the native people to visit the trading post at Peel's River, later known as Fort McPherson. In 1852, a Mackenzie Inuit chief and two of his men arrived at the fort and were "most taken up with everything they saw" (Vanast 2009h). Three years later in the fall of 1855, fifty Mackenzie Inuit, including seven from Cape Bathurst, visited Peel's River post to engage in trade. Within a few short years, annual trade with coastal peoples increased from 100 £ in 1854 to over 1000 £ in 1858 (Stager 1967: 46).

Just before the arrival of missionaries, an increasing number of Mackenzie Inuit during the 1850s had begun to interact with the Hudson's Bay Company traders not only at Peel's River but also in territory stretching from the Mackenzie Delta eastward. Between 1857 and 1859, Charles Gaudet, a cleric who had taken charge of the Peel's River Post, and Roderick MacFarlane, another cleric assigned the responsibility of exploring the Anderson River in preparation for the construction of a trading post site in the east, visited the coastal peoples in order to strengthen economic ties. Tension between the Mackenzie Inuit and Gwich'in continued partly because of Gwich'in attempts to maintain their role as intermediaries and prevent the Inuit from trading with the HBC. Despite their resistance, plans to establish a trading post in Mackenzie Inuit territory got underway and, by 1861, Fort Anderson was completed (Stager 1967).

In order to communicate with the Mackenzie Inuit, the Hudson's Bay Company and later missionaries often depended on the Gwich'in people as interpreters.[5] After sensing an improvement in relations between the two groups, however, the Gwich'in became reluctant to assist. Language was therefore a tool to bridge communication but also a weapon to hinder it. Consequently, the trading company and church sought instead to train Mackenzie Inuit children in English and Western practices and to hire bilingual Inuit from the Eastern Arctic (Vanast 2009h and Bompas 1871: 337). The first attempts failed, however. During their visits to the coast, for instance, Gaudet and MacFarlane were unsuccessful in securing Inuit apprentices.[6] The

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[5] Kennicott opined that Gaudet, who was in charge of Peel's River Post, spoke a fair amount of the Inuit language (James 1942: 92).

[6] Apparently, offers to bring Mackenzie Inuit adults to England for future investment purposes were also made. In 1893, over thirty years later, the Anglican Isaac O. Stringer recorded the following meeting with an old Inuit man originally from the Fort Anderson area: "Today I went around to some Eskimo igloos. Got some words and spoke to them. One old man named Tiugwok is often beating his drum. Had talk with him. He said he lived with Mr. McFarlane at Ft. Anderson and taught him a little. Mr. McFarlane wanted to take him to England" (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, May 9, 1893). Tiugwok's drum playing seemed

district Chief Trader at Fort Simpson Bernard Ross was also unable to obtain an interpreter from the eastern Arctic. When one did arrive, a servant working for an Anglican cleric, he unexpectedly died (Vanast 2009h).

During August 1859, fortunes seemed to turn when the trading company representatives Gaudet and Ross worked with the newly established Anglican priest William Kirkby to discuss negotiations with a small group of Mackenzie Inuit emissaries who had arrived at Fort Simpson.[7] Comprised of the leader Tiktik and four other companions – a man, his wife, their young boy, and an unaccompanied nine-year-old girl named Attingarek – they made an immediate impression on the southern crowd of on-lookers, especially Kirkby who was new to the region. Excited by their stature, intelligence, good-natured dispositions, clothing, and "remarkably fine" looks, he wrote in his journal that the children "would pass among a number of Europeans without notice" and that "here is a new tribe to the Redeemer. May his glorious Kingdom be speedily established among them" (Vanast 2009h). As a possible sign of prior exposure to Christian ritual, the priest remarked on their visitors' seeming familiarity with Sunday service for they behaved "with the greatest decorum...as if they had been used to it for years" (Vanast 2009h). Whether the Mackenzie Inuit had merely emulated the decorum of the congregation, had observed similar etiquette in the past, possibly among Christian Métis, or had enacted a fitting Inuit cultural mode of behavior, for example, their own ceremonial house manners, is unclear. What is almost certain is that the visitors heard hymn singing, perhaps the first time for a Mackenzie Inuit, assuming that none had taken place at Fort McPherson.

The main purpose of the meeting was to request permission to train the two Inuit children as interpreters in exchange for erecting a post in the Delta. After reaching a tentative agreement, Kirkby "lept with joy" at the prospect of providing a religious education for the young pair, which undoubtedly would have included a focus on music.[8] Once fully trained, they would then

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impressive enough to Stringer to warrant a second journal entry: "... an old Eskimo [Tiugwok] was beating the drum all alone and seemed to be enjoying it and was shaking with excitement" (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, May 4, 1893). These two references to Tiugwok's music are interesting because they shows the attraction of outsiders like Stringer to Inuit drumming and that it was meaningful enough to Stringer to warrant a place in his journal writings.

[7] A Catholic rival to Kirky, Father Henri Grollier tried to play a role in the meeting but met fierce opposition particularly from the anti-Catholic Ross, originally of Northern Ireland (Vanast 2009h and Duchaussois 1937: 316).

[8] As evidence of Kirkby's emphasis on music, during a week spent at Fort Yukon in July 1861, he held three services a day devoted to, among other things, the teaching of hymns (Mishler 2000: 121-122). The

be responsible for "carrying the glorious tidings of salvation to the whole of their numerous countrymen" (Vanast 2009h). As events unfolded, however, only the young girl remained with the Anglican missionary. Furthermore, although records shows that she became fluent in English and received religious training, much to Kirkby's dismay, Attingarek stayed in the south, married a trader, and appeared to have played no role in expanding the faith to her people (Vanast 2009h).

Despite the delegates' positive reports of treatment under the non-natives, subsequent promises to arrange for the training of Inuit children continued to fall through. After visiting Fort Simpson in 1859, for instance, the visiting party's leader Tiktik assured the Hudson's Bay Company that he would send his son the next summer. Nothing in the literature shows that such a proposition materialized, however (Vanast 2009h). In fact, the first documented case involving the training of Western-educated Mackenzie Inuit child does not occur until 1870.

In 1860, the French Catholic Father Henri Grollier was the first clergyman to arrive at Fort McPherson. On September 14, during a celebration of the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, he claimed that he brought two chiefs together, a Gwich'in and Mackenzie Inuit, and got [them] to kiss the feet of Christ's image in token of reconciliation and friendship" (Duchaussois 1937: 318-319). Since the two native groups had already achieved a state of relative peace in the previous decade, Grollier's claim seems highly exaggerated. Nevertheless, citing the cross as the "bond of union" between the Mediterranean and Polar Sea, the event convinced him that "the first-fruits of the Eskimo nation were gathered into the Church, and several of its members became the children of God by holy Baptism" (Duchaussois 1937: 319). The priest reportedly baptized four Inuit in addition to 65 Gwich'in that day (Duchaussois 1937: 334). Presumably, religious music was an important component of the ceremony.

During the next several decades, Catholic and Anglican missionaries competed against one another for religious authority over the Mackenzie Delta. While the Catholics under the leadership of Father Jean Séguin gained a permanent foothold at the Gwich'in settlement of Arctic Red River (known today as Tsiigehtchic) in 1868, the Anglicans soon wrested control of Fort McPherson from their rivals, thanks in part to the 1876 marriage of the Anglican missionary Robert McDonald to a Gwich'in woman (Vanast 2009g). For the rest of the 19th century, however, the Mackenzie Inuit remained religiously independent from both groups. During this

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Anglican missionary became the first clergyman to minister to the Western or Alaskan Gwich'in. During his trip to Fort Yukon from Fort Simpson, Kirkby visited other Gwich'in settlements along the route including Fort McPherson, where he presumably introduced the local people to church music as well.

time, missionaries from both churches visited the coastal peoples and imparted their teachings without gaining converts.

A Catholic Missionary in the Mackenzie Delta: Émile Petitot

One of the first missionaries to travel extensively throughout the Delta region was the French Catholic Oblate priest Émile Petitot. Between 1865 and 1872, Petitot made extensive contact with several northern Dene and Inuit groups stretching eastward to the Anderson River. The priest documented his experiences in great detail. A musically inclined individual, his ethnographic writings contain several descriptions of indigenous music and dance and musicultural exchange. For example, in his book *Among the Chiglit Eskimos*, originally published in French in 1887, Petitot commented on the state of music in the region. He reported that the Gwich'in in the Delta had absorbed the fiddling tradition into their culture by the mid-19th century whereas the Inuit had retained much of their pre-contact musical culture (Petitot 1981: 3). Apart from the fiddle, it is unlikely that the population was extensively exposed to Western musical instruments or mechanical devices such as organs, accordions, and music boxes prior to Petitot's arrival (Petitot 1981: 160). On one occasion during the summer of 1868, a group of Mackenzie Inuit was very interested in the missionary's American concertina, an instrument reportedly quite new to the region. Petitot wrote that "as soon as they heard a chord or two they ran up to my tent in a crowd, made a circle around me, and beat the rhythm with their knives on the palm of the left hand" (Petitot 1981: 96).[9]

Petitot wrote several other times about singing religious songs for the Mackenzie Inuit often to the accompaniment of his own concertina (Petitot 1981: 82, 96, 109, 163). During one

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[9] Petitot wrote about the concertina in several of his writings. In the following reference, he mentions the instrument while on his way to meeting some Dene people: "La navigation ascendante du Mackenzie, de Good Hope au confluent de la Télin-Dié, n'était pas ce qui m'épouvantait. Tranquillement assis sur ma robe de bœuf musqué et jouant du concertina, pendant qu'à tour de rôle mes trois sauvageons Kkwié, Vitajié et Dénégunli tiraient le canot au moyen d'un long cordeau, je ressemblais fort à ces monarques fainéants que quatre bœufs trainaient d'un pas tranquille, et lent; mais la fougueuse rivière du lac d'Ours, la Télin-Dié, était bien de nature à me causer quelques craintes avec ses cascades écumantes, le fracas et la vitesse de ses eaux et son grand rapide d'une demi-journée de parcours. De plus, c'était pour la première fois que j'allais m'y,exposer en pirogue d'écorce, et chacun de mes trois compagnons était étranger au pays: Nous partimes toutefois, sous l'égide de nos bons anges et la protection de notre patronne, la bonne Sainte Thérèse. Bientôt le vent enfla notre couverture transformée en voile latine, et grace aux poumons du grand Ekké-tla-itchéné, nous nous trouvâmes en cinq jours au confluent de la Télin-Dié. "Parlons tout bas, me disaient mes gars, car si le vent nous entendait il fermerati aussitôt la bouche: Ekké-tla-itchéné est très susceptible; mais, par exemple, si vous l'injuriez, il souffle encore plus fort (Petitot 1868: 294-295).

performance, again in the summer of 1868, he claimed that selections of the "Requiem" and "Dies Irae" had a strangely powerful emotional effect on the people:

> One day I tried to sing the Requiem and accompanied myself on that instrument. I could see at once that they understood the funereal theme of the beautiful piece. They began to look gloomy and listened in silence and then began to whisper the word ounin-hoyouark (magic). After this they lowered their heads and looked at the ground. A conventional sign of discontent and disapprobation with them. Then I intoned the Dies Irae. The terrifying crashes and dolorous supplications of the sublime song put them out so much that they all ran away down to the last one; not one of them had the nerve to endure this inexpressible music. I had observed the same thing with the Hare Indians at Good Hope on other occasions. (Petitot 1981: 96)

How the audience interpreted Petitot's playing, of course, is difficult to know. Perhaps the missionary's performance was simply too strange and disturbing to hold their attention. He may have exaggerated the response of his audience in order to reinforce the perception of indigenous people as fearful, superstitious and lacking the ability to provide a rational explanation for new phenomena. As discussed earlier, examples of such cultural distortions were evident in the demonstration of phonographs. On the other hand, it is also reasonable to assume that the locals viewed Petitot much like one of their own spiritual leaders. The unusual sounds emanating from his singing voice and concertina playing were analogous to a shaman's incantations and drum beating. As such, the music may have carried some spiritual or supernatural meaning.[10]

When listening to his Inuit hosts sing, Petitot himself interpreted the singing as a possible means to communicate with a world beyond the immediate range of experience:

> Now sleepiness was overcoming me. I said my night prayer and crawled into the fur sleeping bag, which served me altogether for sixteen years on and beyond the Arctic Circle. My hosts seemed only to have been awaiting my signal in order to get ready for bed themselves. The two men leaned forward and began a low-pitched slow mumbling – a sort of whining song, which lasted no more than three minutes. Was it a hymn directed to some protective spirit of the home or an exorcism against some evil design they might suppose me to have? I don't know. In any case, I admit that I felt a sort of respect for their apparent act of faith. A man who believes and prays is worthy of esteem. The women did not pray, for prayers and songs are the property of shamans or medicine men who are believed to be powerful enough to "pull the heavens down to earth". As the ancients believed, "Carmini vel coelo possunt deducere lunam" [by magic songs and incantations even the moon can be dragged down from the heavens]. Perhaps the song of

[10] Petitot referred to the shaman's drum as "medicine" drum and as an example of a talismanic object that was stored with other valuable possessions like the umiak, kayak, clothing, and food (Petitot 1981: 54). Talismanic objects were amulets that contained certain supernatural or magical powers.

> the men had no other purpose but to obtain the gift of pleasant dreams from the Tornrark, for dreams play a great role in the power and occult science of North American shamans. Why not? Does not the Talmud, a product of educated and civilized peoples, state that dreams are the sixth part of prophecy? How satisfactory to know oneself on this basis to be somewhat of a prophet, even if only a sixth part of one. When the chant was over, my hosts disappeared, among crackling electrical sparks, under their furs. (Petitot 1981: 43-44)

Here, Petitot seems eager to understand the Inuit religious perspective and present it in a non-judgmental manner to Western readers. Music in this religious context acts as a medium of interintelligibility. Inuit singing prompted Petitot to view religious expressions in analogous ways, for example, as "hymns" sung to acquire prophetic dreams, manipulate physical laws, appeal to guardian spirits, or to ward off evil. Such a portrayal of shamanistic music drew parallels with the religio-magical qualities associated with Catholicism, for instance, incantations as they relate to the practice of exorcism and the use of amulets.

Western musical instruments such as the concertina also seemed to represent a sign of wealth and an individual's status. Petitot refers to the squeezebox as a valuable possession in the following statement:

> I knew that at bottom none of these people cared a fig for the honour of my company. The dispute among them was over the possession of my goods. In their eyes I was rich – I had several fish nets of twine, a 35 kg ball of meat, firearms and ammunition, household equipment, tobacco, and a musical instrument the chords of which threw them into transports of enjoyment. (Petitot 1981: 158)

According to Petitot, the Inuit cared more for his things than his company. If true, his standing as a wealthy individual helped raise the value of his possessions. Consequently, the Mackenzie Inuit may have regarded such objects as concertinas as potential trading commodities.

While concertinas and, far earlier, fiddles were present in the Mackenzie Delta by the late 1860s, other kinds of musical objects were seemingly unknown. Petitot remarked on a trip he took with Krarayalok and Aoularena, a Mackenzie Inuit couple, to Fort Good Hope and Fort Simpson between July and September 1868. Referring a year later to their impressions, he wrote:

> What marvelous and incomprehensible things had he [Krarayalok] not seen at my home at Fort Good Hope? Watches, clocks, thermometers, a barometer, a compass, a magnet, matches, a music box, a painter's tools, alcohol, photographs, a small organ, a tuning fork and a host of other rarities which enchanted the Eskimos for they had never seen them in the hands of the Hudson Bay Company officers. (Petitot 1981: 160)

It is difficult to believe that employees of the Hudson Bay Company did not have some of the more commonplace items that Petitot had listed such as matches, magnets, compasses, and watches. Organs, music boxes, and tuning forks, on the other hand, may very well have been unknown to the Mackenzie Inuit at the time. The fascination that non-natives had in observing indigenous reactions to foreign objects, as discussed in previous chapters, resurfaces in Petitot's writings. Western musical instruments and tools were among those items outsiders used to both affirm and bridge cultural differences.

When Petitot returned to the Mackenzie Delta the following summer, Krarayalok had spread word about the missionary's special possessions and abilities. Like William Hooper, the British officer of the H.M.S. *Plover* who twenty years earlier had spent ten months among the Chukchi people, Petitot was eager to demonstrate the "magical" or supernatural effects of Western products such as magnets and matches:[11]

> I made some needles dance across a little board and over a piece of paper by means of a magnet. I showed them the contradictory effects of the magnet on the two poles of the compass needle. I lit their pipes with matches and they asked me on what tree these little inflammable branches grow. (Petitot 1981: 160)

The Mackenzie Inuit who interacted with Petitot sought to both separate from and connect with the foreigner in different ways. Mimetic performance was a frequent method utilized by the locals to interpret and express his strange behaviors. Music contributed to this cross-cultural sharing. In the form of dance, it also pushed the boundaries separating mere entertainment from individual self-worth, as shown in the following reference:

> Noulloumallok once more told the new visitors the story he had already told everyone we had met on our journey or who had come to his house. He told them how I ate, in what strange way I slept in a fur sleeping bag, how I wiped my nose in a square cloth which I then carefully put in one of my pockets, which he called an old woman's paps, an idea his listeners rejected with disgust. He imitated how I sang, coughed, sneezed and spat, to the great delight of the newcomers who did not hesitate to laugh at me to my face. I had much ado to preserve my dignity for when Noulloumallok's recital was over Navikan

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[11] Well into the 20th century, Arctic missionaries continued to frame indigenous understanding of Western technology in terms of "magic". Charles Whittaker, an Anglican cleric who worked several decades for the mission at Herschel Island and the Mackenzie Delta, made the following assertion in his 1937 book *Arctic Eskimo*: "Rifles, photographs, gramophones, wireless, radio, electric light, and all such mysterious matters are attributed to the "white man's medicine" – magic, as their own medicine-men profess magic activities beyond the range of physical possibility" (Whittaker 1937: 35).

> Pabian wanted me to condescend so far as to repeat all these operations in the white man's way in front of him and his people. So to these people of the polar seashore I was a sort of ridiculous savage or at least a curious barbarian, a sort of traveling clown who was to put himself through his pace for their amusement. Had there been such a thing as a zoo or a circus in these parts, that would have been the end of me. I would swiftly have been put in a cage labeled "white-skinned barbarian, intractable, from the country of the hot sun." I must admit that like the people of primitive tribes who come to Paris to see the Seine, I submitted to the desires of these good people with good grace and sang, coughed, wiped my nose, spat and read, to their great admiration. I did, however, dispense myself from dancing for them, for I considered this incompatible with my personal dignity. All this did not prevent me from a great deal of suppressed laughter, just as I'm sure it does not prevent the red Indians or Ceylonese who exhibit themselves in our great cities from laughing inwardly at us. (Petitot 1981: 70)

Petitot's ability to draw a parallel between his standing among the Inuit and the Western portrayal of the Other in zoos and world exhibits is uncommon for the time. He may not have fully appreciated the implications of this passage – the overtones of cultural relativism – but, at the very least, he did recognize that ethnocentrism was a two-way street. Possible first- or second-hand accounts of ethnic-based cultural shows in France may have prompted Petitot to draw similarities to his own personal experiences among the Mackenzie Inuit. Interest in Arctic peoples at world exhibitions was evident already in the 1867 Paris Exposition Universelle. Petitot remarked that a "distinguished scholar published an article on the Eskimos" for the event and "referred to [his] journey" (Petitot 1981: 17). More discussion of turn-of-the-20th century "Eskimo" displays at various world's fairs and exhibitions will continue in the following chapter.

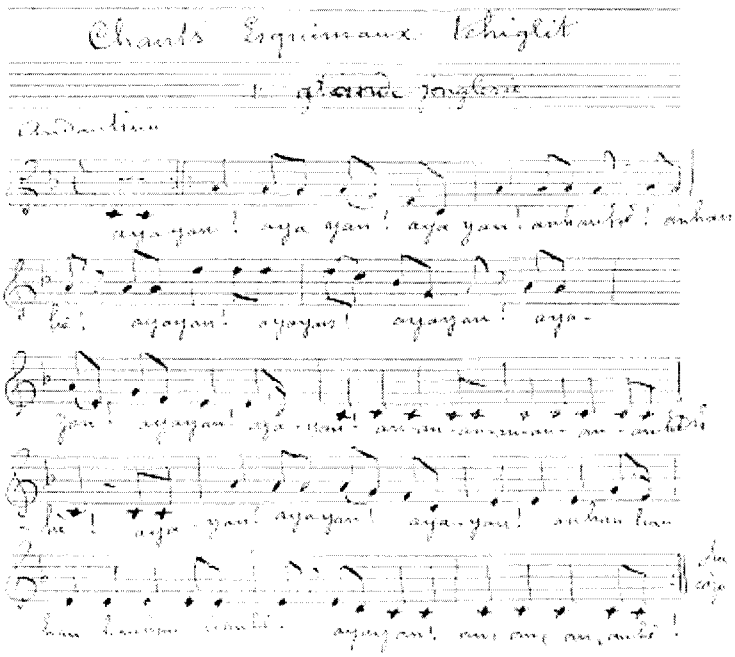
It is likely that Petitot and the Mackenzie Inuit got genuine pleasure from their musical exchanges and that such reactions were the basis of their cross-cultural experiences. It was the re-telling of such events, however, either by word of mouth or publication, which allowed reinterpretation and distortion to creep in. Alteration of the story resulted from a need, real or imagined, to accommodate the listening or reading audience. In the above passage, the Inuit Noulloumallok and Pabian, apparently saw a need to enhance or showcase both their own socio-cultural identity and their personal connections with Petitot. The missionary responded in kind, not only with the Delta people but also his French readers.

Petitot also appeared to share with the Inuit a real sense of enthusiasm for theatrical performance. As the following references shows, it was something that the Catholic cleric thoroughly enjoyed and thought others not of Inuit culture would find appealing:

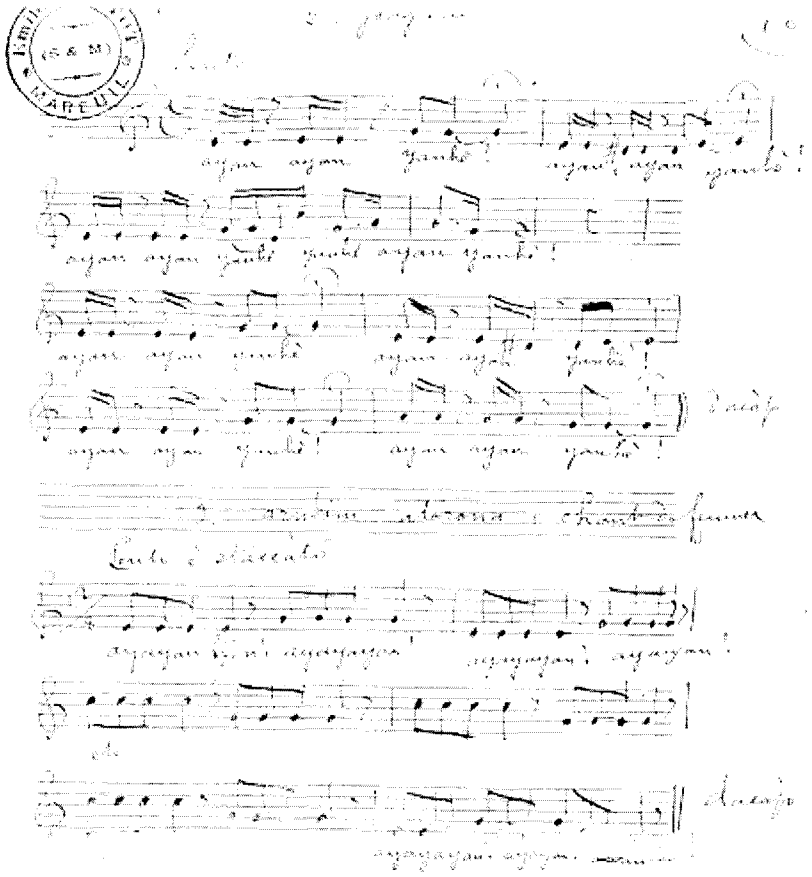
> No sooner had we left MacPherson than Kreyouktark set about to gain my confidence and goodwill as well as to excite our hilarity by a most eccentric comedy. He stood up in his umiak, having turned his kayak over to this son Manark. He took his drum and entertained us first with an Eskimo boat song, the rhythm of which the women followed with the strokes of their oars. Then he passed on to a singular theatrical performance in which he imitated the stance, the hops, the bizarre contortions, wing beats, even the calls, of a raven, to perfection. He was so comical we had to hold our sides laughing. The song that went with this fitted the dance. It sounded like a raven being answered by others. Indeed the Eskimo language lends itself to this because of the frequency of the dipthongs *kra* and *ark*. Seeing himself admired and applauded, master raven shed his plumage and changes his song. With admirable ease and perfect mimicry, he varied the theme of his dance to represent a white whale hunt or that for the much larger bowhead whale. Though I had never seen one of these hunts, I could easily recognize his representation, the approach of the kayak, throwing the harpoon, the movements of the wounded whale, his blood-stained blowings. Everything was faithfully rendered and the song and its rhythm corresponded to the actions portrayed. I will not conceal it – I admired this natural artist. He would have interested Parisians, difficult as they are to please. And now the man behaved as if he could contain himself no longer and let his enthusiasm go full out, performing a series of the most comical postures and contortions his imagination could conceive. Suddenly, as his umiak was leaking a little, he wanted to bail it out without interrupting his dance, and incorporated the necessary movements by means of gestures he invented on the spot. So there he was beating his drum with one hand, working the bailer with the others, bounding up and down and twisting himself all at once. It was all so droll that we laughed until the tears came to our eyes and I had to ask him to stop if my paddlers were to continue their work. (Petitot 1981: 155-156)

The party's sense of joy, including the performer, is palpable in this passage. Furthermore, the humorous aspects and mimetic detail of the performance were qualities that Petitot believed could effectively traverse cultural boundaries.

Beyond its function as a form of mere entertainment, aboriginal music also served as a valuable cultural expression that warranted preservation. As such, Petitot developed a strong interest in writing it down. He notated several songs throughout the Mackenzie River and Anderson River region including those of the Mackenzie Inuit, the Gwich'in, and Hare. Below are copies of the three Inuit transcriptions entitled "Grande Jonglerie" (Great Juggling), "Jonglerie" (Juggling), and "Arneiin atorona, Chant de fenner" (Examples 6.1 and 6.2).



Example 6.1: Esquimaux Tchiglit song #1, transcribed by Émile Petitot (Petitot 1889: 15)



Example 6.2: Esquimaux Tchiglit songs #2 and #3, transcribed by Émile Petitot (Petitot 1889: 16)

Although the notations betray a typical European ethnocentric bias – for example, symmetrically balanced measured phrasing and European tonal structures based on the diatonic scale – they are still valuable for capturing some idea of what the music may have sounded like, prior to the advent of phonographic recordings. A-ya-yanga vocables typical of Eskimo song dominate each example, perhaps more than one would expect. The word "jonglerie" or "juggling" connotes trickery and manipulation and Petitot seems to use "jongleur" (juggler), "conjurer", "sorcerer", and "shaman drum dancer", synonymously.[12] In his book *Among the Chiglit Eskimos*, for instance, Petitot described Mackenzie Inuit dancing as a juggling performance and the performer as a juggler or sorcerer (Petitot 1981: 62-64). William Bompas, an Anglican missionary who

[12] Etymology: Middle English *jogelen,* from Anglo-French *jugler,* from Latin *joculari* to jest, joke, from *joculus,* diminutive of *jocus* joke; Date: 15th century (Merriam Webster's Online Dictionary).

spent six weeks with some Mackenzie Inuit people in 1870, also understood much of indigenous dance as a form of conjuring:

> They practice heathen dances, songs, and conjuring, and this seems to be the greater part of their religion. Their dance, however, is a mere shuffling of the feet; their song is but a monotonous yell; and their conjuring consists only of yelling and beating the tambourine and throwing the body into various distortions and attitudes. They possess also, most of them, in a bag, a collection of small miscellaneous articles, which are intended, I suppose, beneficially to influence their hunting by way of spells and charms. Beyond this I cannot find that they have much religion remaining among them. (Bompas 1871: 337)

Bompas's assessment of Inuit drum dancing and religion is far less positive than Petitot's. Since his time with the Inuit people was much more limited,[13] his understanding of their culture was probably less thorough. This sharp contrast in judgment shows that missionaries were individuals with a broad range of opinions about indigenous ways.

Petitot taught his Inuit hosts songs in exchange for the ones he received and notated. On one particular occasion in 1865, he translated the words of a French hymn into the Inuit language and, according to my interpretation of Petitot's writings, adapted them to a well-known tune from Auvergne in central France. Earlier in the century, circa 1802-03, the romantic poet François René Chateaubriand,[14] had written a poem based on the same melody called "The Émigré Highlander" or "Romance à Hélène". Reincorporated into his 1826 novel *Les Aventures du dernier Abencérage,* it depicts a particular scene where the exiled noble knight Thomas de Lautrec sings to his own guitar accompaniment a song of longing for his homeland (Boyd n.d.):

> To entertain me, the ladies performed a song accompanied by expressive gestures. As the only words were "eh! yan yan, eh!" it was not difficult to learn and accompany them at a lower pitch. They were full of admiration of my singing. Having noted down two or three of their airs, I showed good will by translating a French hymn, using the dictionary I'd worked on since I'd been with them. I took the gentle sweet song of Lautrec,

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[13] Besides the six weeks he spent among the Mackenzie Inuit in 1870, Bompas made contact with some Inuit, probably Iñupiat, a few hundred miles west of the Mackenzie River during the fall of 1872 (Cody 1908: 133, 137).

[14] As an interesting side note, Chateaubriand (1768-1848) visited the United States in 1791 with the intention of finding the Northwest Passage. However, he apparently only got as far as Niagara Falls before returning (Switzer 1968). His writings were presumably quite popular among missionaries like Petitot due to their religious associations. Chateaubriand wrote two successful books on the Christian religion: *The Genius of Christianity* (1802) and *The Martyrs* (1809), which celebrate the triumph of Christianity over paganism.

> "Dernier des Abencerages" – what a sweet memory – and sang it to them. They clapped their hands for joy and had I permitted it, would have embraced me. When their husbands returned we had a grand concert in the igloo, the women were more enthusiastic but soon the two men were affected too, for they joined first in the chorus to my hymn and then in the verse as soon as they'd learned it. Having thought I'd composed it, they said, "How did he make it up so soon?" For this seemed quite a feat to them. And I can say in all modesty that my words were on a somewhat higher plane than those of an Anglican missionary[15] who later, on a similar occasion, composed the following lines off the cuff:
>
> "Kreylark igloo
> Kouyok tchouitor
> Touktouk anheyok
> Krayanapa."
>
> This means in literal translation:
>
> "The heavenly home Paradise
> is not bad,
> plenty of caribou meat,
> blessed place."
>
> He was not lacking in spirit, this minister. Once the concert was over, Noulloumallok slipped his hand inside his coat which he had not yet shed and pulled out a fine black fox worth 15 francs. This unexpected exhibit was greeted by prolonged exultation. Then they all looked at me and called out, "Matchi, matchi! Thanks, thanks!" They were convinced that my occult powers had guided the fox to the trap. (Petitot 1981: 50-51)

Petitot did not go out of his way to dissuade his hosts from believing that he had special powers, albeit when pressed, he claimed that they came from an almighty Christian god. The missionary remarked on how the local people referred to him as "Tchikreynarm iyaye" or "the son of the sun" (Petitot 1981: 35).[16] As a way to challenge the power of the shaman, he often compared his position and status as a Catholic priest to that of his spiritual rivals, and in doing so, pointed out the musical features of shaman practices.

Petitot observed the links between music and shamanism, especially with regard to healing (Petitot 1981: 52, 129, 144). For instance, within a few months of his arrival in the Delta, the missionary met the acquaintance of Noulloumallok-Innonarana, a powerful chief of the

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[15] In all likelihood, the missionary was William Bompas who published accounts of his experiences visiting some of the Mackenzie Inuit (Bompas 1871). He apparently also transcribed some hymns such as "Martyr" into the Mackenzie Inuit language (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, June 18, 1893).

[16] The Anglican missionary Bompas also received an equivalent title (Bompas 1871).

eastern Inuvialuit peoples. Petitot remarked on how the leader gave a "musical exhibition", in which he "began to sing, going through his whole medicine man's repertoire" (Petitot 1981: 52). On another occasion, he criticized the actions of a shaman trying to cure a sick patient who was "up to his tricks inside, telling, singing, ordering Tornrark to leave the sick man in peace" (Petitot 1981: 129). During a trip to Good Hope, Petitot noted the behavior of two of his Inuvialuit companions. Concerned about traveling such a great distance from their homeland, they "lowered their heads and intoned a medicine song of preservation, a sort of prayer to Tornrark" (Petitot 1981: 144). Missionaries like Petitot used the term Tornrark, as shown in the above two examples, as the equivalent of an evil spirit or Satan. Tornrark, according to indigenous belief systems, were helping spirits that assisted the shaman in achieving his or her ends, whether under good or bad intentions.

Petitot sketched one of the first detailed drawings of a Mackenzie Inuit drum dance (Figure 6.1).

Figure 6.1: Mackenzie Inuit Drum Dance at Peel's River Post, circa 1868 sketch by Émile Petitot

The scene above depicts a large gathering of Inuit situated outside the trading post of Fort McPherson, probably sometime during the summer of 1868 (Petitot 1981: 102-106).[17] The

[17] Petitot described a dance that took place in 1868, which shares several significant details with the above sketch (Petitot 1981: 102-106).

ample number of people in the audience is striking compared to later images of Mackenzie Inuit drum dances that depict smaller crowds. It is noteworthy that one of the dancers brandishing a knife looks to be a woman, a reference corroborated by Petitot's writings (Alunik, Kolausok and Morrison 2003: 68-69).

In July 1870, on a trip back from Alaska to Fort McPherson, Petitot met Arviuna, a young teenaged boy from the western part of the Mackenzie Delta. Needing a native speaker to "translate some prayers and hymns" for his Eskimo dictionary, Petitot persuaded the native youth to travel with him to Fort Simpson (Petitot 1981: 182).[18] Arviuna, later known as George Greenland, had learned English while living with Hudson's Bay Company traders at Fort Good Hope as a child. Competent in the Gwich'in language as well, he worked as an interpreter and guide for traders and missionaries until his death in 1899 (Vanast 2009a). Arviuna was one of several young natives of the 19th century Western Arctic who played an important role in bridging the cultural and musical gap between their people and outsiders. One particular missionary with whom he interacted was the Anglican cleric Isaac Stringer, a prominent figure in Mackenzie Delta history. In a later section, I will discuss Stringer's career as a missionary in the region and his musical relationships with people like Arviuna and others.

An Early Anglican Missionary in the Mackenzie Delta: Robert McDonald

For three decades prior to Stringer's arrival, the Anglican missionary Robert McDonald worked successfully to spread the message of Jesus among the Gwich'in population situated between Fort Yukon and Fort McPherson. Early attempts to convert the Mackenzie Inuit failed, however, due in part to the missionary's ill health but also because he fathered a child with the wife of a Fort McPherson trading post clerk. This forced McDonald to spend most of his time at Fort Yukon, which limited his ability to engage the coastal peoples (Vanast 2009g). According to McDonald, however, Christianized Gwich'in played an essential role in exposing greater numbers of Mackenzie Inuit to aspects of the new religion, including music. On June 25, 1864, he wrote to the secretaries of the Church Missionary Society:

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[18] Records show that throughout his missionary career in the North, Petitot had homosexual and/or pedophilic relationships with his young native assistants (Choquette 1995: 61-66 and David Vanast, email message to the author, November 23, 2009). Later in his life, Arviuna married a Gwich'in woman and their descendants live all around the Mackenzie Delta, mostly in Fort McPherson area. In 1918, one of Arviuna's sons established the first post in the Delta (Vanast 2009a).

> The Committee will be pleased to hear that the Esquimaux visited by the Gens-du-Large [Natsit Gwich'in] and the Gens-du-Rat [Vunta Gwich'in], appear, by the accounts I receive, to be prepared to receive religious instruction. Indeed, they know a little of the Decalogue, at least of the substance of it; and Peter, one of the Gens-du-Large Indians, on his visit with the others to the Esquimaux last summer for purposes of trade, undertook to speak to them of the Gospel. He says they all listened reverently: they immediately, when told he would speak to them of God, took their caps off their heads, and paid great attention to what was said to them. They were delighted in hearing the Loucheux hymns. I had hoped to have been able to visit them ere long, but with my uncertain state of health at present I cannot speak so hopefully. I should rejoice to be able to do so. (McDonald 1865: 71)

If McDonald's reports are accurate, relations between the Gwich'in and the Mackenzie Inuit peoples were close at times. Understanding each other's language demonstrates a high degree of familiarity between them. Mackenzie Inuit appreciation of Gwich'in hymn singing also shows that music can enhance communication and appeal. As part of a missionizing strategy, clerics like McDonald used music to help forge a deeper connection to the Christian message. Here, too, multi-lingual Gwich'in people played a vital role translating hymns into the Mackenzie Inuit language. As McDonald writes on January 31, 1865:

> The Esquimaux that trade at La Pierre's House appear equally well disposed to Christianity. They listen attentively to the communications made to them of God and his holy religion. The man above referred to, whose name is Katza, or Rabbit-bonnet, assures me that he finds them greatly improved latterly. They have relinquished some of their bad habits, as stealing, lying, &c., at least in some measure. He always takes occasion to speak to them of God when he sees them, since he himself has learnt a little of God's word. But in addition to this, he tells me that the little that I said to an Esquimaux chief at Peel-River Fort, in the autumn of 1863, appears to have made a satisfactory impression, not only on himself, but also on his own band, and others with whom they have intercourse, among whom are those whom Katza visits annually. A general dread of God appears to have come over them all. May it tend, through the grace of God, to their conversion, and their becoming with us heirs of eternal life. I have, with the assistance of Katza, written out a hymn in Esquimaux, and shall (d.v.) add another hymn and a prayer to it, which I hope to have an opportunity of teaching the Esquimaux this spring. Katza will also, on his visit to them, have occasion to teach them. It is delightful to see the Kutchin [Gwich'in] thus endeavouring to teach the Esquimaux, and to lead them to the knowledge of divine truth. (McDonald 1866: 123)

This suggests that Katza not only helped with translations, but also worked to spread the Christian faith among the Inuit. In those situations where the ability to communicate through language proved inadequate, music served as an effective substitute. On May 31, 1867, McDonald wrote

the following journal entry about his work with a Gwich'in catechist in teaching the Christian message to a group of Mackenzie Inuit:[19]

> A few Esquimaux arrived this morning: four men and three women. I spoke to them on religion; Henry Venn interpreted to me. They appeared interested. As they are to stay for a few days, I commenced teaching them a hymn. May divine grace be given them to enable them to learn the things which belong to their eternal peace! Henry Venn does not speak the Esquimaux tongue thoroughly, but merely speaks the jargon used by the Indians and the Esquimaux in their intercourse with each other. However in that imperfect way it is to be hoped that some seeds of divine truth may be lodged in them, which may bring forth fruit in God's own good time to the praise and glory of His grace. (McDonald 1867 from Vanast 2009g)

This passage makes clear the length of time needed to teach a hymn. The implication from McDonald's statement was that he would not have taught the hymn if he had been staying only a short time. One can conclude from this that even in situations where linguistic communication was limited, music was seen as an instrument of gradual proselytization.

During McDonald's occasional visits to Peel's River Post, he also tried to impart Christian teachings to the Mackenzie Inuit who gathered there to trade. Through the assistance of Gwich'in interpreters, he further exposed the coastal people to hymn singing and ritual practices. For instance, on September 17, 1869, he wrote:

> At two p.m. had the Esquimaux assembled and gave them an address through Joseph Anderson, the company's Esquimaux interpreter, set before them the gracious provision which God has made to the recovery of man from eternal pain, and pressed upon them the offers of eternal salvation by faith in Christ. They listened attentively and appeared interested. Sang a verse of a Hymn in Esquimaux several times over and knelt down with them. (McDonald 1869 from Vanast 2009g)

This passage suggests that even though McDonald needed an interpreter for the sermon, the hymn was already prepared in Eskimo, meaning that Eskimo hymns were already known to the Mackenzie Inuit. Remarkably, McDonald does not mention any appreciation for the hymn, though the Inuit did listen to the sermon.

In the 1870s and 1880s, McDonald continued to teach Christianity, including music, to small numbers of Mackenzie Inuit visiting the region's northern trading posts. Apparently, there

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[19] By actively spreading Christianity, Gwich'in catechists and ministers helped to solidify McDonald's religious influence throughout the region (Moore 2007: 27).

were no conversions during this time. Partly due to ill health, the missionary was unable to meet the coastal people in their communities. Prior to Stringer's arrival in July, 1892, the only Anglican cleric to do so was some twenty years earlier when Bompas worked merely as a "spy searching the land" (Bompas 1871: 333 and Cody 1908). McDonald's mission contact, however, had generated at least some Mackenzie Inuit interest in Christianity for by the time Stringer came to Fort McPherson, some were attending Anglican services and, according to Stringer's early report, singing hymns. Three days after his arrival, Stringer wrote about the various religious services and McDonald's prominent role as a preacher among the native peoples, a position he earned after three decades of missionary service there:[20]

> Sun. Indian service 11 a.m. Att. 50-60. Archdeacon McDonald took service and preached. Tried to follow him in prayer book (Takudh)... English service 3.30. Archdeacon took service. I preached. Text John 1:29. Att. 12 or 15. Esquimaux service 5.30 p.m. Att. about 12. Archdeacon McDonald spoke to them, sang, and taught them prayer. I spoke a few words also. George [Greenland] interpreter. (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, July 17, 1892.)

A Later Anglican Missionary in the Mackenzie Delta: Isaac Stringer

By the 1890s, the Anglican Church had managed to wrest religious influence from its Catholic rival at Fort McPherson. As the 20th century unfolded, the Anglicans gained an uncontested foothold among the Inuit of the Arctic coast. This hegemony lasted until World War I when the Catholics finally re-established themselves in the Mackenzie Delta. During the intervening years, the missionary Isaac Stringer worked to build an Anglican church in the region. Early on, he developed amicable relations with native and non-native peoples of Fort McPherson, the Mackenzie Inuit village of Kittigazuit, and the whaling station at Herschel Island.

In 1895, Stringer and his assistant Charles Whittaker succeeded in setting up a permanent mission on the island, a goal that allowed the church to interact more closely with the coastal peoples. After taking a year sabbatical in 1895-96, Stringer returned to the Delta with his new wife Sadie. By 1897, the couple together with other missionaries settled permanently at Herschel Island where they organized daily services and school sessions for the native population and

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[20] Bompas also translated some hymns into the Inuit language, most likely with the assistance of Gwich'in but also some Inuit. He mentioned at least one Inuit who could speak English very well and acted an interpreter (Cody 1908: 120). Stringer heard some of the hymns at the Anglican services held at Fort McPherson (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, June 18, 1893).

regular Sunday services for the non-native whalers, traders, miners, and any accompanying families. Throughout the year, the missionaries scheduled periodical trips to Fort McPherson and the indigenous settlements of Kitigaaryuit and others. In 1901, having contracted snowblindness, Stringer and his family were forced to leave the Arctic coast with his wife and two children.

Stringer established a good reputation as a missionary, but made not a single convert during his decade of service. A couple of years later in 1903, he returned with his family to northwestern Canada, first resettling in Whitehorse, Yukon Territory as a minister to Christ Church, and then moving to Fort Selkirk in 1905, after accepting the appointment of Bishop following Bompas's resignation. Soon thereafter, Stringer began to receive reports of Christian baptisms and marriages among the Inuvialuit. I will now discuss the Mackenzie Inuit interest in Christianity, particularly as it relates to musical interaction.

On the first day of his arrival at Fort McPherson on July 14, 1892, Stringer witnessed a Mackenzie Inuit war dance performed for a southern audience. A fellow traveler named Elizabeth Taylor described the event:[21]

> We had a dance the first afternoon, given us by the Eskimos. The spectators sat under the shade of the storehouse, while the performers gathered in a circle in the open space. The women had turned their dresses right side out in honor of the occasion, and the men wore their best clothes. The singing resembled the usual Indian chant, but with rather more variety and music in it, and was accompanied by five or six flat drums made of sealskin, stretched over a hoop of wood, beaten with a single flat stick. First one man leaped into the middle of the circle, then a woman followed him, and they went through a pantomime, advancing and retreating, waving one another away with scorn and horror, and then becoming appeased, then friendly; at last they retired and others took their places, while all those remaining beat upon the drums and sang at the top of their voices. (Taylor 1894-1895: 233)

In this descriptive passage, Taylor demonstrates the event in an interested and non-judgmental manner. Apparently fascinated by the drum dance, Taylor proceeded to photograph the performance and present a sketch of it in a later publication (Figures 6.2 and 6.3).

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[21] Elizabeth Taylor was a travel writer and adventure-seeker of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. She wrote extensively about her travels to the Canadian Arctic and other northern regions, including Iceland, Norway, and the Faroe Islands (Taylor 1997).

Figure 6.2: Mackenzie Inuit Drum Dance at Peel's River Post, circa 1892 photograph probably taken July 14, 1892 by Elizabeth Taylor, Hudson's Bay Company Library, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada, E-120, 1987/1/210

Figure 6.3: A Mackenzie Inuit Drum Dance, a sketch circa 1892 (Taylor 1894-1895: 234)

In contrast with Taylor's description, Stringer wrote the following in his diary dated Thursday, July 14, 1892:

> Arose about 5 am. Washed etc. Breakfast about 6 am. Reached Peel River (Fort McPherson) about 7 am. Went by large boat ashore on it. Met Esquimaus and Indians on shore. Met Archdeacon McDonald. Up to mission. Back to boat with Miss Taylor for things. To mission and by path for flowers, etc. Reading Esquimaus walk to bank dinner 12 o clock. Talked heard of proposition to go to sea coast this summer. Wrote letters. Up to Fort to look after goods. Saw Esquimaus dance. Wild creatures. Mr. McDonald and Miss Taylor photographed them. Some of goods stolen or lost out of boxes. Carried them over. Waiting for tea. Tea about 9 pm. Talked + wrote. Indian service 10 pm. Retired 12 am. Quite light. Sun just set. (Isaac Stringer, diary entry July 14, 1892)

Stringer's first impression of Mackenzie Inuit dancing was negative and showed no interest in its importance. His mission to convert the natives to Christianity involved taming the "wild creatures" and steering them away from heathenish behavior as reflected in their style of dance.

Less than a month after his arrival at Fort McPherson, Stringer visited the community of Kitigaaryuit[22] (a.k.a. Kittigazuit) located along the coast east of the Mackenzie Delta. In addition to Kitigaaryuit were Kuugaatchiaq and Tchenerark, two other nearby settlements at the time (Friesen 2004: 226).[23] Stringer spent almost two weeks with the Mackenzie Inuit people there, assisted by the interpreter Arviuna (George Greenland) and Gwich'in guide Jimmy Barber. Using Arviuna as his mouthpiece, the missionary spoke early in the visit about the Gospel and thought that that his reception was pleasant (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, August 4, 1892). Barber, on the other hand, believed that he was "giving the Huskies [Inuit] too much at once" since "they could not understand it all" (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, August 6, 1892). The following Sunday, August 7, 1892, Stringer led prayers with his travel companions, sang, and played his mouth organ while the locals hunted for beluga whales from their kayaks. Since men were often away from the village during the day and women were busy with domestic chores, Stringer often took the opportunity to speak to the children again through Arviuna (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, August 7, 1892).

During Stringer's first visit to Kitigaaryuit, he mentions that there were at least two dances, but failed to describe either one in detail. He only noted that Greenland and Barber had both attended one and that due to lack of sleep, the locals were less inclined to listen to his

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[22] Kitigaaryuit is the modern spelling for the settlement. The ethnographic literature contains various spellings of the name with "Kittigazuit" being the most frequent (Friesen 2004: 235, e.n..1) and one that Stringer used extensively in his writings.

[23] In this writing, Kitigaaryuit will refer to either the principal settlement or the area comprising all three, unless otherwise noted.

religious teachings after attending another (Isaac Stringer, diary entries, August 6 and August 11, 1892). Stringer also mentions one of the performers, a red-chested dancer, who was friendlier after receiving some tea, tobacco, and matches in exchange for some venison (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, August 15, 1892). Furthermore, the local practice of playing cards suggests that the people of Kittigazuit were familiar with Western customs in addition to trade items (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, August 9, 1892).[24]

Stringer was not the only missionary in the area. The Catholic priest Camille Lefebvre arrived a short time earlier and had gained some favor with the community at least partly for distributing presents to the locals.[25] Stringer wrote that they "began to complain that I did not give them anything. The Priest gave them something. If I would give them a little tea now and again they would like it [his teaching] better" (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, August 10, 1892). Stringer also appeared to vie with Lefebvre for the attention of the locals with respect to music. Upon his return to Fort McPherson, he stopped at the settlement of Singigizyooak and met the priest. While sitting together around a campfire with a group of Inuit, Stringer noted that Lefebvre possessed an accordion (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, August 19, 1892).

Stringer doubted that he could convert the Mackenzie Inuit. On his first visit to Herschel Island, he was frustrated when he could not communicate with the indigenous inhabitants and teach them the word of God. In the spring of 1893, he wrote:

> I am going over to some of the igloos this afternoon. I sometimes despair of doing any good amongst these Eskimos. I don't seem to have the ability to acquire the language quickly. I can't sing or I could reach them in that way. It will be a long time before I can do anything to influence judging from present appearances. Well all I can do is to follow the line of duty as I see it from time to time and trust to the Higher Power to effect the

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[24] As mentioned in the previous chapters on explorers, whalers and traders, the Mackenzie Inuit had received trade items from the Western Iñupiat situated along the Arctic coast at least since the early 19th century. The advent of commercial whaling in the mid 19th century further expanded the amount of trade in the region. For instance, around 1870 the missionary Bompas "visited a tribe of Esquimaux encamped on the sea-coast about 200 or 300 miles west of the Mackenzie River, and found their camps full of American goods, which they trade from the whaling vessels in the Arctic Sea, inside Behring Straits, somewhere about Point Barrow" (Cody 1908: 138).

[25] The tactic of giving gifts in return for native attention was common between the two competing churches. For instance, during the early 1860s, the Catholic priest Grollier competed against the Anglican missionary William Kirkby for the allegiance of the Gwich'in. When Grollier arrived in Fort McPherson in the summer of 1861, a Gwich'in woman told him: "The minister [Anglican Kirkby] is good to us; he is better than you; he gives us tobacco and tea. He has taken all your pictures and crosses out of the camps" (Duchaussois 1937: 320).

> wonderful change that must take place ere those people become Christians. (Stringer May 5, 1893)

As this quote shows, Stringer recognized the potential of music to establish meaningful relationships with others, especially in the absence of language. Over time, Stringer developed a command of the Inuit language and translated sections of the bible and hymns. On his numerous visits to Mackenzie Inuit settlements, he made sure to teach hymns to the local people and have them commit the music to memory. In his diaries, Stringer makes note of studying hymns and including mouth organs and accordions as tools for learning and passing on songs. A typical description of his day is as follows "Studied some Eskimo during morning. Music on accordion. Some Eskimo" (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, May 4, 1893).

Upon his return the following year to Kitigaaryuit, Stringer received a warmer welcome from the community. What left an especially strong impression on the missionary was hearing a hymn that he had taught the people the previous year:

> Reached entrance to inlet. Eskimo began to cheer and sing. I caught snatches of the first hymn I taught some of them. They called for us to go ashore. We went and I shook hands all round. Man came in kayak from Kokhlik asking me to go to his tent right away. I hurried off and he accompanied us. Quite a crowd came down to the shore to see us. They invited me over to council house. Dance soon began. Looked at them a while and came back to tent. I have decided to trade nothing except what is really necessary. Boys in my tent chatted with them asked as best I could. Sat around till after midnight. (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, August 3, 1893)

Contributing to Stringer's positive assessment of the 1893 visit to Kittigazuit was his developing rapport with the powerful new chief Kokhlik. The previous year Stringer camped away from the settlement, but this time Kokhlik invited the missionary to stay with him, which importantly was near the dance house or *kajigi*. The year before, another man, Toweachiuk, was chief of the community. Since Toweachiuk was an ally of the Catholic Lefebvre at the time, Stringer's position, both spatially and socially, was less prominent (David Vanast, email message to the author, November 25, 2009).

As leader of his community, Kokhlik was an omnipresent figure at the nightly performances. Since Stringer associated indigenous drum dancing with pagan ways, he normally distanced himself from such events. However, after initially leaving the dance his first evening in Kitigaaryuit, he decided to return sometime after midnight. The experience greatly disturbed him as shown in the following journal entry:

> Shortly after midnight the dance ceased for a time and tea was served to all. It was made from what I gave to Kokhlik for all the Huskies. I went over to the council house and sat with them. Several thanked me. I said a few words telling them I was glad to see them and hoped to be able to speak to them soon. Then they soon started the dance affair. A man and woman got up first and began to dance very quietly but increased in vigor. The woman soon became tired and sat down breathing and perspiring heavily. She continued to become worse and at last stood up gasping and began to grow very weary apparently when she sprang to the centre and began to dance with earnest. Another woman took off her ornaments of beads so her hair fell all around her head. Then she went through many contortions of body the while yelling at times. She fell down several times but soon got up again when helped to her feet. At last she became completely exhausted and retired to put out her fit. The man continued to dance increasing gradually in vigor soon he pulled off his shirt and now he went at it in earnest. He wore an eagle beak and ornaments on his head. It was sometimes awful the contortions of body. Every nerve seemed to tingle. At times he made great leaps around the room. Then after about an hour of this he began to stop before certain persons uttering gibberish that I doubt whether any understood. Sometime it was like he-he-he uttered in quick succession and other times as if he were uttering words to individuals but so rapidly that he could scarcely get breath to say it. I thought at times it was time I was getting out especially when he began to come close to me and the eyes of many were turned to me. Sometimes also he brandished a knife and I was in it. I thought I had better see it out. They might think I was afraid if I left so I remained but I kept my eyes open. The assuring glances of Kokhlik and the fact that the man's performing was friendly (being the one who sees me across the bay to escort us over when we arrived) made me feel more at ease. I imagined I felt something like a slight galvanic shock at times but it may have been the shaking occasioned by my inward feelings. It was not a pleasant sight and still there was something very attractive about it. At times a young man was called up and held the performers' sides while he went through contortions of the stomach and chest. The performer also put his head between the knees of the other. After jabbering very earnestly before some others also he would put his head between their knees. He seemed to do some particular contortions before Toweachink's [Toowachik's] wife – putting his hands on her head etc. When he would stop before me and speak to him the answer generally would be the affirmative or negative or "choonna choon" or always. At last he singled out two particular persons and went through some performances between them and seemed to me a declaration of war. He finished up by putting his head between the knees of one of them and saying something sat down. While all this was going on the drummers and singers performed at time. All who were addressed personally were very grave and seemed to take it seriously. I don't know whether to consider the performer as being under some unnatural influence. The performance might be done through with much practice. But he might have had great powers of endurance as he was continually on the go for about two hours. Today however he seems to be the same as earlier. I think however the woman was in some sort of fit. Two other performers soon began and then I left. Went to bed and slept about 4 a.m. Many looked in at the tent door while I was preparing to retire. (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, August 4, 1893)

According to this descriptive entry, Stringer reacted viscerally to the performance. Even so, he hesitated to attribute a direct link to a supernatural or evil force, and instead offered some rational

or naturalistic explanations of the event and his response to it. In the end, though, the missionary seemed unclear about the broader meanings behind the dancing and the strong emotions it stirred within him. Whether he truly felt an evil presence in the dance house is difficult to ascertain. At least, he saw Inuit dancing as an essential component of the indigenous belief system and subsequently regarded it as an obstacle to the dissemination of his Christian teachings.

To counter the powerful attraction of dance, Stringer may have decided to appropriate the very venue where dancing took place – the kajigi itself – by introducing church music there. Over the next few days, Stringer, he sang hymns and conducted services in the dance house. For instance, on the day following the dance, Stringer visited the kajigi and, with the assistance of his Dene interpreter Kenneth Stewart, proceeded to engage Kokhlik and other men with Mackenzie and Gwich'in songs (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, August 4, 1893). Apparently, there was no formal opposition to the practice since the next day, members of the community requested Stringer to visit the kajigi and sing hymns with them. According to the missionary, the interaction was very encouraging and he was able to quickly fall asleep later that evening despite the dance music coming from the kajigi. By now, the ceremonial house was serving as a venue for both Inuit and Christian religious activities, as indicated in the following passage:

> In evening I was called to the Council House to sit with them and sing and went over and we sang and I read some out of Bishop Bompas. They seemed to enjoy it all and said now they were beginning to understand something. They did not like the idea of my going the West to the Nooatakmioot [Nunatagmiut]. I suppose there is a jealousy or opposition between the two tribes. Had supper and sat around talking to many who were in. Dancing and music began in Council House but I went to bed and to sleep in a short time. (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, August 5, 1893)

Stringer's remark about perceived tensions between the Kitigaaryuit community and the Nunatagmiut or inland Iñupiat living across the channel is noteworthy. Large numbers of acculturated Alaska natives had only recently emigrated to the Mackenzie Delta as representatives of the commercial whaling workforce.

The next day, a Sunday, Stringer was happy to attract over thirty people to his service, which he conducted in the dance house (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, August 6, 1893). Throughout the following week, he led services (Isaac Stringer, diary entries, August 7-14, 1893) and received even more encouraging results when almost fifty people attended a Saturday gathering (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, August 12, 1893). The locals continued to drum, sing, and dance throughout the late evening and early morning hours, often disrupting Stringer's sleep (Isaac

Stringer, diary entry, August 7, 1893). Since he no longer went to the dances, Stringer only heard about them from his Gwich'in helpers. Reports of medicine-making were a further disincentive for him to attend the dances:

> Had started on singing, reading, and prayer with them. Had them kneel down for the first time here and did it quite orderly. Had supper (Kokhlik with us) afterwards Kokhlik made up his drum. Big dance and audience making tonight. All who can dress up in their fine clothes and sally forth to kajigi in their best. I walked along shore. [?] cold this evening. Fog came up also wind. I retired about midnight soon after dance started slept through the big noise of drums. Kogmolick [Kugpugmiut or local Mackenzie Inuit] think it must be soothing. About 3 in the morning the boys came back and told how they saw medicine making. Tugwak performed and swallowed several small articles large labrets etc. All looked in his mouth and saw nothing. Then he took them up again. Kenneth gave him a button which he swallowed and brought out in his ear. He said Robert was to kill a bear on the way up and Kenneth to kill five deer. I imagined they believed the most of it probably there was some insurance [sp?] in it. (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, August 8, 1893)

Stringer's decision not to attend the drum dances was probably a tacit objection to what he perceived as occult practices. Even so, villagers continued to invite him to the kajigi to sing and preach, a sign that they recognized his position as a spiritual figure. Later in the evenings, following a long day of hunting and gathering, the villagers went to the kajigi to drum, dance, and summon the animal spirits. Stringer had the honor of expressing his own spiritual beliefs in the same setting where the Mackenzie Inuit performed and expressed theirs. Furthermore, during his spare time, Stringer prepared lessons in the Inuit language:

> Studied a few words in Eskimo. Visited some tents. Wrote Eskimo Lesson II. Dinner 3 pm. In afternoon went over channel to other tents. Met by young men and taken to kajigi. Soon they asked me to sing and speak. I did so and have a very encouraging time. They asked me to come again soon. I left a little tea before I went. There are six tents he and I saw about ten grown up men. Came back after a little and sat in tent. Went for walk out towards sea and called at a few tents. Supper of beans and fish. In a little while had service in kajigi. Quite long service. Read Lesson II. Wrote some. Windy but fine day. Retired about 10'clock. Big dance going on. Boys [Gwich'in guides] came in later and described how Kokhlik and Toeschink went through performances as loons. (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, August 10, 1893)

Stringer often chatted and sang with the children of the community since they tended to remain in the village (Isaac Stringer, diary entries, August 14, 1893 and August 22-23, 1893). On his

second Sunday, he gave another well-received service and remarked on the local people's wish to sing hymns:

> Had dinner. Then had little service of song and prayer with some boys whom I gathered Kajigi.... They have caught no whales today and for once I am rather glad since this is Sunday...Had long service with Eskimo. Had walk again around peninsula. When I came back again the boys were in bed. I was about retiring when a young man came and told me I was wanted in kajigi. I went over and there about forty were assembled they wanted to sing. I felt pleased. We had a long service of song prayer and reading. It was really encouraging. They entered so heartily into everything. I returned and retired about midnight very thankful for the opportunity given me of doing something for the Master even though it was very little in one service. (Sunday, August 13, 1893)

In this case Stringer felt success in their demonstrated desire to sing his songs, which he led. Towards the end of his visit, Stringer observed even more enthusiasm for hymn singing and greater attendance at the services:

> Back to Village. Chatted with several. Visited some and read and sang after dinner. Went across channel and up to for [?] tents to see sick man. Had singing etc with boys...In the evening I had a farewell service at kajigimi. There were 50 to 70 present and everything was encouraging. I read a good deal and we sang parts of all the hymns we have learnt. Tried to tell them as best I could to remember all these things. They expressed thanks. Had candle lit as it was dark 10-11 p.m. Retired about midnight. (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, August 22, 1893)

The day before his departure, Stringer and the villagers engaged in several sing-a-longs. On one of these occasions, the locals reacted positively to singing both Gwich'in and Mackenzie Inuit hymns:

> Had a long visit in Touchenko's tent. He came over to sing. Wrote out a few calendars. Had some boys about a dozen in my tent singing, etc. Very encouraging hour with them. They sang heartily and joined with me order in short prayer. After supper wrote some. Kajigin had singing duets mostly with children. Leave today but it is quite windy and none have left. I wrote sang and read as usual by candle light in tent in evening. Just after I had written the above some ten or twelve persons came into our tent and we began singing Indian Hymns. The Huskies showed their approval and delight at the hymn Alilooya and just on the spur of the moment I put Husky words instead of the Indian and they were delighted and joined in with us. Sang quite a lot. Then all left. We had prayers in Indian and retired shortly after midnight. (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, August 23, 1893)

On his last day in Kitigaaryuit, Stringer expressed satisfaction with the results of his work: "I went the rounds and bade all good-bye. Many came forward and offered their hands as those in civilized life. I noticed a great difference in this from last year. Many expressed thanks for my visit and hoped I would come again soon" (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, August 24, 1893).

Stringer's second trip to Kitigaaryuit appeared triumphant. He succeeded in reaching out to the community by engaging the members in speech and song. His ability to speak their language had greatly improved, though it was still limited enough for him to need an interpreter. Because of linguistic limitations, the practice of teaching and singing hymns allowed him to forge stronger religious connection with the locals. Since the linguistic content of a Christian service went likely beyond the capabilities of Stringer's knowledge of the Inuit language and therefore beyond the understanding of most Mackenzie Inuit, it was the ritual aspects of religion, the motions and the sound, to which people most closely related. Consequently, hymn singing, especially as a communal practice, was powerfully effective in bringing people of very different backgrounds and cultural outlooks together.

By the end of 1893, Stringer appeared to have gained greater command of the language, at least according to fellow non-natives. While accompanying Stringer to the mainland across the waters from Herschel Island, the captain of the whaler *Narwhal* Horace P. Smith wrote the following in his ship log:

> I went over to the main land with Mr. Stringer. He had a prayer and some singing with some of the Richards Island natives. He can speak their language and is at work translating the Bible into their language and he already has quite a "Hymnal". As none of the coast natives can read, he reads a few lines slowly and they all repeat it after him. Singing is done in the same way. All of the natives seem to be very much interested in all that he has to say. (*Narwhal*: November 16, 1893)

The above passage shows how the religious instruction of prayer and singing was a unified activity, and that both were equally important components of Stringer's missionary work and accomplishments.

As Stringer labored with the Mackenzie Inuit language, he managed to translate about twenty hymns (Peake 1966: 17). In his first few years in the Delta, he sought the instruction of Arviuna (George Greenland) to improve his comprehension. Another young Inuit, known by the English name David Copperfield, also assisted Stringer early on as an interpreter, mainly around the Herschel Island area. Together with his family, Copperfield earlier worked at various

Hudson's Bay Company trading posts, some possibly as far south as Fort Simpson and Fort Rae. Copperfield was trained as a translator probably by the HBC and missionaries like Stringer depended on him to promote good relations between the clergy and the local population (Vanast 2009g). Stringer reciprocated by helping Copperfield with reading and writing English. They worked together from 1893 until 1898, when the young man unexpectedly committed suicide following a heated entanglement with a whaler over the affections of an Inuit woman (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, February 5, 1898).

Stringer also focused on securing young Mackenzie Inuit for training in English and Western culture. His efforts may have been partly due to competition from the Catholic priest Lefebvre, who himself made plans for a local boy to join him at Fort McPherson (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, August 6, 1893). On his second visit to Kitigaaryuit in August 1893, Stringer successfully arranged to have a 15-year-old boy named Kalukotok return with him to Fort McPherson for the winter (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, August 22, 1893). Since Kalukotok was the adopted son of the Kitigaaryuit chief Kokhlik, his selection was strategic to some degree. In return for providing some elementary schooling, Kalukotok would help Stringer to learn his language and keep house (Peake 1966: 27-28). Similar to the Barrow Iñupiaq chief Erk-sing-ra's son, Arviuna, Kalukotok, and other youths' roles as mediators between local and outside populations were indispensable to bridging the cultural gap and setting the stage for a more multicultural landscape in the Mackenzie Delta (Alunik, Kolausok, and Morrison 2003: 95).

Having formed positive relations with the community of Kitigaaryuit and, most importantly, its chief Kokhlik, Stringer's first two years of missionary work were promising. He and his Anglican church stood to gain even more the following summer of 1894, when Kokhlik and some other villagers visited Fort McPherson and, following a violent outburst on the part of the Catholic priest Lefebvre, declared their opposition to the Catholic Church. The circumstances surrounding the aftermath of this incident, interestingly enough, involved a musical instrument – a concertina.

As noted before, outsiders introduced the concertina into the Mackenzie Delta more than 20 years earlier. In the late 1860s, Petitot often mentioned playing one during his travels. Stringer also referred to the instrument several times in his writings. One particularly insightful story about the concertina concerns the guide and interpreter Arviuna. Known for frequently playing the Anglican and Catholic clerics against one another for personal gain, Arviuna became involved in a dispute at Fort McPherson in the summer of 1894. After the Catholic priest

Lefebvre had a falling-out with a group of Mackenzie Inuit who refused to follow his demands, Arviuna claimed that his reputation was at stake because he had initially helped set up a religious meeting for them. Believing that Arviuna intended to take advantage of the situation by refusing to interpret for either missionary and thus set the terms for his services, Stringer decided to play him at his own game. The missionary's higher-ups in the Anglican Church, however, thought it best to appease Arviuna and bring him over to their side. Their "carrot" ended up being a concertina, which Arviuna accepted with great delight (Stringer 1894: 9-11). Stringer wrote:

> When the concertina came on shore young Mr. Camsell intended to bring it to me, but George was told that it belonged to him and he took it. He has not said anything about it yet...I am writing this aboard the Wrigley as they take in wood. George is in the cabin and I ask him what I shall say about the concertina. He expresses great thanks. Says he is sorry for how he has behaved with me and wants to speak to me when we go ashore. So George is likely to be all right for another spell and the concertina may have done good work. I might mention that George Greenland was gracious and anxious to help me before I left. The day that the Huskies were leaving I had them up to the church and at my invitation George came very willingly, and in a good spirit, to interpret. (Stringer 1894: 8-10)

The gift of a concertina was apparently effective enough to convince Arviuna to form an alliance, however transitory. His reaction to the gift demonstrates that he highly valued the instrument. Arviuna could have already become familiar with the concertina during the summer and fall he spent with Petitot in 1870, although whether he then learned to play is unclear. The above story shows that some Mackenzie Inuit prior to the 20th century valued on Western musical instruments and that they may have used them, among other goods, as bargaining chips in trade negotiations.

From the mid-19th to the early 20th centuries, the number of Western musical instruments entering the Mackenzie Delta region increased substantially. Especially during the 1890s, visitors and residents at Fort McPherson and Herschel Island made frequent references to various kinds of instruments, including fiddles, accordions, concertinas, harmoniums, harmonicas, pianos, banjos, flutes, autoharps, kettledrums,[26] and musical devices such as organettes. Starting in the 1850s, if

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[26] In a letter dated January 18, 1898, a miner named Mr. Hardisty noted the presence of a kettledrum, presumably a tympani, in one of the Hudson's Bay Company buildings located at Fort McPherson. He wrote the following about his stay: "at McPherson we are well housed in a building of the H. B. Co. loaned us free by Mr. Firth, the officer in charge. We have an organ in the house, also a kettle drum, so we have plenty of music (*Manitoba Morning Free Press* 7/13/1898: 7). Interestingly enough, another reference to a kettledrum, occurred fifty-five years earlier in a description of a 1843 Christmas celebration at York Factory on the southwestern part of Hudson Bay. Likely referring to a Cree Indian performance, the young Scottish apprentice clerk Robert Michael Ballantyne observed "on a chair in a corner near the stove sat a

not earlier, Mackenzie Inuit visiting the trading post would have observed the use of such items at musical performances, both secular and religious in nature.

As far as church music is concerned, missionaries and their assistants played harmoniums, accordions, concertinas, pianos, and autoharps to lend harmonic support for the singing of hymns (Isaac Stringer, diary entries, January 22 and March 12, 1893). According to his journal entries, however, Stringer seldom mentioned the use of instruments at the Fort McPherson Sunday services. Instead, a number of the musical instruments were associated with Stringer's home. Moreover, the one instrument connected to the service, the harmonium, remained in Stringer's house until mid June 1895, when the missionary finally moved it into the church (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, June 21, 1895).

Clerics used both church- and non-church-related instruments as listed above in more worldly settings. The playing of instrumental music served a recreational purpose for missionaries and non-missionaries, native and non-natives alike. Especially during the long winter season, residents at Fort McPherson actively participated in music making. On October 7, 1893, for instance, Stringer and Archdeacon McDonald entertained one another in their home with the "celestina" organette [27] and accordion. Gwich'in, working for the two missionaries, were there at the time and may have participated as well (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, October 7, 1893). In December 1894, during a gathering attended by both Dene and non-native individuals, Stringer noted the playing of music on four instruments – the organ, "celestina" organette, accordion and autoharp (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, December 14, 1894). Again, two weeks later on New Year's Day, 1895, music from the same four instruments filled Stringer's home (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, January 1, 1895). Presumably, much of the music was a popular style consisting of patriotic and sentimental songs. By the 1890s, however, many other forms of music were present in the Mackenzie Delta, including classical. On one spring visit to Rampart House, for instance, Stringer rejoiced in meeting the acquaintance of Reverend G.C. Wallis's wife, an

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young good-looking Indian, with a fiddle of his own making beside him. This was our Paganini; and beside him sat an Indian boy with a kettle-drum, on which he tapped occasionally, as if anxious that the ball should begin" (Ballantyne 1972 [1848]: 164). In this second example, the term kettledrum could very well have meant a traditional Cree drum.

[27] For information on the history and construction of the organette, see the website named John Wolff's Web Museum (John Wolff's Web Museum n.d.). According to Wolff, the generic name for the instrument is "organette", or "orguinette" in an earlier spelling. "Celestina", which is the term Stringer uses, was the brand name of a particular 20-note organette produced by the Mechanical Orguinette Company (John Wolff, email message to the author, December 13, 2010).

accomplished pianist who played works by Beethoven and Mendelssohn (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, March 12, 1893).

The organette was one of the most interesting mechanical devices used for musical entertainment. A competitor of the Regina music box, it was a popular medium or recorded music just prior to the successful commercial release of the phonograph. See images below (Figure 6.4).

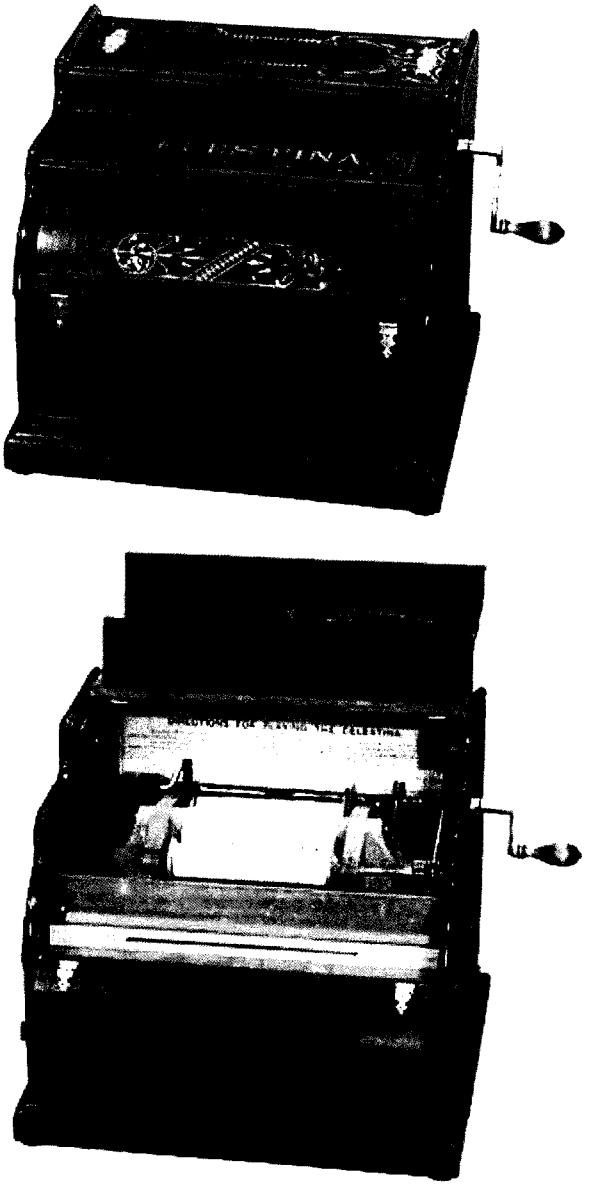

Figure 6.4: Two images of a "celestina" organette. Original Images Copyright © John Wolff 2003-07 (*John Wolff's Web Museum* n.d).

Stringer purchased the device from Hudson's Bay Company clerk Joe Hodgson (Peake 1966: 18),[28] for the price of a bag of flour (Stringer 1893: 50-51). Turned by a crank, organettes were musical machines that essentially followed the mechanical principle of piano player rolls. Popular during the 1870s and 1880s, they continued in circulation until the early 20th century. Organettes were probably the first affordable mass-produced instruments to play recorded music. Stringer mentions the use of the "celestina" organette a few other times in his writings (Isaac Stringer, diary entries, October 7, 1893 and December 14, 1894). Despite their wide appeal, the phonograph eventually supplanted it in popularity, much as the CD replaced the cassette tape and LP almost a century later.

As noted earlier, 1893 appeared to be a very successful year for Stringer in his mission to convert the people of Kitigaaryuit to Christianity. Chief Kokhlik allowed Stringer to stay at his home and agreed to have the young Anglican take his son to Fort McPherson for the year. After 1894, just when the chief and his fellow villagers told Lefebvre not to visit Kitigaaryuit anymore, Stringer himself began to lose his own appeal. Offended for not receiving an invitation to dine with the missionary and his friends at the fort, for instance, Kokhlik subsequently distanced himself from Stringer. Their relationship would never be the same (Vanast 2009c).

In the late summer of 1895, after three difficult seasons in the Arctic, Stringer took a year-long furlough, giving talks around the United States and Canada and marrying his fiancé, Sadie. Returning to the North in 1896, the couple first worked from Fort McPherson but eventually settled in the young whaling community of Herschel Island the following year. They remained at Herschel until 1901. Sadie was instrumental in introducing church music to the natives. At Kitigaaryuit, for example, she gave singing and reading lessons. Services took place in the kajigi where Sadie's hymn singing greatly appealed to the locals. On Herschel Island, Sadie offered weekly classes in reading and singing to natives and non-natives. During the Sunday services, she also played on a highly prized harmonium, one of many valuable objects brought 2,000 miles north by oxcart, steamer, and rowboat. The Stringer couple also owned other musical items such as a phonograph, an accordion, and a harmonica. Both played musical instruments and the local people frequently engaged in singing (Peake 1966: 53, 57, 62-63; Sadie Stringer, diary entries, August 29, 1897, October 26 and 29, 1899).

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[28] Hodgson originally trained at an Anglican school in the Red River Settlement and was ordained as a catechist. He went north to teach school for the Anglican missions but changed his profession to work as a trader for the Hudson's Bay Company (David Vanast, email message to the author, November 19, 2009).

Winfield Scott Mason, a miner who visited Herschel Island during the winter of 1898-1899, remarked on Stringer's dedication to the mission and the positive native response to hymn singing, in particular, the song "Jesus Loves Me":

> Arriving at the Island we found the missionary hard at work teaching and preaching to a school of about fifty dusky pupils, although some of them were fathers and mothers. The mission work at Herschel Island and Point Barrow progress but slowly. Having no written language of their own, the Eskimo has to be taught the English language before the principles of the Christian religion can be thoroughly understood. Every Sunday morning religious services were held at the mission, accompanied with singing, in which all heartily joined, although hardly a word could be understood by us. There was one song, however, that the children loved to sing more than any other — which the good missionary had taught them to sing in their own jargon. It was the old familiar song of our childhood days:
>
> Jesus loves me this I know,
> For the Bible tells me so,
> Little ones to Him belong,
> We are weak but he is strong.
> Yes, Jesus loves me, etc., etc.
> Eskimo jargon:
>
> Je-rok cam-i-ug gi nee,
> Kill-e uh ac poom, ko-zi-nee,
> Gee-u-ac nic-a kil-u-gok,
> Je-rok bombic kil-u ac.
> Cam-i-ug nee etc., etc.
>
> This was always sung with great enthusiasm, much to the enjoyment of all present. (Mason 1910: 84-85)

As Mason points out, the task of educating and missionizing was slow and arduous. This passage shows that hymn singing was used to foster understanding and group cohesion in a setting where the ability to communicating by language was still limited. Moreover, the use of the term "heartily" is very descriptive. It conveys the idea that the native students were emotionally engaged with the music. Remarkably, missionaries and other observers frequently used the word "heartily" when discussing hymn singing in their written work.

Despite his good rapport with the natives, Stringer never made a single convert. Missteps in deepening his relationship with Chief Kokhlik may partly explain his failure. Another reason was the presence of the whalers, whose rough ways made it difficult for Stringer to win the trust of the local people. Wary about the missionary's progress, some of the Herschel Island whalers

worked to curb his influence. During Stringer's 1895-1896 sabbatical, for instance, one such whaler, an officer named Mr. Walker, went so far as to spread vicious rumors that Stringer was planning to kill the Mackenzie Inuit of the eastern Delta and that he was dictating a high exchange rate in trade. Upon his return to the North in 1896, Stringer sensed a remarkable change in the attitude of the locals. Adding to Stringer's resentment, Walker only a year earlier had gained his trust helping at the Inuit church services at Fort McPherson by playing the harmonium and leading the singing and reading (Isaac Stringer, diary entries, June 19-23, 1895).

For the remainder of his stay in the Arctic, Stringer made no further progress among the Mackenzie Inuit. In November 1898, for instance, on a late fall excursion to the eastern part of the delta, he continued to hear the nightly drum dances in the kajigi while holding services for others. The presence of drum dancing, which he equated with paganism, must have signaled to Stringer that his mission work had failed (David Vanast, email to the author, November 25, 2009). Only a decade later, just a few years after the Stringer family's return to the South, however, the Mackenzie Inuit began to adopt Christianity. Drum dancing persisted but less frequently or with less intensity. In the following section, I will examine this transformation.

Early 20th Century Musical Missionization in the Western Canadian Arctic

With roots firmly planted in the spiritual soil of the Kotzebue natives, Christianity or Eskimoized interpretations of it quickly spread throughout the interior, along the northern Arctic coasts, and finally, eastward to the Mackenzie Delta in Canada. Most conversions came about from direct contact with Christianized Iñupiat from western areas (Burch 1994). For example, Stefansson writes that sometime around 1905, the inhabitants of the Colville River area were exposed to the new religion under the influence not of Western missionaries but of recently transplanted native evangelicals from Kotzebue Sound (Stefansson 1913: 37-39, 414-415). In the Mackenzie Delta, where the Anglican Church had established its presence for decades, virtually no Mackenzie Inuit had converted to Christianity. Only after several groups of Alaskan Iñupiat had immigrated into the area did the religion gain its first local adherents.

In 1909, eight years after the Stringers left the Delta, the first Mackenzie Inuit were baptized.[29] In a matter of a few years thereafter, almost all others followed suit. The Anglican

[29] Stefansson claimed that mass conversions among the Mackenzie Inuit had occurred by 1907-1908 (Stefansson 1913: 38-39). While he seemed to view "conversion" in terms of keeping the Sabbath or

Church claimed most of the credit for the mass conversions, but it was the influence of Christianized Alaskan Iñupiat, following the wake of commercial whaling during the 1890s, that could have played a more pivotal role (Alunik, Kolausok and Morrison 2003: 97, 103-104). Already on his first trip to Kitigaaryuit in 1892, Stringer noted the presence of Point Barrow natives (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, August 5, 1892). In subsequent years, the missionary's journals reveal an increasing number of references to Iñupiaq people. By 1909, the year the local population began to convert en masse, a new Inuvialuit cultural group made up of Mackenzie Inuit and Alaskan Iñupiat had emerged (Friesen 2004: 234).

The observer Nuligak recalled as a boy how powerful an impression the Iñupiaq missionaries left on him:

> The Inuit who came from the interior, the Nunatarmeut, held religious services out in the open, to everyone's astonishment. When they sang their voices were as loud as thunder. Their attitude surprised me since the Bailie [sic] people with whom I had lived before never did anything like that. They had never held prayer meetings. I watched them for a whole day, and I saw one of them who had clad himself in a long parka of white material, which hung so low that we could scarcely see his feet. The sleeves were cut like those of a bishop. His name was Okritlaik. He must have been thirty-five or forty, and whenever he gave a sermon his words left me gaping. (Nuligak 1966: 76-77)

Okritlaik's commanding style of dress, speech, and song especially struck young Nuligak. The comparison to a bishop suggests that Iñupiaq preachers emulated non-native missionaries to some extent. Notwithstanding the dramatic impact of such speeches, the early Christian religion of the Inuvialuit still seemed to retain elements of shamanism. For instance, according to Tanaomerk, a local preacher and "school teacher" to Nuligak, the Biblical Commandments were the same as Pinailat, evil magical powers or "taboos which, when broken, spelled doom for the offender" (Nuligak 1966: 62).

Three Positions on "Conversion"

Syncretization of the two belief systems and long-term exposure to the religion made it certainly easier for the Mackenzie Inuit to accept Christianity so that within a few short years, almost all of them professed allegiance to the new religion. But what was the nature of their

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giving prayer on a regular basis, missionaries such as Stringer and Whittaker understood it as baptism and marriage solemnization.

Christian belief system? According to Stefansson, who witnessed the Mackenzie Delta religious transformation, native conversions only exhibited the superficial trappings of Christianity, at least as it was practiced among Westerners. He viewed the new religion instead as "Eskimoized Christianity" – a belief system whose surface carried the appearance of Christian dogma but, at its core, still retained its traditional shamanistic principles based on the notion of taboos and spirit appeasement (Stefansson 1913: 675-676). Therefore, in the early years there was no "conversion" in the sense that the Iñupiat and other native peoples throughout the Arctic abandoned their traditional faiths. Instead, they "grafted" Christian beliefs onto their old ones.

Writing about the use of prayer on the Colville River in 1908, for example, Stefansson wrote the following:

> When it turned out that my Eskimo had been to Herschel Island, where there was known to be a missionary, the local people enquired eagerly whether we had brought any new prayers with us...What people especially wanted, they told us, was a new prayer for caribou from Kotzebue Sound. It had worked so well for the first two years that they had secured plenty of caribou through the use of it, not only during the summer season when the skins are good for clothing, but also (so efficient was the prayer) during the winter, when under ordinary circumstances they would not have been able to get any. But this year the prayer did not seem to be working so well. They supposed that white men's prayers, like their rifles and other things, no doubt deteriorated with age, and now they were anxious to secure a new and more efficient prayer. Akpek told them that he had a very good one, and he proceeded to teach it to them. (Stefansson 1913: 81-82)

In opposition to Stefansson's claims, the missionary Whittaker argued that the mass conversions of 1909 were largely due to the will of God and the long and steady dedication of the missionaries in the region, and not so much the influence of Christianized Iñupiat.[30] He described the process as analogous to the leavening of bread.

> The parable expressive of the work among the Eskimos seems to be that in which Jesus said "the Kingdom of Heaven is like unto leaven, which a woman hid in three measures

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[30] Stringer believed that the schooling he and his missionaries provided together with extreme patience had enormous impact on the Inuit. In the following letter, Stringer gives advice to a young cleric preparing for his missionary work. "Even though the work may seem slow, the only way to teach the people is to do little by little, and the change in them may be almost imperceptible. So it was amongst the Eskimo around the mouth of the Mackenzie River – for several years I could see no change. The fist we could notice was in the Day School which Mrs. Stringer, Mr. Young and I taught at Herschel Island. The influence which we could scarcely notice at first, was being exercised silently. But without that foundation work, nothing could have been accomplished. So it will be with your people. Everything that you do to enlighten their minds mentally and spiritually, will tell for good in the years to come. You mention your attempt to hold school, and I want to assure you there is no better way to reach the people" (Stringer 1923).

> of meal until the whole was leavened". The Word of God was preached lived among them, and though for so many weary years our eye could see no turning to God, yet the leaven was working steadily, and when at long last some fruit of our labor appeared, we found that the whole lump was indeed leavened. Even those who have not been received into the Church, have been so influenced by the general transformation that, at least outwardly, they practice righteousness. (Whittaker 1912)

Whittaker took the position that the native people had no religion to begin with and that Christianity had filled a spiritual vacuum.

On the other hand, Walter Fry, who arrived in the Mackenzie Delta in 1909, fourteen years after Whittaker, believed that the Mackenzie Inuit had a genuine traditional belief system. By studying it and deriving conclusions, he argued that the missionary could better help the native transition from shamanism/animism to the new religion:

> The progress of our Eskimos towards unadulterated Christianity has sometimes appeared magically swift but when we delve beneath the surface we still discover the roots of the old faith. These can only be extracted and the people elevated to the highest Christian standard by systematic, oft repeated, long continuous teaching. It is therefore obvious that we need all the faithful help that every willing Christian can give in order to complete, perfect the work begun amongst the Eskimos. (Fry 1917)

In an insightful essay, Vanast examines the debate between Stefansson and northern missionaries regarding the nature of conversion (Vanast 2007). According to the author, Stefansson shared an interest with Fry in pre-contact Inuit culture, but they differed about the impact of the new religion. The ethnologist/explorer made the case that indigenous people had *added* or grafted Christianity onto their traditional belief system. Fry, however, viewed the process of conversion as a *replacement* of the old religion with a new one. As a third approach, Whittaker dismissed the notion that the native population even had a belief system to begin with. To him, the introduction of Christianity had essentially *filled* a major gap in Mackenzie Inuit culture (Vanast 2007: 100-102).

All three of these concepts can partially explain the processes of conversion or religious change. The ideas of "adding", "replacing", and "filling" have long been associated with theories of culture change such as assimilation, acculturation, and syncretism. The anthropologist Jolles provides a clear description of religious change as it occurred among the Siberian Yupiit of Saint Lawrence Island:

> The core of the conversion process which eventually took place involved both supplanting those beliefs perceived to be in conflict with Christianity and restructuring the spiritual realm. At the same time, some traditional beliefs were accommodated with Christian views, thus maintaining a degree of spiritual stability. The essence of a conversion process from a set of local beliefs to a global religion. (Jolles 1989: 14)

These religious concepts parallel the various processes of globalization as discussed in my introductory chapter: hybridization, heterogenization, and homogenization. Stefansson's argument that the two religions coexist or combine reflects a similarity to the concepts of heterogenization and hybridization. Fry's view, on the other hand, while accepting a heterogeneous scenario for the initial stages of conversion, eventually seeks a homogenous outcome; hybridization seems to have a little presence in Fry's framework. With regard to Whittaker's position, the lack of a genuine belief system limits the conversion process to that of an absolute homogenous one, in the sense of wholesale adoption and assimilation. Especially in its earliest stages, the process of syncretization is a natural result when two belief systems make contact. It also ties in well with the nature of globalization, for as Jolles writes, "'Syncretic' religion is a necessary corollary to the movement from a local to the global religion" (Jolles 1989: 24).

All three concepts may apply to the nature of musicultural change in the Mackenzie Delta. Examples of hybridization/syncretization/glocalization as well as heterogenization/compartmentalization and homogenization/assimilation abound in this study. In their earliest stages, musical hybridization/syncretization and heterogenization to a lesser degree were the most common processes. Similar to the syncretism of religious beliefs in the Mackenzie Delta, musical styles and functions fused together or were reinterpreted. For instance, the German whaler Kurt Faber, writing about his northern experiences during the early spring of 1906, claimed that the drum dance had lost much of its original meaning due to the introduction of Christian teachings at the Herschel Island mission. In addition to saying grace before each meal, Faber wrote that every Sunday, the local population he stayed with at King Point along the Mackenzie Delta gathered in the "Hula Hula" tent to purify themselves through prayer and the singing of hymns. As the miner Mason had observed eight years earlier, an Inuvialuit rendition of the Salvation Army song "Jesus Loves Me" was especially popular with the group (Faber 1916: 264-265).

The two descriptions above concerning the Christian-influenced reinterpretation of the drum dance and the practice of singing hymns and purifying oneself through prayer in the "Hula

Hula" dance house are good examples of syncretization. Both descriptions, however, vary slightly in meaning. The former closely resembles a process that Gualtieri defines as *indigenization* or a form of "cultural adaptation in which the fundamental meanings of an historical tradition are retained but expressed in symbolic forms of another, diverse culture (Gualtieri 1984: 1). The latter description falls in line with a second concept that Gualtieri defines as *syncretism* or a type of "cultural encounter in which the traditions entailed are fused ... into a novel emergent whose meanings and symbolic expressions are in some respects different from either of the original singular traditions" (Gualtieri 1984: 1). Indigenization and syncretism exemplify two aspects of the process of syncretization, in this case, the functional transference of a musical form into a new context.

A Return to 20th Century Musical Missionization

Appreciating the importance of music at religious gatherings, missionaries sought to incorporate it as a strategizing tool in order to optimize the probability of conversion. For instance, the Norwegian explorer Amundsen, finishing his transit of the Northwest Passage in 1906, commented on the indigenous appeal for hymn singing and how missionaries were very aware of this attraction:

> Before leaving Herschel I paid a visit to the local missionary, Mr. Whittaker. He lived on shore, with his wife and two daughters, in a house which, besides providing accommodation for himself, also had a schoolroom and a chapel for the Eskimo. I was present at one of the services, and it was a real pleasure to hear the Eskimo sing. As a practical man, which every missionary should be, Mr. Whittaker had studied his people and found that they were fond of singing; he therefore introduced as much singing as possible into his services and gave sermons that were short but to the point. The consequence was that the services were well attended. (Amundsen 1908b: 166)

This passage shows that missionaries clearly recognized the appeal of church music to the local population and that they used it consciously and deliberately to draw in potential members. According to Amundsen's observation, the strategy proved successful.

Similar to Mrs. Stringer's experience a few years earlier, Whittaker's wife Emma attracted crowds by playing the organ at the services. She was often ill, however, and others who had musical abilities stepped in for her. In 1905, a doctor caring for Mrs. Whittaker, "being an excellent musician [...], acted as organist at both services" (Whittaker 1905: 2). Whittaker

informed Stringer about the large attendance of the Inuit services and how their numbers greatly exceeded those of the English-speaking non-native services. On one particular day, Whittaker wrote that "all services are held in our house, and we have had 114 natives and 12 white folk at one time. They pack like red herring in a box" (Whittaker 1905: 2).

Despite the indigenous interest in religion, partly due to its associated music, Whittaker admitted already in 1905 that he had not observed any pivotal changes in the lifestyle of the native population. He wrote:

> ...attendance at all services was good, all available space being crowded out. The natives sing hymns with great pleasure and earnestness. But little change is apparent in their manner of life, save that the habit of keeping Sunday free of labour is growing and the habit of cadging is decreasing. (Vanast 2009f: 10)

During this period, Whittaker had worked to keep the Sunday services fresh by translating passages from the New Testament and adding new hymns (Vanast 2009f: 6), without seeing deeper results. What Whittaker was exactly referring to with regard to "manner of life" is unclear. Concerns that he wrote in the past about included polygamy, infanticide, promiscuity, spousal exchange, intoxication, thievery, and shamanism (Whittaker n.d.1: 1-2).

At least some Mackenzie Inuit continued to perform shamanistic drum dances, presumably much more often in the absence of the missionaries. For instance, on December 19, 1906, Stefansson observed one such drum dance at Tuktoyaktuk, a few miles east of Kitigaaryuit.

> Last night saw the best dance yet. Agnalluak, who has incipient consumption, danced first a long time with her back most of the time to the audience, and with no violent movements. She occasionally said something, i.e., how her cough started, (audience, "too bad"!), that she hoped it would stop soon ("amen"), etc. Then Oaiyuak began dancing alone sometimes playing one of the drums, sometimes merely with his gloves in his hands, or nothing. He was stripped to the waist. His movements gradually became very violent and then he called for his weasel laurel, which he alternately wore on his head or held in his hand, shaking it. Then he threw it away and called for a wolf belt, which he threw on the floor and then danced around it. He now began making excited and earnest statements (or questions) to which the audience replied. Occasionally, he jumped down into the doorway, dancing there sometimes with his back to the audience, sometimes his breast, continually exclaiming and asking questions. Both here and on the floor, he made complicated passes with both hands. He seemed near dropping from exhaustion at one time. At this point he went out of sight into the passage. I did not see just the movement when he popped up into the doorway again, but believe he came into it backwards. At least someone held up a drum in front of my face at the moment; when I saw him he was dancing there again with his back to us. When he turned, there was blood running out of his mouth at the labret holes. This trickled to his breast, but soon

> stopped flowing. After this he mostly walked (sort of cake-walk, stooped forward) in a circle, beating one of the drums. At the shouting points of the dance, the drums beat violently and most of the people sang the accompaniment. At the speaking parts there was silence, except for the responses. These remarks came in bunches, between which (perhaps about a minute) the drums beat softly, stopping just before O. began to speak again. Near the end of the dance he ceremonially drank a cup of water, holding it high with his right hand, and striking a dramatic upward and forward attitude, while with his left hand he held the hand of a decrepit old woman (Ekopterea). During the performance everyone was very serious. O's part of the dance lasted about forty-five minutes. Dancers seem to want to have something in their hands — usually gloves, either grasped or put half-way on. (Stefansson 1919: 176-177)

The mention of several animal dance accessories suggests that the dance had close links to the animal spirits. Missionaries in the area would have strongly condemned such performances. Stefansson regarded Oaiyuak as having "many signs of the chief" (Pálsson 2001: 121). Unfortunately, he provided no further detail as to what constitutes such as a title. It is quite possible, according to the description, that he was a shaman. An uncle by marriage to the 30 year-old Roxy, Oaiyuak was at least a middle-aged or more likely, an elderly man. Maintaining a strong interest in the drum dance suggests that he resisted the Christian tenets laid out by the missionaries.

A few months earlier on September 25, 1906, Stefansson attended a drum dance at Herschel Island that featured primarily Mackenzie Inuit from the eastern delta. Again, the explorer describes an energetic dance performed by an elderly shaman. The reception as Stefansson understood it was one of pure entertainment, perhaps to the chagrin of the performer:

> Sunday night I saw an ula-hula in one of the Mesinka [Siberian Yupik] houses. Several dancers followed one another. There was scant room for three (one woman and two men) to dance, and that was the largest number. Much of the time there was no one, while two danced only occasionally, one man being the rule. There seemed to be two or three slightly different ways to beat the drums, but different dances were also danced to the same tune. Each dance was only from two to four minutes long; but when a dancer once was up, he usually danced from one-fourth to one-half hour. One old man, a doctor (Kogmollik [Inuvialuit] — in fact I heard the affair called a "Kogmollik ula-hula" and all those dancers whom I knew were Kogmollik, though several whom I knew as Nunatama [Iñupiaq] looked on) danced until he was so exhausted that his motions, which had been exceedingly lively, became those of a man half dead. The other dancers moved their heads, bodies and arms in a manner to make one who did not see their feet think they were jigging. Usually, however, the motion was at the knees, and one or both feet were kept nearly still. Sometimes the dancer faces gradually around in a crescent, using one foot as a pivot.
>
> The old man rushed about, shook all parts of his body apparently to the

> dislocation point, and roared and shouted hoarsely. Occasionally, he dashed into the crowd and seized a certain young man by the head, shaking him. The spectators laughed and the young man took it coolly. I was told afterwards that the old man was making the young one a doctor, for fun. This meant, so far as I could understand, that the present generation was having performed for its amusement a ceremony that had been serious formerly. No one appeared to be very serious.
>
> Two young men who took care of Roxy's tent during his stay at the dance, passed the time by singing Church of England hymns . One of these was Eskimo, composed by the missionaries I was told. (Stefansson 1919: 164-165)

This reference exemplifies a generational shift in the acceptance of drum dancing or hymn singing. The young men absent from the dance probably learned the Anglican hymns in childhood under the tutelage of the Stringers or Whittakers. Juxtaposed to this is the elderly man demonstrating a shamanic dance that has lost much of its significance, a shadow of its past. Within a few short years, any resistance that Oaiyuak and the above shaman may have had toward Christianity would put them in the minority among their people. Stefansson's reference to both Inuvialuit and Iñupiat dancing together inside a Siberian Yupik home shows that drum dance gatherings attracted several different Eskimo groups and that they had familiarity with each other's dance songs.

Returning to Fort McPherson and Kitigaaryuit in the summer of 1909, Whittaker and Stringer witnessed first-hand unprecedented public demonstrations of conversion to Christianity among the Inuvialuit people. Two photographs of church services taken a couple weeks apart that summer reveal an insightful perspective on the indigenous people's acceptance of the religion and its associated music. The first image shown below depicts a gathering of mainly native people situated in front of a white wall tent – most likely Alaskan Iñupiat, a couple Gwich'in including the layman Amos Njootli, and perhaps a few Mackenzie Inuit (Figure 6.5).

Figure 6.5: An Inuit Anglican Church Service at Fort McPherson, 1909, probably mid-July, Old Log Church Museum Accession No. 2001.213.30

Two European Canadian men are also present – the tall, balding man in the back is Bishop Stringer and the concertina player is someone whom I have identified as Walter Fry, an Anglican missionary who had just arrived in the region. According to Walter Vanast, the image was taken along the shoreline of the Mackenzie River near Fort McPherson sometime during the middle of July, 1909.[31] The following journal entry recorded by Stringer may refer to the image:

> 1909, 07, 14. Wed. Down to steamer and looked over Captain Mill's photo-films. Whistle blew and [I] said goodbye. Steamer leaving 8.20 a.m.. Fine sight as she steamed out. . . Indian service 10 p.m., 65 present. Eskimo service 11 p.m, 34 present, taken by Mr. Whittaker. I spoke also. Hearty singing. (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, July 14, 1909)

Given that Walter Fry is playing the concertina, several of the people are holding what appear to be hymnals. As observed years later, Fry's use of the concertina was effective in drawing native participation in the church services. The missionary Whittaker reported on a visit to Kitigaaryuit the following year that "we spent about ten days at the settlement, holding frequent services, with

[31] The batture or elevated riverbed features in the background of the photograph clearly point to the geographical layout of Fort McPherson. The Old Log Church Museum incorrectly described the area as Herschel Island. Vanast was able to confirm for me that it was indeed Walter Fry playing the concertina after examining Stringer's diary entries from July 3 and 4, 1909. Fry played the instrument on board the boat *Wrigley* on the trip downstream to Fort McPherson (David Vanast, email message to the author, November 23, 2009).

the people giving earnest heed. Mr. Fry, skillful with his concertina, was a very great help in the music, and in teaching new hymns, four of five of which had been added to our list during the winter" (Whittaker n.d.2). Seven years later in 1917, another missionary named Edward Hester commented on Fry's musical influence on the native people at Herschel Island:

> What with the school and Mr. Fry's missionary efforts the people are progressing in every way. Mr. Fry is very musical and so now one hears psalms and hymns most splendidly rendered. At present Mr. Fry and I are working to translate still more hymns and psalms for the services, whilst songs are taught for the day school. (Hester: 1917a)[32]

The passage above suggests that Fry's musical talents inspired the congregation to learn and his fellow missionaries to expand the number of church music arrangements. The next year on December 2, 1918, Fry's wife Christina wrote about how the concertina served as a fine substitute for the organ at those settlements where church-related amenities were limited:

> [We arrived at Shoalwater Bay] where the mission boat had been beached the previous fall . . . Almost as soon as we landed we saw four other sleds coming. With the natives already living there, we made quite a village. It was a happy time for us to live amongst them for a few weeks. There was no church, no organ, nevertheless our services were very hearty. Mr. Fry accompanied the singing with his concertina. (Christina Fry 1918: December 2, 1918)

Again the use of the word hearty to describe the native singing is interesting. Fry's accompaniment presumably enriched the experience and served as a fine substitute for the organ.

A couple of weeks after the Fort McPherson photograph was taken, Stringer, Whittaker and a lay assistant named Charles Johnson visited the settlement of Kitigaaryuit.[33] There they held a number of church services for its inhabitants, a mixed group of Mackenzie Inuit and

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[32] On periodical visits to the camps, it was normal for the missionary to teach church songs in the following way: "the missionary has a rest and a meal, after which all the people at the camp are gathered together for service and instruction. Any new hymn, gospel song, or verse is taught which makes the little meeting bright" (Hester 1917a: 1).

[33] When Bishop Stringer and Charles Johnson returned south later that year, they got lost for several weeks in the wilderness between Fort McPherson and Dawson City. Staving off starvation by boiling their sealskin boots, they managed to reach a native camp and receive assistance. Stories of the ordeal circulated to the outside world. Thereafter, Stringer became known as the "Bishop Who Ate His Boots", a moniker that may have inspired the boot-eating scene in Charlie Chaplin's 1925 film, *The Gold Rush* (De Santis n.d.).

Alaskan Iñupiat. The photo below is of a Kitigaaryuit service conducted along the beach (Figure 6.6).

Figure 6.6: An Inuvialuit Anglican Church service at Kitigaaryuit, 1909, probably July 30 (Mason 1910: 86) [34]

An umiak is propped up to shelter the congregation from the wind. According to Vanast, most of the people in the picture are probably Kukpugmiut or eastern Mackenzie Inuit while the rest are Iñupiat (David Vanast, email message to the author, November 19, 2009). He also claims that the photo shows the remains of an abandoned kajigi in the background and that the man to the right of the photo wearing a white headband with a round symbol on it is a shaman (David Vanast, email message to the author, November 28, 2009). The lone European Canadian man in the back is Whittaker. Because of a sharp population decline among the Mackenzie Inuit due largely to disease, Kitigaaryuit and vicinity was largely uninhabited between 1900 and 1908 (Friesen 2004: 234). By 1909, it is possible that the kashigi was no longer in use. Since the local people tended to relocate council houses from time to time, however, the status of the kajigi at Kitigaaryuit during this time is unknown.

When Stringer arrived at Kitigaaryuit on July 26, he observed great changes since his last visit nine years earlier. Earlier in the century, the settlement had been abandoned due to disease and starvation. Many Mackenzie Inuit died and those that survived assimilated into Iñupiaq

[34] Even though this photo appears in Mason's book, it was not taken during his year spent in the Mackenzie Delta, 1898-1899. Stringer visited the miner in the States a full decade later after completing his episcopal tour of the Arctic. Presumably, Stringer lent Mason some photos for use in his upcoming book (David Vanast, email message to the author, November 22, 2009).

groups. As the following journal entry shows, Stringer noted in particular the population numbers and demographics:

> 1909, 07, 26. Mon. ... reached Kittygagzyooit about 7.30 a.m. The people were asleep but soon all were awake and came down to meet us, shaking hands cordially all around. Many of the men were out whaling. We pitched our tent on higher land just behind the native houses. It is nine years since I was here, my last visit being in 1900 on the way to Baillie Island. Many of those I saw then are dead. Others have grown up. Many Noonatagmioot [Iñupiat] are here now as well as the Kookpugmioot [eastern Mackenzie Delta Inuit] and seem to agree very well with them. They have caught about fifty whales so far this summer. The dogs are fat. For several years they have not whaled at Kittygagzyooit because of sickness (from whale offal perhaps), but now they have started here this year again. One or two whales were brought in. Put our tent up on hill and talked around etc. People up around our tent. Very sleepy and lay down and slept 3.30 p.m. (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, July 26, 1909)

Throughout the week, the missionaries visited with the locals, gave out medicine, tea, and sugar and held a hearty service for virtually the entire community, which numbered around a hundred people. Prayer books selling for 25 cents apiece were very popular items (Isaac Stringer, diary entries, July 27-29, 1909). At the same time, the villagers focused on the annual beluga whale hunt. This visit is noteworthy for Stringer because the villagers did not leave for their boats until the missionaries conducted a service, a possible sign that the people had begun to draw a meaningful connection between Christian prayer and a successful hunt, perhaps replacing the supplications associated with the drum dance. It is also possible that the locals simply did not want to miss the unusual event. Stringer briefly described the event as follows:

> 1909, 07, 28. Wed... After breakfast some of the Eskimos said they were going out whaling but were waiting for the service first. So we held service in the open at the centre of the village. Over a hundred present, practically all who were at the village. (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, July 28, 1909)

Referring to the photograph (Figure 6.6), Stringer's journal entry for July 30 seems to pertain most accurately with the above image:

> 1909, 07, 30. Fri. Two whale boats came in after being out 24 hours without any whales. I visited Aodlegiak and other natives. We had a service in shelter of skin boat about 2 a.m. I took pictures of group at service and one of Aodlegiak. Tyiktik shot an oogzyook which was coming into the channel, but it sank. Mr. Whittaker and I took whale boat and sailed around through inner bay and then walked from mouth of river leading to sea along to Nalgogiak. All seemed pleased to see us again. We had service

> with nearly all present. Hearty. Stayed from 9 to 12 p.m., when we started back to walk. Wind from north. (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, July 30, 1909)

According to their writings, the next two days, July 31 and August 1, were momentous occasions for Stringer and his fellow missionaries. They sanctified the first marriage at Kitigaaryuit and commenced on the first wave of baptisms, an act that signified for them, conversion in its truest sense. Stringer wrote:

> 1909, 07, 31. Sat. Strong wind ... Service in afternoon in shelter of skin boat and sail, when Mr. Whittaker after calling the Banns for the third time united in marriage Jimmy Mimoguna and Shookaiyak [actually, it was Sinikpiak]. They stood up in the wind, Mr. Whittaker wearing my Rochet and stole as he had no surplice. Quite matter of fact ceremony. Both had expressed their willingness and seemed to understand what it meant. This is the first marriage performed at Kittygagzyooit. Two boatloads arrived from Nalgogiak to attend the Sunday services, coming about five miles. . . (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, July 31, 1909)

> 1909, 08, 01. Sun. At 1 p.m. we had service in the open in shelter of a skin boat. Over 100 present. Reverent and hearty service. I had robes on. Mr. Whittaker spoke to the people and then he and I baptized Aodlegiak, a cripple of the Kookpugmioot tribe, our first baptism after 17 years' effort to reach them. Very interesting and touching service. Aodlegiak seemed to understand clearly the meaning and importance of it all. I gave him the Christian name John as he did not know what name was best for him and John seemed to suit him as well as any. All seemed to be keeping the Sabbath day. No work of any kind going on. I can scarcely imagine this to be the same place I visited in 1892 for the first time, when living was scarcely endurable because of the troublesome nature of the Eskimos. Anaktok came in to tent afterwards and expressed a desire to be baptized. Talked with several in tent. Wind had calmed down in morning. . . Service 8 p.m. with about 110 present. Hearty and earnest service. I had my robes on and took part of service. Mr. Whittaker also took part and spoke to them, also speaking for me. Baptised Anaktok, giving him the name Simon. He is a Noonatagmioot young man about 18 and seems to understand. We had talk with them afterwards. Mr. Whittaker visited some sick people. . . When 12 o'clock came around, Mr. Johnson went out whaling with David. Several boats going out also. (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, August 1, 1909)

Remarkably, Stringer recorded nothing about drum dancing in his journal entries from the 1909 visit, suggesting that such performances had either disappeared or gone underground. Evidence for the latter arises in the following statement. On August 22, 1909, a few weeks after Stringer's Kitigaaryuit visit, the RCMP Inspector G. L. Jennings briefly commented on the juxtaposition of hymn singing and drum dancing at the settlement: "Natives held Divine Service in afternoon and Hoola-Hoola [dance] in evening" (Jennings, n.d.). It is uncertain whether the participants he witnessed represented Alaskan Iñupiat, Mackenzie Inuit, or a mixing of the two (Inuvialuit).

Nevertheless, the statement shows evidence of heterogenization in that the native people compartmentalized their Christian observances and traditional drum dancing. Why do none of Stringer's journal entries from his visit to the settlement mention drum dancing? Did the local inhabitants wait for the missionaries to leave the village before performing? If drum dancing had taken place during Stringer's visit, he may have wanted to omit them in his journal. This appears unlikely given Stringer's penchant for "objectivity". Finally, failing to mention them because they were an everyday occurrence seems also improbable. Given Stringer's strong tendency to cite examples of drum dancing in the past, it is reasonable to conclude that if he had observed such activity, he would have mentioned it in his writings.

Four Transitional Inuit Figures

The role of individual natives involved in the transition from traditional religion and drum dancing to Christianity and its associated church music is important to consider. I have already discussed a few in earlier sections. I will now present four Inuit who actively participated in the religious and musical conversions of the region. One already mentioned is the crippled Mackenzie Inuit Aodlegiak. The other three are Atumachina, the Nunatagmiut [Nunamiut] headman of Herschel Island and early Christian convert, his nephew Thomas Umaok, an influential leader and the first Inuvialuit to become an Anglican deacon (Vanast 2009f: 11), and Garrett Notik, another young Inuit who studied with Stringer and his wife. These four men were some of the best educated and most sophisticated in terms of their understanding and embracement of certain aspects of Western culture and music. They were also among the first to declare their acceptance of Christianity.

Prior to his baptism at Kitigaaryuit, the Aodlegiak had for some time engaged in writing verses to hymns and exchanged them with Atumachina. They also disseminated each other's creations to their own people as described in the journal entries below. Note the use of the word "hearty" in both passages:

> 1909, 07, 27. Tues... About 4.30 p.m. Mr. Whittaker and I started out walking and crossed land about four miles to Nalgogiak, about two hours going. 23 people camped here. Talked, ate whale fin. Hearty service in Ivitkoona's tent. Aodlegiak shows great intelligence and has taught the people a great deal. He has written a verse for a hymn and exchanged with Atoomukchina at Herschel Island with whom he corresponds. Wonderful improvement in him and others. All in earnest wish to learn. 11 p.m. left in

> Kudjak's whale boat. Chased a seal. Reached Kittygagzyooit about 12.30 p.m. (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, July 27, 1909)

> 1909, 07, 28. Wed. ... Hearty singing and attentive listening. When Mr. Whittaker gave out verses of hymn 4, which were composed by Atoomukchina and sent by letter to Aodlegiak, who had understood them and already had been singing them, the people were deeply impressed. Aodlegiak told how he had received them by letter. Then when another verse of hymn 20, composed by Aodlegiak, was given out and sung it seemed to come home to them more than ever before. When Aodlegiak was referred to as the composer he said nothing save that he had written the verse. Very humbly expressed, it seemed to me. (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, July 28, 1909)

Within the context of both references, "hearty" seems to imply exuberant singing. Furthermore, the way "hearty" has so often been used in the ethnographic literature suggests that it is synonymous with "singing"– both terms share a strongly emotional and pure connotation that fits with the atmosphere of a religious ceremony.

Stringer's July 30th journal entry on page 270 suggests that Aodlegiak may even be in the above photograph. Vanast believes he may also be present in the upper left part of the concertina photograph (David Vanast, email message to the author, November 28, 2009). Born around 1860, Aodlegiak was about 50 years old when he received baptism, the very first of his people to do so. In his 1937 book *Arctic Eskimo*, Whittaker wrote a glowing portrait of the man and of challenges that he overcame in life:

> Aodlegiak was the victim of articular rheumatism, whom I first saw in 1895, flat on his back, helpless, and in agony. He was in this condition for several years, being carried about on necessary migrations. The fever having burned out left many of his joints without action. Arms, hands, and legs were so crippled that he never was erect again, but was well cared for by his friends. Of a very inquiring mind, he enlisted sailors, or other visitors, to teach him to write, and to speak English. He was undaunted by his pitiful condition. When he wanted to go some distance from his home, I have seen him make his way some fifty or sixty yards over the hard-packed snow in a sitting posture. He lifted himself on his deformed hands, a few inches at a time, until someone saw him and brought a sled to carry him. He was greatly respected as a relater of folk-lore, as a capable adviser, and despite his crippled condition, as a weaver of fish nets. He learned to write a fine hand, and taught many of the children more things than reading and writing. (Whittaker 1937: 246)

No examples of Aodlegiak's hymns are available, but one can gather a sense of his talent for words from one of his original prayers. The following is an English translation of the prayer and, preceding it, commentary by one of the church's lay missionaries, Edward Hester:

Hester, Circular Letter

> 1917, 05. Mention was made in my letter of the helpful and beautiful way in which they often express themselves in prayer. Here is a translation of a prayer made by John Aolagiak [ed: also spelled Aodlegiak], one of our natives.
>
> To you the God of truth and love; to you I speak to You who art Highest, Holiest and Noblest. Now I know there is bad about me, when You see it forget, I am just like others of my people. We were afraid of the spirits; our chief thought was to get food, and fur to make our bodies comfortable. In this were like the beasts who want little more than a warm place to lie down in with a full belly. From the beginning we lived in fear, ignorance, and darkness, but now from afar we see light arising; but alas in the faint light we see the filth of our lives. We understand that Thou art our Great Father whose heart is bursting with love for us; that You love all truth, mercy, light, cleanness, and goodness; and that You hate the false, the dark, the cruel, the dirty, and the bad. So we pray make the light brighter, that we may see more clearly, and learn more of thee. Cause us to hate which Thou dost hate and to love that which Thou lovest. Father I and all my people will be strong for You, we will fight against the bad, we will fight for the good, we will use our head heart hands and feet our tongue and all that we have to follow the truth to gratify and please Thee. Amen. (Hester 1917b)

Aodlegiak died the following year on July 27, 1918 (Vanast 2009c: Anglican Register).

Atumachina, born around 1867, was the headman of Herschel Island during the turn of the 20th century. According to Whittaker, he had no authority, but his people greatly respected him as a hunter, worker, and man of good judgment (Whittaker 1937: 245). Atumachina served as catechist and lay reader for the Anglican church (Vanast 2009d). As early as 1894, Stringer observed the native man's interest in the Christian religion (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, September 2, 1894). In exchange for English and religious instruction, Atumachina helped Stringer learn the Inuit language (Sadie Stringer, diary entry, January 19, 1901; Isaac Stringer, diary entries, January 19 and February 2, 1901). According to several journal entries, the two men and their families became close (Isaac Stringer, diary entries, January 4, 5, 10, 21, and 29, 1901, February 5 and 14, 1901, March 5 and April 8, 1901; Sadie Stringer, diary entries, January 16, February 14 and March 4, 1901).

Atumachina eventually assumed greater responsibility for the Anglican Church and demonstrated an ability to inspire the local congregation. When Whittaker went on furlough he appointed the headman to lead the services. Upon his return, the missionary observed the natives "much more interested and eager than ever before. During our absence of sixteen months the headman has held service each Sunday, using the MSS books and loose sheets for singing and teaching" (Vanast 2009d). Later in August 1909, Stringer and his fellow missionaries visited

Herschel Island following their stay at Kitigaaryuit. The bishop conducted a Christian marriage for Atumachina and his new wife and baptized them (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, August 12-15, 1909). Showing his competence as a catechist, Atumachina also led one of the services (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, August 13, 1909). Years later, when Whittaker was not around to lead services, he continued to rely on Atumachina to do so (Vanast 2009d: August 17, 1915). Atumachina died in 1923.

Thomas Umaok is one of the best known figures of early 20th century Inuvialuit history. Part of the first wave of converts to Christianity and the first ordained Inuvialuit deacon in the Anglican Church, he took part in what the missionaries perceived was a transformative religious shift from shamanism to Christianity. Born around 1886, Umaok was much younger than the other two figures discussed. He was a young child when Stringer arrived in the region and, "as a boy he attended day school in the early days of the Mission at Herschel Island, and from time to time received instruction from the different missionaries – Revs. Stringer, Whittaker, Fry and their wives..." (Umaok n.d). Umaok was exposed to both religions and their associated musical elements. The ability to balance or even combine together parts of both systems probably came more easily to him than older people more set in their ways. Umaok's subsistence lifestyle and its connection to the environment helped to sustain traditional beliefs. The missionary Walter Fry noted in 1917 how Umaok, Atumachina, and others retained some of the old beliefs:

> Thomas Umaok, one of our most advanced Eskimos, affirms that he has been present when the shaman has flown. Atumaksinna, Siksigaluk, Sipataituk, all looked upon as advanced Christians, bear witness and give instances of having seen spirits and the power of the shaman to cause or cure sickness, to stop the wind or to do anything he desires through the agency of demons (Fry 1917: 4)

Note that it is Fry who thinks that seeing such supernatural phenomena is surprising, if not incompatible, for "advanced Christians". Other missionaries made similar observations about Umaok's dualistic way of thinking. Writing in the mid-1930s, the British minister Adelaide Butler claimed that Umaok still accepted pre-contact ideas: "Thomas and Susie, our native Catechist and his wife, still retain some of their old heathenish superstitions, and they have an idea that there is a 'hoodoo' on the house they have moved into" (Rutherdale 2002: 126).

As discussed at the beginning of Chapter 5, it was non-native missionaries, particularly Protestant ones, who viewed such dual allegiances as contradictory. From an indigenous standpoint, accepting the efficacy of shamanic practices while being Christian was

unproblematic. Their seemingly syncretistic view accommodated both religious beliefs. Kirsch's revised approach to syncretism also is useful by suggesting that Eskimoized Christianity represents a situational belief system where genuine beliefs in varying religious practices may shift from one to another.

Umaok, perhaps better than others of his generation, was able to negotiate both native and non-native worlds, including the areas of music. For example, he took part in both drum and square dances, as shown in the following references. For a few years around 1915, Umaok and his wife Susie attended the residential school at Hay River on Great Slave Lake, under the direction of Rev. Alfred James Vale. Along with one other Inuit, the 30 year-old student and his wife celebrated the Christmas holiday with music and dance:

> Christmas time everyone plenty happy. After prayer they make play. Me and Susie we get lots of things for Christmas, clothes and things. New Years time plenty happy too. They make dance. Mr. Vale ask me. try to do Eskimo dance. Only me and Susie and Cyril there, only Eskimo. Susie and Cyril try to sing and I try to dance. Boys and girls. all Indian, scared and try to run away. (Vanast 2009f: 10)

Umaok also had a penchant for square dancing, as recalled by the missionary Mrs. Fry:[35]

> The big way was the Christmas dinner at the mission house when guests brought their knife, fork, spoon, cup and plate and sat on the floor to eat. Those were busy days in advance. preparing the food. but what a worth while Christmas it was. I shall never forget one evening we had. Someone asked if we could have a little square dance. So someone called off and another played the mouth organ. They wondered if I had ever square danced. I had. So Thomas asked me if I would be his partner. He had been observant, sometime. someplace. Imagine my surprise when he produced a handkerchief which he held at my back. He was, as well as the others, very gentlemanly. We did have such fun and laughter. (Vanast 2009f: 11-12)

Umaok's desire to dance and his attention to detail in terms of dance motions and etiquette indicate that he valued the activity.

Garrett Notik was another person who attended the Herschel Island day school when the Stringers were there. He eventually became a catechist (Peake 1966: 146). Notik was also an

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[35] I interviewed Thomas Umaok's grandson David Noksana in August 2008. Today, an active musician and dancer, he spent the summer months of his childhood living with his grandfather in Tuktoyaktuk. Noksana remembered listening to his grandfather sing hymns in Inuvialuktun. However, he did not recall seeing his grandfather attend the "square" dances, due in his words to being a devout Christian (David Noksana, in discussion with the author, August 5, 2009). If Umaok had stopped going to "square" dances, his advanced age may have been another possible reason.

organist and was in charge of programming music at the church gatherings in Aklavik in his later years. Bishop Stringer stayed in touch with Notik and periodically sent him music and instruments. In a letter written in November 1928, for example, Stringer expressed his disappointment that Notik had not received the organ he had tried to send North:

> I was sorry the little organ did not go in to you the last summer. By some mistake it was overlooked, but I shall see that you receive the organ next summer, and I know you will enjoy having it. I hear you are trying to learn all you can in the way of music. (Stringer 1928)

In another letter written to Notik a half year later, Stringer started with the following lines: "Mrs. Stringer and I have sent you a folding organ all for yourself and also a large hymn book with tunes. I hope you will find the organ of use in the holding services" (Stringer 1929a). This statement shows that the Stringers emphasized a ritual purpose for instrument. Finally, in another letter reflecting Notik's strong musical interests, the bishop began immediately with a topic about phonographic records:

> I am sending you six records for the gramophone which I hope you will like. I lost the list you gave me or I mean I packed it away in my trunk and cannot get at it now but I think you will like these which I picked out yesterday in Vancouver. I saw the mate on the "Baychimo" yesterday and he said he would take these to you. I hope they will reach you safely. (Stringer 1929b).

That Notik had prepared a list of records in advance for Stringer, shows that he was well aware of music from outside. Regarding the organ, Mrs. Stringer presumably taught young Notik how to play the instrument and read music.

The relationship between missionaries and native children is important to examine. As mentioned earlier, Stringer appeared to have spent most of his time with young people when he visited Kitigaaryuit. Since most of the adults there were too busy working or were too resistant to Stringer's advances, the missionary communicated with the children instead, often by teaching them a hymn. These very children in 1892 and 1893, ones like Umaok and Notik, would be adults in 1909, the year when mass conversions "suddenly" occurred.

A Closer Look at Musical Missionization and Its Impact in the Region

As discussed before, singing was an essential component of Stringer's ministry. It served as an effective way to reach the native people, sometimes the only way, *particularly in the early years when Stringer was new to the Inuit language*. In the early stages of missionization, music served as a kind of common language. Furthermore, the presence of music, in the form of drum dance songs or hymns, acted as a gauge in the minds of missionaries. It informed them whether they were making any progress in converting the Inuit. When Stringer visited Kitigaaryuit, he used music as a tool to missionize but also as a measure of the influence of his religious teachings. Less drum dancing and more hymn singing demonstrated to the missionaries that their proselytizing was working. More drum dancing and less hymn singing signified the opposite. This insight suggests that music can establish immediate and enduring expressions of religiosity.[36]

The nature of sound itself is also intriguing to investigate. When the residents of Kitigaaryuit prepared for the beluga season in late summer, everyone had to refrain from noise during the day (Isaac Stringer, diary entry, August 7, 1893, Friesen 2004: 231). They could, on the other hand, sing and play loudly on the drums during the midnight hours, perhaps calling on ancestral and animal spirits for protection while hunting. The singing and playing of drums was an important means of communication with the spiritual world. The reason for keeping quiet is unclear. For practical purposes, the community as a whole could better focus its attention on the hunt, while at the same time prevent any human-generated sounds from distracting the hunters' concentration and scaring away the belugas. Remarkably, hunting of beluga apparently took place throughout the day but also into the "night", that is, until 3 or so in the morning (Isaac Stringer, diary entries, August 6, 1892 and August 7, 1894), during the time that hunting went on.

The kajigi served not only as a venue for drum dancing but also as a place where the hunters could exchange their stories of the day. Shamans communicated with the spiritual world and engaged in various activities such as attempting to predict the number of future beluga catches. The native people also made a strong connection between leadership as a hunter and one's ability to dance and sing incantation. Whittaker remarked that in the kajigi "a leader of the

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[36] To take the argument a step further, musical performance also frames conceptions of cultural identity. Tourist industries often apply this insight by framing culture, particularly exotic ones, according to their music and dance. Of course, for anyone who has had experience engaging a new culture, music and dance often serve as early straightforward attempts to share and understand culture.

hunt was chosen, and on the skill of his dancing and incantation much depended. He generally danced to exhaustion, [after which] the party broke up" (Whittaker n.d.2: 8).

In this context, it was important that the villagers occasionally invited Stringer to attend the dance events and give him an opportunity to sing and pray. Conversely, Stringer often showed his disapproval of the drum dancing, or at least certain aspects of it, by staying in his tent during the event. In his accounts, one senses his reaction to the drumming, not only as a disturbance to his sleeping, but more significantly, as a sign that traditional indigenous ways of life were still intact. To the missionaries, the Inuit did not become truly Christian until the sound of the drum stopped. According to Vanast, such an association between drumming and the practice of paganism or witchcraft echoes back to those cannibalism stories emanating from parts of Africa, New Guinea, and elsewhere. He writes, "it had to them of course the connotation of tribes in darkest Africa, heating their pots and eating whites. The stories of Stanley and Livingstone were still very vivid, and Charles Dickens had whipped up frenzy about the Eskimos as cannibals after Rae reported knife marks on the bones of Franklin's men in the cooking pots of the Arctic" (David Vanast, email message to the author, December 24, 2009).

The advent of Christianity brought about cataclysmic changes not only in actual beliefs but also in the role of drum dance music. At the time of Stringer's arrival at Kitigaaryuit, the large settlement encompassing two other nearby villages, Tchenerark Kuugaatchiaq, contained between three to five or six kajigis (Stefansson 1919: 170, Friesen 2004: 227 and Vanast 2005-2010). Misinterpreting the link between native dance and spirituality as a form of communication with the demon world, missionaries pressured the local population to dismantle the houses. Stefansson reported in October 1906 that the structures "have all fallen in ruins and been burnt, and there are now no kadjigis on the coast" (Stefansson 1919: 170). Therefore, not a single kajigi remained in Kitigaaryuit by the end of the first decade of the 20th century. With an absence of communal houses to congregate in and general pressure from the missionaries to discontinue Inuvialuit drum dancing, the practice and its traditional cultural ties waned. The performance of church music filled the void left by shaman-influenced drum dance songs.

The ability to read music opened up a new world to the Inuit. For young children it probably did not seem such a revolutionary change, but for adults the power of the musical note together with the written word created an entirely new form of communication. The opportunity to read and write music spurred intellectual excitement. Hymnals served as tools for learning music as well as language. For those older Inuit who were non-literate, music helped to build

some degree of textual understanding. The close relationship between music and the word and the fact that the Inuit people themselves were instrumental in teaching language and hymn singing to one another comes through in the following reference written by Bishop Stringer in May 1919, ten years after mass conversions began:

> We were able to teach a certain number in school but if it were not for the desire of the Eskimos to teach one another, many would have been neglected so far as education is concerned. They now have books in their own language, and they use them very generally, even the older people, who do not understand much about reading or writing, will use their hymn books, and they become so accustomed to the appearance of the words, for example in some of the hymns, that they apparently follow them without any difficulty. (Stringer 1919: 2)

The large number of Inuvialuit religious conversions during the summer of 1909 was a monumental breakthrough for Stringer and his fellow missionaries. Why did such these mass conversions occur at this time? Some of the more obvious factors include the following: a strong presence and influence of Christianized Iñupiat, as laid out by Stefansson's "fashion" theory; continuous religious instruction provided by missionaries particularly to school children, as outlined in Whittaker's "leavening" theory; ready acceptance of new spiritual ideas amongst a population devastated by disease, starvation, alcohol abuse, and cultural loss, including the abandonment of the kajigi, which further fragmented the social fabric of the Mackenzie Inuit; and finally, economic and social incentives, characterized by expanded ties in trade, an elevated social status, and access to material goods.

Another less apparent factor, and a main theme in this dissertation, was the active involvement of indigenous people with church music. This activity may not have sped the conversion process, but it helped set up the conditions for conversion to occur, especially in the earlier stages. As shown with numerous examples, genuine interest in church music played a role in drawing the indigenous population to Christianity. One reason was an attraction to the harmonies produced by choral singing and the accompaniment of concertinas and organs. Group hymn singing in particular may have helped ease the curious newcomer's fear or shyness and allowed him or her to participate actively in social aspects of the religious service. Music not only provided social comfort but for the converted also a highly emotional and spiritual meaning. The neuroscientist Oliver Sacks, who has spent decades studying the relationship of music and the mind/brain, contends that "music is the most direct and mysterious way of conveying and evoking feeling. It is a way of connecting one consciousness to another. I think the nearest thing

to telepathy is making music together" (Schrock 2009). In his context, communal hymn singing created a powerfully deep connection. The power of music to transport oneself to another frame of reality is often associated with profoundly felt religious experiences.

The role of people in high positions such as Kokhlik and Atumachina helped either to hinder or hasten the acceptance of the new religion and associated music. The steady inculcation of Christian tenets via word and song was integral to establishing any indigenous support for the new belief system. Church music attracted people to the services and potentially sustained their interest, especially when religious ideas were too abstract to explain through speech. The ritual aspects of the ceremony, particularly the singing of hymns created an appealing setting for curious on-lookers.

As mentioned earlier, the Inuvialuit abandoned the kajigi by the second decade of the 20th century. Similar to what happened in other settlements across the Western Arctic, when such structures disappeared at Kitigaaryuit, traditional forms of drum dance lost much of their social and ceremonial, and spiritual significance. The picture of the 1909 Christian service at Kitigaaryuit is all the more powerful for depicting both the fading past and the emerging future: in the distance, the ruins of a kajigi where drum dancing and singing took place nightly in celebration of the beluga hunt and animal spirits, and in the foreground, an earnest-looking local congregation singing from their hymnals to a new spiritual power.

In summary, Stringer's personal history of missionary work in the Arctic dating from 1892 to 1909 is as follows. On the first day of his arrival in the Arctic at Fort McPherson, he observed a Mackenzie Inuit dance held outdoors that largely catered to an audience of tourists. A few weeks later, he witnessed local drum dance performances inside the kajigi at Kitigaaryuit. The following year, in 1893, he again paid visits to the kajigi at Kitigaaryuit where he attended drum dances but also sang hymns and preached. After a seemingly successful year there, Stringer made little or no demonstrable progress in the area for the remainder of his time in the Arctic. From 1895 to 1901, which included a year-long furlough, Stringer, together with his wife, concentrated their missionary efforts around Herschel Island. The couple maintained a school where they offered language and music classes to natives and whalers. On his regular visits to the eastern Delta, Stringer attempted to deepen Mackenzie Inuit interest in Christianity, but seemingly to no avail. Equating progress in terms of the presence or absence of drum dancing, he continued to hear the sounds of drums at various settlements. During the next decade from 1901 to 1909, however, the Mackenzie Inuit gradually began to adopt Christianity. Picking up from

where the Stringers left off, Whittaker and his wife continued to teach, preach, and lead singing classes. As the native population became more literate, individuals began to write and share hymns, sometimes sending them great distances from one settlement to another.

The mass conversion that took place between 1909 and 1912 was the end result of a long and slow process of missionization, led by both natives and non-natives. Expressed via baptism, the conversions signified an outwardly public demonstration of religious allegiance. Some Mackenzie Inuit may have already accepted Christian practice and/or doctrine years earlier, but starting in 1909, large numbers of them began to declare it formally. During the middle phase – late 1890s and early 1900s – the local population continued to participate in "hearty" sing-a-long services, at the same time following native traditions. As Christian-influenced Inuit children reached adulthood and with it, higher positions of influence, they gradually represented the majority in their communities. Those who resisted the new practices and teachings – adults and elders primarily – eventually died or faced marginalization. Musical interaction was omnipresent throughout this transformative period. However, its importance in altering social behavior has remained largely undetected. Although missionaries and others mentioned the presence of music in their writings, with some entries more detailed than others, the significance of their musical experiences have largely been downplayed or written off. Music usually accompanied proselytizing. It was a means to generate interest in religious ideas, as a tool to organize social settings and promote social cohesion, as a way to emote spiritually on an individual or group basis, or as proof that a connection on some kind of level was made. In the early phases of cross-cultural contact, especially when a common language was lacking, music in the form of communal hymn singing, offered an effective opportunity for social and perhaps even intellectual connections to emerge. Ritual in the form of music and not necessarily linguistic content helped at least initially to lay the foundation for understanding aspects of the new doctrine. At this point in the conversion process, missionaries seemed more concerned with the outward signs of religious practice, singing, kneeling, not drumming, following the Sabbath, for example, than with actual biblical teachings.

In 1912, by which time most of the Inuvialuit population had converted to Christianity, word spread of an Inuit group to the east, which had little exposure to Western ways, let alone the teaching of Jesus. As discussed in Chapter 4, Stefansson, Bernard, and others had a few years earlier made contact with the Inuinnait, popularly known at the time as the "Blonde Eskimos". When Bishop Stringer made a visit in 1912 to the Baillie Islands, a former whaling outpost

located east of the Mackenzie Delta, he found a large group of Inuvialuit and some Iñupiat eager to travel to Coronation Gulf and Victoria Island and introduce the inhabitants to the new teachings (Whittaker 1912: 2-3 and Whittaker 1927: 472).

Beginning in 1914, the southern party of the Canadian Arctic Expedition spent two years among the Inuinnait and appeared to have exerted only a minor influence on the religious life of the local population. The expedition team regularly regarded Sundays as "a day of rest, given over to reading, long walks, and similar recreations" (Jenness 1928: 14).[37] It appears that none of the scientists made a concerted effort to convert the locals except perhaps the Inuvialuit interpreter and handyman Palaiyak, who himself trained under the Anglican missionaries in his younger years. Like other western Inuit, he followed an Eskimoized interpretation of Christianity that recognized the powers of the shaman; he also formed the conviction that the Inuinnait needed salvation (Jenness 1991: 342, 367). How the locals responded to such a strong belief system changed over time but, at least initially, it was resisted. Jenness captured the essence of this imminent collision of ideas in a pithy exchange that took place between Palaiyak and his eastern neighbors. Its foreboding nature is indeed prescient as shown in the following passage:

> The missionaries [are] coming the following year, men who would teach them the good life that led after death to the sky. But our guests assured him they had no desire to go to sky-land; they were content with their own country, which contained enough seals and caribou to satisfy all their needs. (Jenness 1928: 30-31)

Sure enough, in the summer of 1915, the Anglican missionary Herbert Girling[38] entered the region and, in the following year, took over the expedition's abandoned station, converting it into a mission. By the end of the decade, animal populations, specifically that of the caribou, began to decline (Jenness 1970 [1922]: 10, 31, 242, 248-249; Damas 1984: 409). The emergence of a new religious doctrine and ecological reality would soon dramatically alter the intellectual and spiritual culture of the Inuinnait as well.

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[37] The following story demonstrates just how strictly Inuvialuit members followed the practice of keeping the Sabbath. One particular Sunday, Jenness had forgotten the day of the week and proceeded to work on repairing his sled. Only after he attempted to recruit the assistance of the Christian Inuvialuit Palaiyak, who questioned the request, did it occur to him that it was the Sabbath (Jenness 1991: 363).

[38] Girling also taught school at Kitigaaryuit during the 1915-1916 year. He had 7 pupils – 6 boys and 1 girl – with an average attendance of 2 per day. Three of the students received a Standard I, two others a Standard III, and the remaining two a Standard IV and V, respectively (Department of Indian Affairs Annual Report 1917: 130-131). For more information about Girling's missionary experience among the Inuinnait, (see Thompson 1920).

In terms of music, by 1918, Girling and his fellow missionaries enthusiastically reported on the progress they made translating sections of the Bible and preparing dozens of hymns. He made the following remark:

> The greater part of my time has been occupied with translation so far but after Christmas I shall be turning out on the trail also. To date we have about 35 hymns including "As pants the heart", "Onward Christian Soldiers", "Pass me not Oh Gentle Saviour", "Why do you wait dear brother", and a set of hymns on the work and Life of Christ, God and the Holy Spirit. (Girling 1918)

How the local population interpreted the meaning of these sung hymns would be very insightful. Unfortunately, at the moment, no data has been found to provide for such an analysis.

Despite the influence of Christianity, traditional belief continued to shape indigenous experience, including its musical dimension. For instance, the Inuvialuit Sarah Meyook, born in 1925, vividly recalled from her youth a musical incident that took place on Herschel Island. She and a few of her peers heard music and dancing coming from the big store, even though all the men were out hunting. Meyook described the event as such:

> And then, the people would go hunting seal in the ocean with the boat. There was Meyook, Johnny, Foster and also Neil. They [would] go so there was no men [here] when they [would] go. There was a female dog outside our place and we had our tent facing the big store. It was getting just dark then and the men didn't come back home. So me, Ruth and also Pamiuq were staying home and Annie was staying up there. While that, all at once, there was good music coming from the big old store like if there was a big dance there. But there was no one around and this big dance was going on out there. Ruth just laugh when she is afraid I guess, and while this was [happening] the dog out there was going round and round. George Allen and his sister Adela ran really fast to get Annie and they told Ruth to be quiet but she kept laughing louder as if she got ticklish. We told her "Don't laugh!" But she never changed. So we could hear them dancing with music on. Whenever Annie came she always brought her bible with her all the time. So, she came [back] with her bible and then we never heard them. When Annie [would] come she [would] always read to us because she had been to school and she would translate the [bible] to us and tell us not to believe in those things. Anyway, we were here to hunt seal to work on seal. When the men were home there was no music or thing like that around. Only when they went [away] that was when we heard them playing music and dancing. We were never scared but one of us liked to laugh. And since Annie read from bible they [would] go away and we never heard them anymore. And when we went out to see the dog, she had gone around so much that she had made just like if she had dug out a trail around where she was tied with rocks. And they wondered why she went around and they were be scared and made a fence around where she was. (Yukon North Slope Inuvialuit Oral History 1990: Tape 27B: 7-8)

Whether Meyook was referring to square or drum dancing or a combination of the two is difficult to ascertain. Possessing a bible and reading passages from it are common Christian acts used to thwart dark forces, and are similar to the use of amulets or good luck charms. Interestingly, the Siberian Yupiit on Saint Lawrence Island performed the same kind of rituals, including the singing of hymns. Jolles made the following observation based on her fieldwork on the island during the 1980s: "Having the Bible in hand, singing Psalms (or hymns), or simply calling out the name of Jesus were the surest protection against the spirits which still lurk in the village or out in the tundra" (Jolles 1989: 20).

Pre-contact beliefs, particularly rooted in the supernatural, persisted. Missionaries such as Whittaker concluded that they had made real "progress" in "civilizing" the once savage race of the north. Writing in the 1930s, he emphasized the importance of formal education, the expansion of material goods, access to modern medicine, and an additional musical dimension:

> They now freely read and write Eskimo, and many make wide use of English, in both speech and writing. The single tympanum drum provided all their instrumental music, puerilities their vocal expressions, and a very short range their voice capabilities. They now have many hymns, set to church music, many modern songs, instruments ranging from harmonicas to harmoniums, from jews' harps to violins, and gramophones and radios. Once the only treatment of any sort of illness was by incantation and exorcism. The current practice is an immediate resort to prayer by the family and friends, awaiting the doctor, or the carrying of the sick person to hospital. (Whittaker 1937: 72)

This shows that Whittaker linked the introduction of Western music, both religious and secular, to progress. He associated external musical and religious signs such as the accumulation and singing of southern songs, the acquisition of southern instruments, and the practice of prayer and hymn singing with inner change, namely conversion.

The Anglican and Catholic churches remained dominant until the end of World War II. By the 1950s and 1960, however, more fundamentalist forms of evangelical churches such as the Pentecostal and Baptist established themselves and began to draw large numbers of followers from the indigenous population including those who were raised Anglican and Catholic. One factor responsible for the popularity of these new church movements was their incorporation of more energetic, exciting, and arguably more uplifting music into the service. Also, the use of affordable and portable guitars rather than keyboard instruments provided an opportunity for more of the congregation to participate in church music-making.

The Pentecostal church's approach to religion, which placed an emphasis on the

shamanistic-like practice of "speaking in tongues" and the power of intense faith to bring about miracles, also served as a means to fuse together indigenous beliefs to new Christian thinking. Another more obvious reason why Pentecostal church membership expanded at a higher rate than others was due to growing disenchantment with the Catholic and Anglican churches over numerous abuse scandals that had occurred in residential schools throughout the 20th century. Chapter 10 includes a more contemporary look at the nature of church music in the Western Arctic.

CHAPTER 7:
WESTERN ARCTIC NATIVE PERFORMANCE DOWN SOUTH

Introduction

This chapter examines the musical experiences of early Western Arctic indigenous peoples traveling to the United States in the 19th and early 20th centuries. I commence with a short summarized discussion of those visits that arose as a result of close associations with whalers. No examples of musical interaction were found among this group. A brief look at the enrollment of native children at boarding schools and missions across the country follows. Finally, a detailed examination of native participation at various American fairs and expositions with a focus on musical and dance performance concludes this section.

One of this chapter's goals is to show the breadth and scope of early Western Arctic indigenous musical representation in the South and its influence, if any, on southern perceptions and conceptions of the northern peoples from within a musical context. The next chapter, which examines the imagery of the "Eskimo" in southern musical media, serves as an extension of this topic. Whether the performance of native music and dance in the South played any significant role in shaping the musical thoughts of southern composers and popular song writers is important to consider.

Early Native Travels

The earliest reports of Western Arctic indigenous people traveling to the United States and other southern regions date to the middle of the 19th century.[1] According to Elliot, whalers

[1] Northern indigenous people from the eastern Arctic - namely Baffin Island, Greenland, and Labrador - had traveled to Europe already by the 16th century. Often taken by force, they trained as potential interpreters and entertained audiences at exhibitions. Two important general sources on Inuit experiences in Europe are Bonnerjea's *Eskimos in Europe: How They Got There and What Happened to Them Afterwards* (Bonnerjea 2004) and Feest's edited collection *Indians And Europe: An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays* (Feest 1989). For a personal 19th-century Inuit account of traveling in Europe as an entertainer, see Lutz's *The Diary of Abraham Ulrikab* (Lutz 2005). In a related story, Johan Adrian Jacobsen, an explorer and collector who worked for the showman and zoo visionary Carl Hagenbeck, was responsible for bringing a number of Inuit from Greenland and Labrador to Europe to perform. Jacobsen also collected native artifacts in Alaska during the early 1880s. There he tried unsuccessfully to convince Eskimos and Indians to travel back with him to Europe to perform on ethnological tours (Jacobsen 1977 and Ames 2008). For Inuit participation at world's fairs (Benedict 1991 and Benedict 1994).

began to take Eskimo people to Hawaii for over-wintering around 1865 (Elliot 1886: 247). George Adams, a member of the Western Union Telegraph Expedition, 1865-1867, remarked in his diary that an Iñupiaq assistant from northwestern Alaska named Kupola or Kupalo "had sailed to San Francisco and Hawaii on the Honolulu brigantine *Victoria* (Ray 1992: 159). As mentioned in Chapter 3, the whaler Wilkinson, writing about his 1870-1871 year shipwrecked along the eastern tip of Chukotka Peninsula, claimed that 40 year-old Enoch, probably a Siberian Yuit, had twice visited San Francisco as well as other countries while working with the whalers (Wilkinson 1906: 273). Judging by his age and strong command of English, Enoch's travels may very well have preceded the year 1865. Over in the Mackenzie Delta, attempts by Hudson's Bay Company traders to take Inuit outside had already taken place in the early 1860s. For instance, Roderick MacFarlane, who established Fort Anderson in 1861, supposedly tried to arrange for an Inuit named Tiugwok to travel to England (Isaac Stringer, diary entry May 9, 1893).

During their winters spent in foreign communities, some of the native visitors had menial jobs. One native from Uelen named Frank, for instance, lived three years in San Francisco where he worked as a dishwasher in a restaurant (Bockstoce 1995: 202). Work experience down south did not appeal to all. Nelson, who spent the years 1877-1881 in western Alaska, met a "sturdy young fellow from the Siberian shore [who] had gone to San Francisco with a vessel and remained all winter. He liked the country there, he said; but, as he expressed it, 'Merican too damn much work.' So he returned to his squalid hut on the shore of Plover Bay" (Nelson and True 1887: 293), an interesting comment about late-19th century American work ethic from the perspective of a Western Arctic native.

Other natives, having picked up a good amount of English, assisted as translators and cultural interpreters in the San Francisco area. Starting in 1868, the city served as the headquarters for the Alaska Commercial Company (Graburn, Lee and Rousselot 1996), an important trading institution that employed Alaska natives such as Vladimir Naomoff. A Kodiak man versed in Russian, English, and several indigenous languages, Naomoff was sought after for his linguistic skills and cultural knowledge. While in San Francisco in 1882, he assisted the ethnologist Dr. Walter James Hoffman with collecting, documenting, and explaining the meanings of Western Alaskan gestures and pictographs carved into ivory (Hoffman 1895: 750, 868; Mallery and Swan 1886: xliii, 147, 205).

Some Western Arctic natives visited other parts of the United States. Cornelius, an Eskimo from Plover Bay who spent a number of years in America during the 1870s, wintered

over in San Francisco and traveled to Washington D.C. and New Bedford. According to William Dall, he spoke "English with great fluency and correctness (Dall 1881: 865). A Cape Chaplin native whom Dall met in 1880 also lived in the States. He wrote that the man:

> ... spent a winter in San Francisco, and was very outspoken in his disgust at the white men who were willing to eat turtle, which he had seen at the restaurants, and which he described as "American devil." Their travels are made as members of the crews of whaleships, where they do efficient duty, but I have yet to hear of a *Chau-chau* [Chukchi] who has left his native shores. (Dall 1881: 865)

The native comment on Western food customs is illuminating. It shows the relativity of cultural tastes, but this time from the Other's perspective, a rare revelation in 19th century ethnographic literature, especially on the southerner's turf. The writer's assumption that no Chukchi had visited southern lands is probably inaccurate due to their sustained contact with whalers since the 1840s.

By 1884, the advent of steam whaling ships shortened travel time even more, which in turn, afforded Western Arctic natives more opportunities to visit the Outside. The new powered vessels regularly stopped at villages such as Port Clarence to transport Eskimo men to San Francisco (Ray 1992: 245). Finally, beginning in the 1890s, two other phenomena brought northern indigenous people to the south – educational opportunities at boarding schools such as Carlisle in Pennsylvania and Chemawa in Oregon and the surge of popularity in American world's fairs and ethnic exhibits.[2]

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[2] Some Alaskan Eskimos traveled south for missionary-related reasons. Peter Koonooya and his wife Mungooya of Barrow accompanied the Marsh family to the States in 1900-1901. During that time, Peter served as a Presbytery of the Yukon Commisioner at the General Assembly in Philadelphia (*Outlook* 1902: 694). Others went for business reasons. Around 1899, two Iñupiat from Barrow went to San Francisco to address the economical potential of reindeer herding in their area as well as the 1897-1898 Reindeer Rescue incident to save trapped whalers along Alaska's northern coast (New Bedford newspaper, n.d.). Employment on whalers also continued to afford Alaskan Eskimos opportunities to travel Outside. In the late 1890s, for example, Elayok, a 17-year-old youth from the Wales area, spent a winter in California and visited Honolulu (Lopp 2001: 267). As mentioned in the previous chapter, Alice Omegichuak studied in the States during the 1890s, spending most of her time in Des Moines, Iowa. She received nurse's training as well as a general education (Almquist 1962: 59-60).

Boarding Schools

Scholarly research on the experiences of Alaskan Eskimo at Carlisle and Chemawa are limited and any thorough treatment of the subject is beyond the scope of this dissertation.[3] I will briefly mention some of the Eskimo students and any musical training afforded to them at the boarding school, however. The Chemawa Indian School in Salem opened in 1880 and, by 1913, a quarter of the 690 students enrolled there were Alaska Native (Hudson 2007: 267). The number of Eskimo children attending the school is unknown at this time but one of most celebrated was the educator Emily Ivanoff Brown or "Ticasuk" from Unalakleet. Born in 1904, she spent nine years from 1919 to 1928 at the institution (Bedford 1987). Music was part of the curriculum and a favorite subject for at least one of the Iñupiaq students there, William Baylies or Catua from Herschel Island. Born in 1892, he lived for seven years at Chemawa from 1904 to 1911 (Hudson 2007: 154-155, 195, 273).

According to the Carlisle Indian Industrial School research historian Barbara Landis, 130 Alaska Natives studied at Carlisle during the turn of the 20th century,[4] an amount that represented just a little over 1% of the total enrollment (Landis n.d.2). Compared to Southeast Coastal Indians, Eskimo students probably represented a very small number of the Alaskan contingent (See Appendix 2 for names of most Alaska Native students).

Among the most prominent Eskimo students was Anna Kudlaluk, a Barrow Iñupiaq girl who arrived as a ten-year-old at Carlisle and stayed nine years (Pálsson 2001: 158).[5] As the following quotation shows, she was one of several Eskimos enrolled in 1899: "Koklilook has gone to Mrs. Canfield's at the shore for a little visit. She had a good time at the shore last year and is always benefitted. The little traveller [sic] is one of the Esquimau girls, and likes fish" (*The Indian Helper* August 4, 1899, p. 3). Some of the other female students enrolled in the school were Anne Buck, Emma Esanetuck and Fay Koborivak, the last of whom was from the

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[3] For more information about the history of Carlisle, read Genevieve Bell's Ph.D. dissertation *Telling Stories Out of School: Remembering the Carlisle Indian School, 1879-1918* (Bell 1978). For more sources on the topic consult the Carlisle Indian Industrial School website created by Barbara Landis (Landis n.d.2).

[4] Carlisle Indian School was in operation between 1879 and 1918. It appears that Alaska Eskimo did not begin enrolling in the institution until the 1890s.

[5] In addition to Koklilook, Anna or Annie's last name had a variant number of spellings including Coodlolook, Kudlaluk, Kolilook, Kookliglook, Kudleluk, and Goddalook (Carlisle Indian Industrial School 1879-1918 Surnames, see Appendix 2).

Kobuk region in northwestern Alaska (Landis n.d.1). As shown in the following passage, male Eskimo students also studied at the school and exposure to Western music was part of their education:

> Chambersburg Repository speaks highly of the part taken by several Eskimo Indians of the Carlisle School in a concert in that place. They were in charge of Miss Jean Senseney, musical instructress of the school. (Evening Sentinel. The pupils were Healy Wolfe, Willie Paul, Frank Mt. Pleasant and Esanetuck, and the occasion a Boy's Mission Band Musicale, at the Falling Springs Presbyterian Church, Chambersburg, the oldest Church in Cumberland Valley. (*The Indian Helper* October 27, 1899, p. 2)

Presumably, female students also received a musical education. The passage above, however, suggests that at least some of the ensembles were gender-segregated.

American Fairs and Expositions

The best opportunity for the American public to witness Western Arctic native music and dance during the turn of the 20th century was probably at world's fairs and expositions. Representation of Western Arctic Eskimo musical culture at these events took place later than that of the eastern Arctic, probably because of the latter people's longer sustained contact with outsiders due to earlier exploration and whaling activities. Expositions and fairs of the 19th and early 20th centuries clearly promoted nationalism and presented the world's cultures according to an evolutionary scale of humanity. The first official one to open in the United States was the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia.[6] Concerned about displaying live Native Americans at the event, the U.S. Secretary of the Interior decided to nix plans to bring indigenous representatives. Organizers displayed artifacts instead (Pisani 2005: 173 and Rydell 1984: 15-16, 25), including life-sized mannequins, some of which represented Eskimos. One observer described their appearance as follows:

> The little, puckered-mouth, pug-nosed Esquimaux, with his slight sprinkling of a moustache and "goat," was also exhibited. Arm-in-arm with him, and still more diminutive than himself, was his wife. Both were dressed in the white bearskin garment, which is hood and coat combined. With the exception of their faces there was between every portion of their bodies and the outside air a thickness of several inches of

[6] *The Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations* held in New York in 1853 was a much smaller event and appears not to have featured exhibits of ethnic groups.

> nonconducting substance, and it is wonderful how they stood a Philadelphia Fourth of July. (Ingram 1876: 151).

The passage above suggests that the figures possessed a life-like appearance. Fortunately, an extant photograph of the actual mannequins may be viewed for comparison (Figure 7.1).

Figure 7.1: Eskimo wax figures from the Centennial Exhibition of 1876. "Esquimaux Joe & Hannah, Cap't Hall's Companions on the Polaris Expedition." possibly by Sydney Moulthrop, image courtesy of Mr. James Farfan

The figurines purportedly depict the two guides and translators, Ebierbing or Ipiirviq (Esquimaux Joe) and Tookoolito or Taqulittuq (Hannah), who assisted the explorer Charles Hall and other Arctic explores. Ebierbing and Tookoolito were Baffin Island Inuit from Cumberland Sound during the 1860s and '70s. In 1876, the bulk of knowledge about "Eskimo" culture derived from contact made with the indigenous people of the Eastern Arctic. Eskimo-related artifacts put on exhibit included a native house and kayak from Greenland, a sledge that Ebierbing constructed for Hall, and possibly other undisclosed native items collected from the ill-fated Franklin expedition as well as others led by Kane, Hayes, and Hall (Ingram 1876: 150, 541).

Non-Native Charlatan Performers

Public interest in Eskimo people increased even more with the touring appearances of non-natives posing as representatives of the northern indigenous peoples. One the greatest of

these charlatans was an Icelandic dwarf named Ólöf Krarer who claimed that she was a member of the Angmagsalik tribe of Inuit from southeastern Greenland (Figure 7.2).

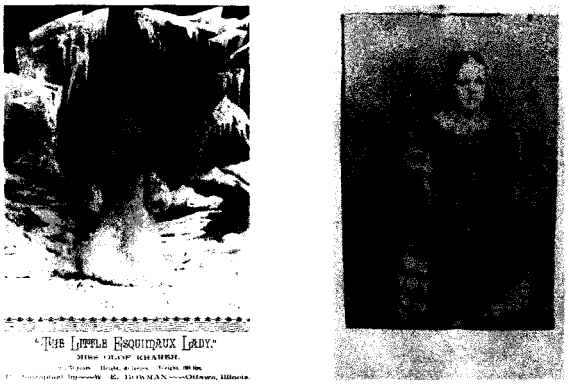
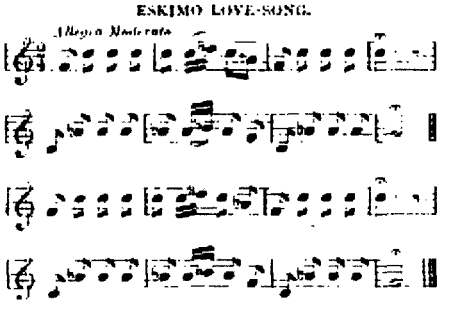


Figure 7.2: Two Photos of The Little Esquimaux Lady Photographed by W.E. Bowman

Born with an achondroplasic condition characterized by small stature and bent appendages, Krarer promoted herself as "The Little Esquimaux Lady" and, in 1884, began giving lecture-performances throughout the United States. According to one biographer, she regaled "audiences of gawking Midwesterners with stories of 'Life in the Frozen North'. Clothed in her 'native costume' of a polar bear skin parka, she spoke about her people and their customs and sang native songs" (Anderson n.d.).

For a sense of the types of songs Krarer performed, there is an 1890 transcription of her "Eskimo Love-Song" available for examination (Example 7.1).



Example 7.1: "Eskimo Love-Song" sung by The Esquimaux Lady (Bubna 1890: 873)

Remarkably, the material is from an 1890 children's magazine entitled *St. Nicholas: An Illustrated Magazine for Young Folk*, whereby the author treats Krarer's life story as authentic.[7] The song features a simple melody sung in F minor and duple meter. The third and fourth lines are repetitions of the first two. The character of the song is not unlike those written by popular song writers and even art music composers during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Examples of these compositions will be thoroughly examined in the following chapter. Despite attempts to uncover the hoax, Krarer's career continued to flourish. She gave approximately 2500 lectures around the country, including universities and she continued to enthrall American audiences with her bizarre stories and "native" renditions of music and dance until her death at age 76 in 1935 (Björnsdóttir 2010: 116, 164).

Others followed Krarer's lead in creating further misinformation about Eskimo people and their culture. With his wife Sarah, General Frank "Shorty" Shade of Kendalville, Indiana performed for traveling circuses as "Chief Debro, the Eskimo Midget" (Figure 7.3).

Figure 7.3: Two Photos of the World's Renowned Esquimaux Chief Debro and wife with Campbell Bros. Circus, 1903. The photo on the right apparently depicts Ólöf Krarer acting as wife

Two French sisters named Leontine and Louise Selles billed themselves as "Les Soeurs Esquimaux" while in Britain a family consisting of mother Madame Stella and her two children

[7] Ólöf Krarer's writings and lectures had great influence on the education curriculum of the United States. Beginning in the early 1890s, teachers began to read her biography to school children. In 1902, the publication of the textbook *Eskimo Stories* featured a chapter written by Krarer (Smith 1902). The popular work continued to be taught in American elementary schools until the late 1930s (Björnsdóttir 2010: 93-94, 119-121). The rest of the book includes material based on the non-fiction writings of Frederick Schwatka (Schwatka 1899) and Josephine Peary (Peary 1901), the wife of the famous explorer.

Miss Corabella and Prince Mignon performed as the "Esquimaux Family" (Anderson n.d.). Captivation with the Eskimo was an international phenomenon, not just limited to the United States.

Late 19th Century "Eskimo" Representation

The next grand event took place in Chicago in 1893 and included for the first time, as far as American expositions are concerned, the presence of live "ethnic" performers. Named the World's Columbian Exposition, the fair celebrated the 400th anniversary of Columbus's discovery of the New World and with it, the advancement of cultures and race, the highest acclaim bequeathed to Anglo-Saxon Americans. The spatial arrangement of the ethnological villages closely followed this evolutionary scale of cultural progress and its layout served as a model for future American expositions. In one area was the White City, which presented America's unrivaled achievements in the form of industry, commerce, and technology. Opposite the White City was the Midway, which signified the rest of the world in all its degrees of cultural merit. Describing the layout of the fair in terms of racial hierarchy, world exposition historian Robert Rydell wrote the following:

> Nearest the White City were the Teutonic and Celtic races as represented by the two German and two Irish villages. The center of the Midway contained the Mohammedan world, West Asia, and East Asia. Then, "we descend to the savage races, the African of Dahomey and the North American Indian, each of which has it place"[8] at the opposite end of the Plaisance. (Rydell 1984: 65)

The Midway and its immediate surroundings regularly featured freak shows and circus acts juxtaposed against various non-Western ethnic groups, including Eskimos. Such mixing of bizarre entertainment and more "serious" ethnological displays obscured the line between reality and imagination and helped to distort the image of the Other.

Perhaps for the first time in the United States, Eskimo performers participated in the exposition, Inuit from Labrador to be more precise (Culin 1894: 55). The fair provided a unique opportunity for visitors to meet and learn about foreign cultures, let along their music. It is unknown whether the Inuit played or sang music for audiences. Considering the degree of

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[8] Quotation is from Snider 1895: 255-257.

acculturation experienced by Labrador Inuit, their music may not have even fit the image of "traditional" indigenous music.[9]

The fair attracted ethnologists, including those with musical training such as Densmore, Fletcher, Farwell, and others. One of these individuals who possessed a keen interest in Native American musical culture was Benjamin Gilman, a scholar and composer who brought a gramophone to the fair and made some of the earliest extant recordings of ethnic musics from around the world. Again, it is uncertain whether Labrador Inuit attempted to record their songs with Gilman. Records pertaining to the Benjamin Ives Gilman Collection make no mention of such recordings (Lee 1984 and Pisani 2005: 174, 362n).

Since this dissertation deals primarily with native people of the Western Arctic, I will redirect my focus on their representation at the world's fairs and expositions. The following section concerns the experiences of a group of Iñupiat from the Port Clarence area, with special attention to the young girl Zaksriner, meaning "One of Two" and her twin sister Artmarhoke, meaning "Little Fish" (Figure 7.4).

Figure 7.4: Photo of Zaksriner (Bruce 1895: 103)

In the summer of 1893, Miner W. Bruce, initially hired and subsequently fired by Sheldon Jackson as the superintendent of the Teller Reindeer Station, traveled south with 11 Port Clarence

[9] Ethnographers and reporters remarked about two Inuit families from northern Labrador who, because of their remote location, were presumably less acculturated by the missionary presence (Smith 1894: 209 and *BG* 10/15/1892: 1-2). It is possible that these exposition participants may have demonstrated more traditional forms of drum dancing and singing.

Eskimos (four men, three women, and four children) and a collection of native artifacts.[10] While publicly stating that the purpose of his trip was to visit Washington D.C. in order to lobby Congress for funds to maintain the reindeer station, his other understated motives were to sell his collection to museums and to showcase his ensemble at the Chicago's World Fair and other cities. Arriving too late in the States to arrange for an appearance at Chicago exhibition, a slot taken up by a troupe of Labrador Inuit, Bruce headed instead to San Francisco where the California Midwinter International Exposition was soon preparing to open in January 1894.

Very little is known about the Alaska natives' presence since the group left soon after the fair opened (Zwick 2006: 40). Replacing them was a band of Labrador Inuit entertainers who had just finished participating at the Chicago fair. Because of their longer stay, much more information about eastern Arctic natives' activities is available. With regard to the Alaskan Eskimo group, according to one source, *The Fantastic Fair*, authors Arthur Chandler and Marvin Nathan described the Eskimo Village as an Alaskan exhibit, which "featured Eskimos, sled dogs, and imitation igloos fashioned from plaster staff" (Chandler and Nathan 1993: 19). Unfortunately, I have yet to find another source confirming this alleged Alaskan connection. Photos from the Bancroft Library depict the same igloos but with Labrador Inuit performers beside them, not Alaskan Eskimos. The authors may have drawn a stereotypical association between Eskimos and Alaska and then conveniently compared the performers' origins to that of another native group from the soon-to-be American territory, Hawai'i. If so, the discrepancy highlights a continued lack of understanding regarding cultural and geographical differences among the various Eskimo peoples of the northern latitudes.

When Bruce and the Port Clarence Iñupiat finally arrived in Washington D.C. at the end of February 1894,[11] the First Lady Mrs. Cleveland gave them a reception at the Blue Room of the White Horse.[12] Music filled the meeting in the form of Western song and native singing and dancing. Below is a newspaper headline describing the event followed by a portion of the article.

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[10] For more details about Miner Bruce and the Port Clarence Eskimos, see the following sources: Ray 1992: 223, VanStone 1976: 4-7 and VanStone 1980b: 11-17, Zwick 2006: 39-52, and Taliaferro 2006: 145-146.

[11] Franz Boas interviewed the group in Chicago as they were heading east to the nation's capital. The anthropologist inquired about possible mythologies and shamanic secret languages shared between the Eastern Arctic Inuit and Alaskan Eskimos (Boas 1894: 205-208).

[12] Other northern Alaska Natives visited the President's office as well. On December 21, 1905, Fay Koborivaka, a 10 year-old Eskimo girl from Bettles, appeared among President Roosevelt's callers with her

> A Blue Room Scene. Mrs. Cleveland[13] Gives a Reception to Esquimaux.
>
> Awed and Astonished Guests. The Fur-clad Strangers Sang for Their Hostess and the Ladies of the Cabinet, and Little Rita Showed Off Her Accomplishment Calisthenics – Presented with Flowers on Retiring from the White House – The Receiving Party.
>
> After an explanatory address from Mr. Bruce, the Esquimaux were invited by Mrs. Cleveland to come nearer, which they did, taking care, however, to keep close to the wall, as though they feared an attack from the rear. The word was then given, and the seven elders struck up: "In the Sweet By and By." However much the semi-savage knowledge of musical rhythm and command of the English language necessary for the successful rendition of this well-known song may have delighted the Mistress of the White House and the company generally, it did not by any means meet with the unqualified approval of Mrs. Cleveland's handsome brown King Charles spaniel, which, unknown to the owner, had taken a notion to attend the reception. As the first notes of "The Sweet By and By" struck his ear he set up the most dismal howling, evincing such unmistakable signs of woe and inward perturbation it was with difficulty the company could refrain from laughing outright. After some clever dodging about, keeping up his quota to the singing, the dog was captured and carried out of the room. (*WP* 4/4/1894: 5)

This extraordinary cross-cultural event, the first of its kind to present Western Arctic natives in the White House, was suffused with music and dance, both of native and non-native origin. Organizers of the event apparently programmed music to characterize the degree of familiarity between Western and Iñupiaq culture. The natives opened the occasion with a church hymn, which helped set up the atmosphere and establish an important connection between the two groups.

Introduced by missionaries and religious-minded whalers and traders, "The Sweet By and By" has been noted several times as a popular hymn among the Alaskan Eskimo population. Despite the distraction caused by her pet, the song likely left a powerful impression upon the First Lady and her entourage. Its performance by the Eskimo visitors showed the hosts the "beneficial" influence of Christianity, a sign that Alaska's indigenous population was becoming "civilized". As an introduction to the event, the song served a promotional function. It helped

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missionary teachers, Mr. and Mrs. C.D.W. Crom. Koborivaka soon thereafter, enrolled in "the Carlisle Indian School to be educated for the work of teaching in Alaskan schools" (*WP* 12/22/1905: 6). Three years earlier, in November 1902, President Roosevelt received the Carlisle Football Team, which consisted of American Indians and an Eskimo, whose homeland was unknown (*WP* 11/29/1902: 3).

[13] Two months later, another Eskimo group, almost certainly the Labrador Inuit, visited the White House and met President Cleveland, his wife and their friends. There they "gave an exhibition of their method of handling their long dog whips (*WP* 5/8/1894: 5). The frequency of such visits demonstrates a high degree of interest in traveling Eskimo troupes among the general public and higher officials alike.

bridge the cultural divide by establishing familiarity while at the same reflecting positive acculturation and the Alaskan native connection to the United States.[14] By this time, Western music and dance had become an important commodity, a trade good absorbed into the Eskimo culture that in a specific sense globalized the local and in turn localized the global. As shown throughout this chapter, American world's fairs and expositions also provided a venue for the commodification of indigenous song and dance, the beginning of "tourist"-related performances that continue to the present day.

Following an acrobatic display by Zaksriner and other native children, the visitors continued with more music and dance. A journalist wrote:

> Then, after a song in true childish treble, the little maids' part in the performance was concluded to give place to a native song by the elders. This was made additionally interesting by the accompaniment of beating on the drums of Alaskan manufacture. These were of walrus hide stretched taut over circular rims of wood with a handle like a fan. When the Esquimaux essayed to perform a dance one of the three women was debarred from taking part, owing to the demands of her child, who, after clamoring for and obtaining its nourishment, demanded to be set astride of her shoulders, from which safe place it beat a contented tattoo on her head without so much as causing her to move a muscle of the face. As the Esquimaux danced and whirled about with an abandon by no means lacking in grace, the elder of the men accompanied the gyrations with loud, piercing cries, suggestive of the sounds uttered by braves at an Indian war dance. The children, meanwhile darted in and out between the whirling figures that never at any time moved more than a foot or two from the wall. (*WP* 3/4/1894: 5)

The natural spontaneity of the performance, common to Alaskan Eskimo dance music, highlights this 1894 article. Even though certain formalities were rendered for the occasion, the singing and drum dancing appeared to have retained a greater degree of authenticity than is usually found in tourist or foreign settings. Another observer remarked about the power behind the native singing: "The hearing closed with a native song, in which all the Eskimos, including the babies, joined so lustily that it could be heard above on the floor of the House" (Ray 1992: 223). The dramatic shift from singing a Western hymn to that of a traditional Iñupiat drum dance and song displayed

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[14] One characteristic that Alaskan Eskimos had over Eastern Arctic Inuit was their political ties to the United States. Shortly after the Port Clarence troupe's visit to the White House, a reporter pointed out this special quality and tacitly suggested the federal government's responsibility for indigenous Alaskans: "Most of the Eskimos who are usually exhibited everywhere are from the northeast toward Greenland and the surrounding floes...these people are from Alaska and are just as much wards of the nation as the Indians (*BDG* 4/8/1894: 18). Soon exposition promoters in charge of Alaska Native-represented villages emphasized this connection and used it as a selling point to draw distinction away from Labrador and other eastern Arctic Inuit.

biculturality, an early example of a people negotiating the two worlds of the local Eskimo and the urban West.

News of the Eskimo group's visit circulated throughout numerous other publications. For instance, one reporter for *Harper's Bazaar* who had heard their performance gave a somewhat measured but positive assessment of the Eskimo group's musicality, an opinion rarely shared, at least publicly, by Westerners:

> One noonday there was interest for quite a little company in the visit of the Alaska Esquimaux, who have been quite a feature in social life during their stay. They were much feted in private houses, and made the reason for gathering many large tea companies, and these simple children of the North won much interest for their people and their future welfare. The very spring-like weather prevailing made their fur clothing rather burdensome, and the whole company were provided with fans, which they wielded vigorously. They were all robust...They sang not unmusically in their own language, and had been taught to utter English phrases of greeting. (*Harper's Bazaar* 3/24/1894: 242)

Immediately after their successful visit to Washington D.C., the group traveled first to New York where they performed at the World's Fair Midway Plaisance at Madison Square Garden, and then later to Boston (Zwick 2006: 43-44). Throughout their tour, the group presumably presented the same kind of performances, including acrobatic feats, dancing, and singing. One popular association drawn by reporters, which foreshadows the imagery of the Eskimo as discussed in the following chapter, is the comparison of Zaksriner and other native children to the Brownies, a popular series of children's stories created by Palmer Cox in the 1880s (Figure 7.5).

Figure 7.5: A Cox Brownie

Depicted as imaginary little beings, Cox presented a series of characters that included among others the Chinaman, Scotsman, American Indian, Cowboy, Turk, and Eskimo (Silvey 1995:

176). Furthermore, they went on adventures to exotic lands such as the polar regions, popular public events such as the World's Fair, and high society sites such as the White House (Kovel and Kovel 1996). The basis of the comparison was their perceived "cute" and "adorable" appearance as well as their daring and agile behavior.

In the following year, Bruce returned to the South with eight Alaskan Eskimo, including Zaksriner, her twin sister and Bruce's newly adopted daughter Artmarhoke, and two previous performers Isekyner and Kerlinger. In November 1895, the group participated in Atlanta's Cotton States and International Exposition. Again the troupe sang and danced for the public. They also toured schools around the Atlanta area where the Iñupiat entertained children with song and dance.[15] Zaksriner's rendition of the 1892 hit "Bicycle Built for Two" particularly impressed young listening audience, as indicated in the following quotation:

> Along with appearing at the Ice Grotto [Eskimo Village], the Inuit were brought on tours of Atlanta schools through the month of November. Bruce gave a short lecture about Alaska and Eskimo culture and the Inuit sang songs and danced for the children. A group of three, including Zaksriner, were brought on the first tour. Zaksriner impressed their audiences by singing "A Bicycle Built for Two." (Zwick 2006: 46, 49, n176)

Here is another example of how Eskimo familiarity with American popular culture through the medium of song made a deep connection with the local peoples, adults and children alike. Of course, Zaksriner had already absorbed several years' worth of experience in the States, certainly enough time for her to adopt new customs and to lose her mother language (Zwick 2006: 46).

Tragedy struck the troupe when three of the performers contacted pneumonia. Within a week or of showing symptoms, the 21-year-old leader of group Iserkyner died at an Atlanta hospital. According to a reporter for the *Atlanta Constitution*, a funeral service was conducted "after the custom of the Eskimos at the grave, but the services by Dr. Williamson were simple" (*AC* 11/25/1895: 8). Somewhat surprisingly, the article contains no mention of singing at the gathering, either native or non-native. Dr. Williamson, the reverend who officiated over the ceremony, gave a "fervent prayer" that presumably involved song. Since only Bruce, the twins,

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[15] The Iñupiaq visit to the schools may have initiated a lasting tradition of teaching "Eskimo" culture to the city's youth. Three newspapers references from 1916, 1930, and 1933 mentioned various school projects based on "Eskimo" motifs. They are as follows: "The first grade is building an Eskimo Village on their sand table" (*AC* 1/16/1916: A2); "The High 2 grade has made an Eskimo village. The polar bear was made of white soap" (*AC* 2/2/1930: 16A); and "High 3-2 and High 2-1 are enjoying the study of the Eskimos. They have put an Eskimo village on their stand table" (*AC* 1/15/1933: 12A). The 1902 publication of Mary E. Smith's *Eskimo Stories* and Ólöf Krarer's frequent lecture tours throughout the South (Björnsdóttir 2010: 145, 152, 161) certainly helped sustain people's interest in Eskimo people and the Arctic.

and an older girl attended the service formal native customs fitting the occasion may have been limited. However, the eldest child reportedly followed an Iñupiaq custom. The journalist wrote: "The older girl went to the head of the grave and spoke to the dead man in her native tongue. She then stopped and cut away a piece of fur from the dead man's coat and threw it in the air toward the east" (*AC* 11/25/1895: 8). The poetic manner in which the writer described the custom tugged at the heartstrings of the reader. Despite the thorough depiction of events, however, the reporter made one particularly glaring error, asserting that the Alaska natives came from Iceland. Ólöf Krarer's recent publicity stunts may have been a factor in creating such a disassociation. In fairness to Krarer, she claimed that before she embarked on her act, people had already thought of her as an Eskimo because of her physique, strange accent, and that she was from Iceland. Apparently, Americans had falsely associated Iceland with Eskimos prior to the 1880s, the most obvious reason being that their homeland was thought to be stereotypically one of ice and snow.

The next year in 1896, Bruce brought Zaksriner and Artmarhoke to Gloucester, Massachusetts, just north of Boston. In an interview, the five-year-old twins entertained the reporter with aspects of Iñupiaq culture, including song and dance. Because of the long-term separation from her homeland, Zaksriner had probably begun to forget a good deal of her Eskimo ways. Artmarhoke, who did not join Bruce until a year later, presumably was more familiar with them. The interviewer wrote:

> The children also executed an Alaskan dance, which has many points of similarity to those of Spain and the east. These the little children did with astonishing ease and grace. Mr. Bruce says all the Alaskan Eskimos are very easy dancers and good wrestlers. The Alaskan dance which the children exemplified is mainly a body dance. The legs are kept close together, and there is no movement below the knees. The arms are kept in motion precisely in the same manner as in a Spanish dance. They have acquired other modes of dancing. They have been taken to a theater on several occasions, and have seen skirt dances, and have proved apt pupils, and can give a fine imitation of this well known diversion. They are as supple as little eels and almost agile as a cat. Both can kick a foot above her head without springing or moving from the foot on the ground. Holding a tambourine with a handle as high above their heads as they can either without a move forward will kick the tambourine with rapidity with both legs, one after the other, in rapid succession. Holding the tambourine as high and as far back of their heads as possible they will beat a lively tattoo with the ends of their toes on the sheepskin. High kickers will appreciate the difficulty of this feat. They do what professionals call the "split" with ease, and rather astonished their visitor by doing it together, side by side. After this they sang a little Alaskan song, or rather a chant, since the words or sounds had no significance. One sat on the floor, cross legged, and beating a tambourine, chanted the song, to which the other danced in the native style, the motion of the body increasing in rapidity, the dance concluding with a funny wriggle of the body and a rapid shaking of

> the head. Then they changed about, the other singing and first musician furnishing the dancing. The chant was not especially musical, the Alaskan scale comprehending five tones only, the words constantly repeated being "Te e la hi e yi e ha." (*BDG* 12/13/1896: 29)

In this relatively well-detailed description of Iñupiaq song, dance, and games, the reporter concluded that the native children's performance was not musical as he understood it. The apparent scarcity of pitches and repetition of words defined for him a form of expression did not fit the Western musical system to which he was more accustomed. The same reporter, on the other hand, remarked on how much pleasure the twins received from playing their host family's piano (*BDG* 12/13/1896: 29). The fact that he commented on such a thing shows that he presumed a cultural gap between that of the twins and his own. For him, music served as a measure of the Other's ability and interest to pursue and adopt Western culture.

One of the last detailed musical references to Zaksriner and Artmarhoke is from the fall of 1897. The twins performed for two months at the Boston Zoo. In a successful attempt to promote their appearance, the girls revived the Palmer Cox Brownies comparison by handing out free books of the popular illustrated series to young audience members. As reflected in previous articles, such as the one from the December 13, 1896 newspaper subtitled "As Dancers They Astonish Yankee Boys and Girls" (*BDG* 12/13/1896: 29), reporters focused attention on the performers' dance and the impact it made on the children. Taking advantage of the recent discovery of gold in the Far North, they also drew inaccurate connections between the Klondike and Eskimos, an association that would persist, as shown in the next chapter. One observer wrote:

> The Klondike twin sisters are attracting more attention than any one feature the Boston Zoological society has yet presented. The droll way that these cute 6-year-old strangers have of entertaining is something long to be remembered. Beside their native singing, dancing, and recitations, they have acquired quite a repertory of popular songs of the day in our own language. (*BDG* 10/17/1897: 18)

The increase in popular songs suggests that the twins made an effort to expand and diversify their routine. Since they probably had more difficulty composing new drum dances songs by this time, Zaksriner and Artmarhoke resorted to learning the songs they heard in their everyday surroundings, music that would impress their fellow audiences.

In 1898, Bruce brought a third party of Port Clarence Eskimos down South. Following a large shipment of native artifacts, he arrived at Chicago's Field Columbian Museum with nine or ten travelers, which presumably included the twins. Performances took place at Chicago such as the Oakland Music Hall. In 1899, the two 8 year-old girls who had spent the winter in Seattle, traveled unaccompanied to New York for the purpose of having plaster casts made of their bodies for museum exhibits. While touring the city's schools with Bruce, both of the girls' health deteriorated from a bout of pneumonia. Artmarhoke died in June the same year. Reflecting the public's great interest in her death, numerous newspapers including the *New York Times*, the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, and smaller ones across the country reported on the event. On the other hand, although Zaksriner's condition supposedly improved, nothing is written about her life after July 1899 (Zwick 2006: 50-52). The seemingly better known sister's story surprisingly vanishes from the records.

Early 20th Century "Eskimo" Representation

The first American exposition of the 20th century took place in Buffalo, New York in 1901. Known as the Pan American Exposition, it featured a popular Eskimo Village occupied by Labrador Inuit. Except for one murky source, there is no mention of Alaskan Eskimo participating in the fair. According to Sandra Orock Hall, her great grandmother Unaquthlook, also known as Maryanne or Marion, took part in the Pan American Exposition. Originally from the Nome area, the circumstances of her trip to and from Buffalo are unclear (Figure 7.6).[16]

[16] In an interesting website "Uncrowned Queens" partly based on the role of women of color at the Buffalo Exposition (Nevergold n.d.), Barbara Seals Nevergold writes that Unaquthlook arrived in New York on April 1901 aboard the steamer *Leghorn* with 24 fellow Eskimo villagers, 24 Venetians, and 5 Arab sheiks. In actuality, the writer of the original April 28, 1901 source mistook the Italian port Leghorn for the name of a vessel (*This Day in 1901 Archives* n.d.). Since the source claims that the ship's points of departure were Genoa and Naples, almost certainly the passenger liner *Trojan Prince* transported the exposition participants instead. More poignantly, the Eskimo party instead consisted of Labrador Inuit rather than Alaskan Iñupiat. The passenger list of the *Trojan Prince*, which left Naples on April 11, 1901 and arrived in New on April 28, contains the names of 25 Labrador Inuit (Zwick 2006: 154-155). For two years prior to the Pan American Exposition, most of them had performed in Europe and northern Africa (Zwick 2006: 57-58).

Figure: 7.6: Unaquthlook (center) supposedly on ship heading to Buffalo Exposition (Nevergold n.d.)

Unaquthlook was a young Iñupiaq woman, mother of Nanarook, and wife of the Nome chief Kayataluk, also known as John Spoon (Nevergold n.d.). Very little is known about her experiences at the exposition, except that she reportedly returned to the Nome area pregnant.[17] She gave birth to a child named Rosie Midway Spoon (Figure 7.7), the middle name undoubtedly referring to the location of the exposition's Esquimaux Village where she worked and lived, and the surname serving as a translation of her husband's name Kayataluk (Nevergold n.d.).

Figure 7.7: Rosie Midway Spoon as a young girl (Nevergold n.d.)

[17] Supposedly, Unaqutholook gave birth to her child Rosie in the Nome area on May 3, 1902 (Nevergold n.d.), a date rather early in the season for travel northward to Alaska. Either the date is incorrect or Unaqutholook delivered her child in the States and then later proceeded north to Nome.

At present, there are few details about Unaquthlook's life at the exposition, and no other evidence that Alaskan Eskimos were present at the event. Due to the story's murkiness, it is possible that she participated in another world's fair. Her alleged presence at the Pan American or any of the turn-of-the-20th century expositions, however, raises the important point that, despite the absence of sources, Alaska Eskimos likely participated in other exposition Eskimo villages early on.

The Eskimo Village at the Buffalo exposition was different from earlier ones in emphasizing the theatrical aspects of performance as well as including a more focused attention on native handicrafts. Consequently, the venue offered more ceremonies, which in turn involved music and dance (Zwick 2006: 59). These new additions presumably featured a less traditional style and catered instead to more polished tastes.

The Eskimo Village attraction also placed a value on educating the public. According to one visitor, the villages at the Midway served an educational purpose and the Eskimo villages were among the most interesting. Such a view prompted the observer to challenge the organizers of the upcoming St. Louis Fair to "make the educational features more educational still" (*NYT* 10/6/1901: SM24). For Edith Thomas, a young blind girl studying at the Perkins Institute for the Blind in Boston, her visit to the exposition, including the Eskimo Village, was an enjoyable experience (*BDG* 10/6/1901: 37). The sounds, textures, and verbal descriptions she received apparently made a fine substitute for the village's visual imagery. The venue also became a popular destination for seasoned travelers to the North. Arctic explorers such as Major Henry Brainerd of the ill-fated Greeley Expedition attended the exposition especially to see the Eskimo village (*NYT* 9/8/1901: 6).

The Pan American Exposition is remembered as the site where President McKinley was assassinated. There is a certain irony given that McKinley had been interested in Eskimos for years. According to Ralph Taber, the manager of various Labrador troupes that had participated in expositions since the 1893 Chicago World Fair, McKinley played an important role in bringing northern indigenous people to the south. Taber writes the following:

> I doubt if there is anybody on the Midway who feels more keenly the death of President McKinley than I do. Aside from the fact that he was to have come to the Esquimaux Village directly after his reception in the Temple of Music, and that it would have been a great boost for the show, I have known him personally for ten years and the report that he had been shot came as a great shock to me. President McKinley was partially instrumental in getting down from the North the first lot of Esquimaux who were ever exhibited in this country. They were exhibited at the World's Fair. I went North for them in 1892. Before going I visited Gen. Sykes in Columbus, Ohio. He gave me a letter

> to Maj. McKinley, then Governor of Ohio, and from him I got letters to Sir Julian Pauncefote, British Ambassador, and many other prominent men in Washington. President McKinley had always taken a great interest in the Esquimaux, but had never seen them, and was looking forward with pleasurable anticipation to his visit to them here. (*The Courier* 9/28/1901)

Despite McKinley's keen interest in Eskimo culture, he never met any Eskimos nor set foot on their land, including Alaska whose largest mountain continues to bear his name. Taber may have chosen eastern Canada rather than Alaska as a source for "Eskimo" performers given its geographical proximity and history of sustained contact because of whaling.

Western and Eastern Arctic "Eskimo" Musical Representation

Written sources contain nothing about Labrador Inuit drum dance and song at the "Eskimo" villages. A reference to an early motion picture entitled *Esquimaux Dance* was filmed at the Buffalo Exposition. Unfortunately, no trace of the film remains and nothing is known about the type of dancing presented, not even whether it was Labrador Inuit or Alaskan Eskimo. One difference between the two is that in contrast with the Labrador Inuit, singing and dancing were more prominent in the fairs that featured Alaskan Eskimo performers. One possible explanation is that Alaskan drum dancing was probably more vibrant given the long-term suppression of traditional Inuit culture in Labrador, starting as early as 1771, when the Moravian Church forced drum dancing either underground or to become dormant (Lutz 1982).[18]

The naturalist, Alpheus Packard, writing about his experiences traveling through Labrador in the 1860s (Mead 1905: 44, 46), observed a strong European musical tradition among the native population, particular with regard to the church. On a particular Saturday evening, he noted "the service was brief, lasting 20 minutes, consisting of an invocation or address in Eskimo, and a few chants to German tunes, the congregation joining in the music of the organ, which was well played by an Eskimo boy" (Packard 1891: 203-204). The next day, a Sunday, another service very much similar to the previous one took place consisting "simply of an invocation or address, congregational singing and the litany" (Packard 1891: 204). Packard continued to write about the importance of music in the lives of the Labrador Inuit whom he encountered:

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[18] For example, only in the past decade or so has the Moravian church accepted Inuit drums into its services.

> About Christmas-time all the Eskimos with their families again assemble in their winter houses at the missionary stations where they are settled. Now comes the time of schooling for the children, and the season of rest and religious duties for the older persons. For more than a hundred years have the missionaries of the United Brethren been active on these shores, and it is owing to their zeal that nearly all the Eskimos (except a few families which live quite far north of Killinek) have been converted. But they have not sought alone to Christianize them, but also to civilize them I believe that upon the whole coast there is not an Eskimo who cannot read, write, and cipher, although singularly enough they are not, to be sure, particularly given to this last; on the other hand they have an extraordinary memory, and I believe they know well by heart the usual church tunes. Through close personal contact with the missionaries they try to gain information regarding European customs. Every Sunday afternoon they are allowed to come to the missionary house, where illustrated papers which have been sent as presents are shown to them. They are especially attracted by music, and whoever plays to them always finds a grateful public; and they are not listeners alone but also play themselves. Thus the organ or harmonicum used in the church service is played by Eskimos in the winter in the presence of the entire brotherhood, and the organ is accompanied by a small orchestra likewise composed of Eskimos. (Packard 1891: 277-278)

The above passage emphasizes the presence of Moravian church music and to what extent the Labrador Inuit had absorbed it into their culture. Like the drum dancing tradition it had largely replaced, the music introduced by the Labrador missionaries offered both a sacred and secular dimension (Lutz 1982: 20). Because of this dual influence, traditional Inuit music and dance failed to compete even as a popular form of entertainment, let alone as religious ceremonial accompaniment. At the turn of the 20th century, the Eskimo Village performances presented by the Labrador Inuit were probably even further unrelated to the drum dancing tradition. Instead of portraying their culture with older forms of drum dance and song, they incorporated more contemporary theatrical elements into their routine. This approach continued in later fairs.

The writings of Ernest William Hawkes provide a useful comparison between the early 20th century state of Labrador Inuit traditional music and that of the western Alaskan Eskimo. Working as a government teacher for three years at St. Michael and the Diomede Islands (1910-1913), and one season as a Geological Survey of Canada ethnologist along the Labrador coast (1914), Hawkes provided valuable descriptions of northern indigenous musical culture that rank as some of the most sensitive and objective of their time. One telling account of his work comes through in the remarkable disparity of musical information surrounding the two groups. While devoting two informative monographs to the topic of Alaskan Eskimo feasts and dance festivals (Hawkes 1913 and Hawkes 1914a), Hawkes only managed a few pages about Labrador Inuit music and ceremonies (Hawkes 1916: 122-124, 139-141). Part of the reason for this difference

may be attributed to his lengthier stay in Alaska. Another is that Hawkes observed much less evidence of Labrador Inuit drum dancing and singing. His description of the eastern people's music centers mainly on Moravian missionary influences and the obscure Eskimo fiddle, an instrument possibly originating from contact with commercial whalers and traders. Much of the Eskimo music he does write about refers to, or seems to refer in terms of dance motions and multiple drums to Alaskan culture (Hawkes 1916: 122-124).

Hawkes, however, did mention receiving information about an intriguing dance performed a decade or so earlier that bore possible connections to exposition entertainment. Called the *sculping* or *skinning* dance, it expressed a story about the morality of greed and featured theatrical displays of acting, dancing, and singing (Hawkes 1916: 140-141). The remarkable part about the dance is that the person who performed it, an Inuit man from Hopedale named Simon, had earlier participated "in the World's Fair exhibition" (Hawkes 1916: 140). According to my research, the only Eskimo performer with that name was Simon Manak,[19] who worked at the 1893 Columbia Exposition in Chicago (Zwick 2006: 153). The dramatic description of Labrador Inuit performances at various world's fairs and exposition resembles that of the dance characterized in Hawkes's book, therefore suggesting that Labrador Inuit representation of musical culture at American venues was not unlike that of the local variety.

Theatre and Authenticity

Following the Buffalo exposition, village organizers continued to strive for more authenticity and greater cultural detail. During the winter of 1901 and 1902, the Eskimo Village set up at Charleston's South Carolina and Interstate and West Indian Exposition "featured a curio hall and a theatre. The curio hall contained items of interest such as needlework, beadwork, ivory carvings, household utensils, weapons and furs. The theatre featured actual Eskimos performing native dances and chants in front of sets made up to look like arctic scenery (Chibbaro 2001: 73). The fact that the Eskimo Village building had a sign that stated "Three Tribes of Genuine

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[19] Simon Manak was 35 years old when he arrived in the States to take part in the Chicago World's Fair. His pregnant wife Sarah accompanied him on the trip and bore their child on October 31, 1892, a girl named Columbia Susan. Celebrated as the "World's Fair Baby" and the "First Esquimau Baby Ever Born in the United States" (*BDG* 11/2/1892: 1), she tragically died only one week later from a "sore throat" (*Reno Weekly Gazette and Stockman* 11/10/1892: 7). Another baby girl born 11 weeks later, Nancy, would receive the Columbia moniker and become a highly celebrated Eskimo entertainer into the 20th century (Zwick 2006: 16-17).

Esquimaux" (Zwick 2006: 65-66) suggests that Alaskan Eskimos participated in the Charleston Exposition. Moreover, since the venue featured many of the same exhibits as the Pan-American Exposition, Alaskan Eskimos probably worked in Buffalo as well.

Authenticity in the sense of portraying cultures as they normally are took center stage at least for one ethnic group at the Atlanta Midway in 1902. In September, it added an "Esquimo" village with a company of Cherokee who "will give their ghost, war, and fire dances, and will in addition play a series of baseball games. The redskins of this squad are said to be crack ball tossers. The Eskimos will be grouped in a typical village" (*AC* 9/20/1902: 7). Depending on how the Eskimo performers represented themselves, the setup may have deliberately emphasized a contrast between the properly acculturated Cherokee and the less "civilized" Eskimo.

Such cultural distinctions as they relate to musical development are evident in the following reference. In an article written a few months later from the same newspaper, the Eskimo group participating in the Atlanta Midway was from Alaska.[20] Commenting on their perceived musical ability, the writer claims:

> the natives soon learn such tunes and songs as were whistled or sung in their hearing. These they reproduced with considerable accuracy, words and all. The words were, however, generally sounds phonetically, similar to those heard, and were sometimes, in fact, quite amusing. This sudden musical development seemed remarkable considering that their natural attempts include only monotonous dronings, accompanied by an unmeasured inane thrumming on a sort of tambourine. (*AC* 12/14/1902: 2)

The writer clearly assumes that the exposure of so-called primitive people to Western music makes them more civilized. The remark about the ability of such individuals to essentially "parrot" sounds is common in early anthropological literature.

More Western Arctic "Eskimo" Representation: Sugpiaq and Siberian Yupik

Both Alaskan Eskimos and Labrador Inuit participated in the 1904 Louisiana Exposition, otherwise known as the St. Louis World's Fair. The Alaskan Eskimo representatives probably consisted of different ethnic groups. According to the official report, "There were 28 real Eskimos in the village. Eighteen came from Behring Sea and the balance from the country

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[20] It is possible that Sandra Orock Hall's grandmother Rosie Midway Spoon was named after the Atlanta Midway event instead of the Pan American Exposition.

around Labrador and Hudson Bay territory" (Hanson 1904: 122). Below is an image of the various entertainers (Figure 7.8).

Figure 7.8: Eskimo Village at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair, photograph by Underwood & Underwood

Several families of Sugpiat[21] and possibly Iñupiat, under the management of "pioneer Alaskan explorer and trader" Dick Craine,[22] traveled to the exposition with an extensive collection of

[21] One of the participants was a chief named Scondo (Hanson 1904: 122). According to Dr. Gordon Pullar, Scondo is probably the Kodiak chief of Wood Island, Andrean Nanjack. Heretina, his wife and their nine-year-old adopted daughter, attended the fair a well. He claims that the man who is standing just to the left of the igloo in the photo (Figure 7.8) is Nanjack. The chief along with 25 other people from the village died in the 1918 influenza pandemic (Gordon Pullar, email message to the author, February 15, 2010).

[22] Dick Craine and his partner George Voris represented the Alaska Esquimaux Company, which helped organize the concession (Parezo and Fowler 2007: 252). Two traders who played a large part in bringing Alaska Natives (Sugpiat and possibly Iñupiat) and artifact collections to the fair were L.L. Bales and Ella Ongman (Hanson 1904: 122, 361-366). Bales was a well-known guide and mail-carrier who organized hunting trips, particularly in southwestern Alaska or Sugpiaq country, and traded with the native peoples. He not only collected artifacts and specimens for the St. Louis Fair but also for the 1909 AYP Fair. The trader had a close relationship with the founder of Seattle's famous "Ye Olde Curiosity Shop", Joseph E. Stanley. For more information about Bales, see Kate C. Duncan's well-researched book *1001 Curious Things: Ye Olde Curiosity Shop and Native American Art* (Duncan 2000: 42, 43). Ella Ongman was a trader who collected furs and curios in western and northern Alaska during the early 1900s (Hanson 1904: 361-366). She was probably one of the earliest female traders to work in the territory. Showing a good sense of business savvy, Ongman was one of the few traders who had a profitable experience at the fair (Parezo and Fowler 2007: 454n6; Hanson 1904: 362, 366). According to Parezo, she was "a gold miner who had traveled to the Arctic Circle and returned with Inuit, Aleut, Haida and Northern Athabascan art for sale and compelling life-and-death adventure tales to entertain visitors" (Parezo and Fowler 2007: 301). Having suffered from a serious automobile accident in St.Louis on or before May 11, 1904 (*St. Louis Republic* 5/11/1904: 2), twelve days after the Fair officially opened, Ongman was likely unable to escort any alleged Iñupiat participants from Alaska. Since Bales was traveling with sixteen Aleut at the time, it is possible that out of the eighteen natives who apparently arrived in St. Louis, two were Iñupiat. Ongman reportedly spoke the Eskimo language and had an earnest interest in native culture and northern exploration

Eskimo artifacts (*Scientific American* 1904: 301-302).[23] With the exhibits of Tlingit, Haida, Athabascan, Aleut, and Eskimo arts and crafts (Parezo and Fowler 2007: 304; 455n9), organizers featured Alaska's indigenous cultures more thoroughly than any previous world's fair. Native peoples from other nearby northern regions, including the Kwakiutl and Nootka from British Columbia as well as Ainu from Hokkaido took part in the fair (Francis 1913: 530 and Hanson 1904: 269-270, 385-394).

A popular concession at the fair, The Eskimo Village received praise for its perceived authenticity. One observer remarked:

> ... the whole exhibit is one of the most genuine of its kind, and the American citizen may see these strange people from the North housed in their summer tents of sealskin or their winter "igloos" or snow houses, and engaged, the women in their domestic duties of sewing, cooking, etc., and the men in their various feats of skill, whether in the hunt or in their pastime. (*Scientific American* 1904: 302)

Adding a southern culture's stamp into the exhibit, organizers set up a Klondike mining camp in juxtaposition against the varying indigenous landscape (Hanson 1904: 352). Yet, many of the observers who wrote about the exposition, the author of *The Official History of The Fair*, for instance, failed to draw any clear distinction between Alaskan and Labrador Eskimos, let only Sugpiat and Iñupiat peoples. The official report carelessly grouped specific Labrador Inuit such as "Nancy Columbo" or Columbia together with Alaskan Eskimo (Hanson 1904: 352).

Despite the ample interest in the fair's Eskimo Village, written sources include little information about the performance of music or dance there. According to fair's Official Daily Program (Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company 1904), along with kayaking and engaging in sport, performers entertained audiences with hunting songs (Parezo and Fowler 2007: 254, 449fn35). However, the ethnic origin and nature of these songs is unclear. According to one reference, many Alaska native music-related items were available, as "seventeen tons of

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with local assistance (*The Friend* 1907: 207). She unexpectedly died in Nome of heart failure in May 1908 at 39 years of age (*Fur News* 1908: 89).

[23] According to a Seattle account, 16 Aleuts took the journey to St. Louis with Bales. As written in the nature periodical *Field and Stream*, "L.L. Bales, the old time Alaskan mail carrier, recently came into Seattle with sixteen Aleuts. He is bringing these Indians in for the St. Louis Fair and has a representative crowd of men, women and children, with all their equipment and native finery. Bales had the strangers in Seattle for several days, getting them somewhat civilized before he tackled the Eastern trip. It is a question whether the Indians had more fun with Seattle or Seattle had more fun with the savages. At any rate humor was pretty plenty in Seattle about that time on both sides and it probably will be in St. Louis" (*Field and Stream* 1904: 405).

prehistoric instruments of war, peace, music and the arts were among the many features on exhibition" (Hanson 1904: 122). Furthermore, there were "numerous other attractions, exhibiting the native in their daily life, such as by dances, sports, singing and wedding ceremonies" (Hanson 1904: 122). Unfortunately, no further details are available

The references to music and singing are still compelling. Considering the degree of acculturation among the Sugpiaq people by 1904, it would seem unlikely that they or Labrador Inuit were performing "traditional" music at this time. Perhaps, one can infer that Iñupiat were providing the musical entertainment. Unfortunately, there is little to confirm an Iñupiaq presence except for the ambiguous reference to the Behring Sea in an earlier quote. On the other hand, a number of references to the term Aleut or its derivative, suggests that Sugpiaq people were the main, if not, the only representatives of Alaskan Eskimos attending the fair (Parezo and Fowler 2007: 252, 254, 301, 304; Hanson 1904: 122).

Prominent fairs such as the one in St. Louis made a lasting impression on many Americans. Even so, there were also smaller, less known venues featuring Eskimo Villages at the turn of the 20th century. Shortly after the Louisiana Purchase Exposition closed, for example, New York's Madison Square Garden held a Miniature World's Fair. One reporter commented on the importance of the Eskimo Village and the presence of a young Carlisle school graduate who presided over an Eskimo collection:

> The Eskimo Village complete is to occupy a prominent place in the coming exhibition, and in charge of the Museum of Eskimo Curios is to be a young Eskimo, the first of his race to be educated in the United States. He is a graduate of Carlisle Indian School. (*NYT* 12/4/1904: 5)

Because of the close timing with the St. Louis World's Fair, the participant was likely either a Sugpiat man or a Labrador Inuit. Inuit from the eastern Arctic did connections with the Carlisle school.[24] However, since Alaskan Eskimos were wards of the United States, their enrollment was a high priority.

The next largest celebration was Seattle's famous 1909 Alaska Yukon Pacific (AYP) Exposition. Since its purpose was to promote Washington State's economic connections with the North and the Pacific, organizers took great steps to represent the Western Arctic region. The

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[24] In 1901, plans were made for Minik, the north Greenlandic Inuit, whose life was documented in Kenn Harper's "Give Me My Father's Body: The Life of Minik, the New York Eskimo", to attend Carlisle (Harper 2000: 110).

Eskimo Village was arguably one of the largest to appear at an American fair. Already a year before the event opened, organizers began boasting about its size:

> We are going to have an immense Eskimo village and thousands of dollars will be spent demonstrating in a natural creek the placer mining that has made so many western millionaires. Then we will have a unique riding device – the Flip-Flap. The government has appropriated $600,000 for the exposition. The Arctic Brotherhood and the Business Men's Association of Alaska have contributed $100,000. (*LAT* 7/9/1908: I3)

As shown, Alaskan organizations contributed vast sums of money in order to have their territory represented in Seattle. Alaskan Eskimos participated at the event as well as Siberian Yuit from the Saint Lawrence Bay area. The ubiquitous Labrador Inuit troupe led by Eneutseak and Columbia[25] were also present. Apparently, the three groups appear maintained their own distinct villages within the confines of the Eskimo Village concession (Zwick 2006: 101). According to an early exposition circular, the plan to establish three separate villages was based on a desire to highlight the varying degrees of Western influence on Eskimo peoples. The writer wrote: "There will be three kinds of Eskimos in the village, those who have not been touched by white civilization [Siberian Eskimo], those who only recently came into association with modern civilization [Alaskan Eskimo], and the common or garden variety, the natives who were long ago brought into contact with the white man [Labrador Eskimo]" (*Telluride Daily Journal* 3/4/1908: 4). Of course, the Siberian Yupik had sustained contact with Russian, English, and American explorers, whalers, and traders decades before the Alaska natives. Because of their non-American background, however, they may have appeared more exotic to the exposition organizers than the other two ethnic groups. Below are images of the participants and the Eskimo Village (Figures 7.9 and 7.10).

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[25] The photogenic Columbia received the most coveted prize of the exposition – Queen of the Pay Streak. Accompanied by the famous comedian Eddie Foy, "Miss Columbia, the belle of the Eskimo Village at the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, led the Grand March at 2 o'clock this morning at a ball given as a farewell to performers at "Pay Streak" amusement houses. Members of every theatrical company now appearing at Seattle playhouses mingled with dancers from the streets of Cairo, the Spanish Theater, the Eskimo and Japanese villages. The negro troupe at the Dixie Concession and the Igorrotes were the only "Pay Streak" performers who received no invitation to the function. [...] Music, dances, and high-jinks of all nations characterized the merry-making at Dreamland Rink from 2 to 530 a.m." (*LA T* 10/17/09: II20).

Figure 7.9: Alaskan and Siberian Eskimos, 1909Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition Seattle, Washington, published by Edward H. Mitchell - San Francisco

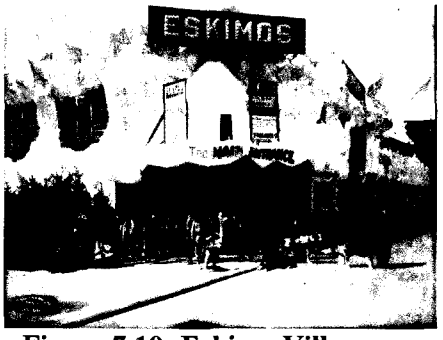

Figure 7.10: Eskimo Village, 1909 Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition Seattle, Washington, picture by Frank H. Nowell

Leading up to the Seattle Exposition, thirty-five performers consisting perhaps entirely of Siberian Yupik entertained audiences throughout the Western parts of the United States. Under the direction of Captain A. M. Baber,[26] they started in mid-December 1908, making stops in Portland, Walla Walla, Baker City, Nampa, Boise, Ogden, Salt Lake City, Denver, Kansas City, St. Jo, Lawrence, Topeka, Oakland, Santa Rosa, and several other places in between. According to one unidentified newspaper article, they regularly sold out vaudeville houses giving performances that were characterized by "the pursuits, athletic feats, and pleasures of the Eskimos supplemented with slides and moving pictures of scenes in the arctic regions" ("Building Eskimo Village Is Begun" n.d.).

By January 1909, the troupe seemed to have put together a well choreographed program. According to a Salt Lake City review, their show featured native sport, hunting reenactments, and the performances of traditional music and dance. The entertainers also catered to schoolchildren by offering special matinee performances (*I See by the Papers...* n.d.).

Their presence influenced other youths as well. In early May 1909, the Siberian Yupik group appeared in Santa Rosa where they attracted the attention of two recent high school graduates, Vic McDaniel and Ray Francisco. There they two saw "real Siberian Eskimos and listened to the high-hatted spieler tell about he Igorot people from the Philippines who would cook and eat their puppies where folks could watch, and the Hawaiian girl, Ieka, who would

[26] Captain A. M. Baber was an Arctic trader who worked for the North Star Trading Company. He secured six Yupik families from the Cape Dezhnev area in eastern Siberia and arranged for their travel to Seattle. Apparently Baber quit trading after the conclusion of the AYP exposition (Ott 2009).

dance her native hula-hula" (Gibb 2000: 3).[27] The show left such an impression on the two youths that they agreed to travel a thousand miles by bicycle to Seattle in order to attend the exposition (Gibb 2000: 3). The same day they witnessed the Siberian Eskimo show, the duo bought a billiken (Figure 7.11),[28] a good luck token depicting the patron spirit of the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition and starting that same year of 1909, a popular trade item carved by Western Arctic Eskimos (Ray 1974).

Figure 7.11: Billiken

The Siberian Yupik performance, known as the "Big Arctic Show" seemed to have been a huge hit among the local population. One advertisement showcased the native children as an attraction (Figure 7.12).

[27] Although the reference mentions other ethnic performers, reports in the community's newspaper seem to address only an Eskimo show. It is probable that Vic McDaniel, who related the story to his daughter decades later, may have substituted his Seattle Exposition experience for the one in Santa Rosa. If so, the performance of the Siberian Yupik travelers alone may have convinced the two youths to embark on their epic journey to Seattle.

[28] The billiken, originally conceived by a Kansas City art teacher and illustrator named Florence Pretz in October 1908, shares certain pixy-like characteristics with the Cox Brownie figures. It quickly became a popular sales item and supposedly by the following year, Eskimo carvers beginning with Happy Jack of Nome started carving it for trade (Ray 1974).

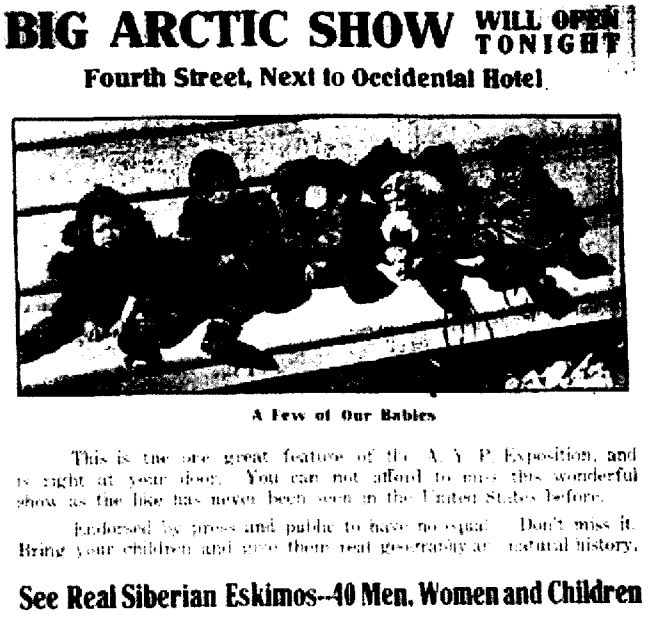

Figure 7.12: Advertisement of "Big Arctic Show" at Santa Rosa, May 1909 (*I See by the Papers...* n.d.)

A description of the event appears in the following Santa Rosa newspaper article:

"Siberian Eskimos Come to Santa Rosa"

> The group of Siberian Eskimos that have been brought to America for the Alaska-Yukon Exposition, have come to Santa Rosa to stay until the Rose Carnival is over. They can be seen this evening and daily thereafter, in the tent on Fourth street west of the Occidental hotel. This group of Eskimos has been exhibited in the chief cities of Oregon, and the newspapers of that state speak most highly of the character of the show. Many scenes of the home life of the Eskimos are given, including their daily occupations and their pastimes, and the sight of them is no doubt an interesting study in ethnology. The leading educators of Oregon give their hearty endorsement to the show. (*Press Democrat*, May 5, 1909)

Although the paper did not provide much detail about the "Big Arctic Show", one can get a better sense of it in a description of a performance given a week later in Oakland. A reporter for the *San Francisco Call* wrote: "The people are seen cooking over the flame of walrus oil lamps, making garments of seal skin and sleds of ivory and carved wood...The children play their native games and the men harness and drive the score of wolf dogs that accompany the tribe..."

(*I See by the Papers*... n.d.). No mention of music and dance appears, but according to the Siberian Yupik show and previous reports, they were almost certainly part of the performances.

After almost a half-year of touring, the group finally returned to Seattle in time for the opening of the AYP Exposition. According to Captain Baber in a *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* newspaper article, "the Eskimo Village was a must-see show on the Pay Streak Midway and the second most popular concession of the fair" (*I See by the Papers*... n.d.).

When the Siberian Yupik entertainers returned to their homeland, as many as 150 took part in the exposition (West 1965: 144). Prior to the event, a claim in a newspaper corroborated such a high figure: "Siberia has sent a whole village of Eskimo" (*NYT* 5/30/1909: 3). The former whaling captain Ellsworth Luce West who transported the passengers to Siberia recalled that the natives had received an ample amount of goods:

> Their baggage amounted to some 50 tons, as they had been paid off in supplies rather than cash. There were bolts of calico and ticking which they favored for summer wear, and much sugar, flour and canned goods. A few of them had hand sewing machines and shotguns or rifles with ammunition. The bulk of the stuff, however, consisted of tin cans and kerosene drums such as they used for cooking and had apparently been picked up at the city dumps. (West 1965: 144-145)

No musical items are mentioned in the list, but one can safely assume that such objects were brought as well.

The last American exposition to be discussed in this chapter took place in San Francisco a few years later. Details on the activities of Eskimo Village participants at the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition are limited (Benedict 1983). According to Zwick, the Labrador Inuit group led by Columbia and her mother may not have even performed although newspaper publications in May and June reported their presence at the world's fair (Zwick 2006: 132). One ambiguously written source refers either to the participation of Alaskan Eskimos or to the display of mannequins. Laura Bruml, who visited the exposition in July and August made the following note in her diary:

> The *Smithsonian Institute* exhibit included groups of figures showing Alaska Equinox [Eskimo], Somoa [Samoa], Guiana, Brazil, Borneo, Seminole, Hopi, Navaho Indians with wonderful variety of household articles, fishing and boating apparatus, musical instruments, pottery, hats, baskets of all kinds, idols, totem poles, carved wood, horn and ivory, feather articles, of dress and adornment. In fact. a bewildering diversity. The most from any one people being perhaps from the Alaska Indians, showing great ingenuity in

> fashioning many household implements. The feather and fur coats looked well made. (Bruml and Hershey 1999: July 23, 1915)

Many of the Eskimo artifacts were probably part of collection owned by Joe Bernard (Bernard 1958: 15), the trader discussed in Chapter 4 who had returned from the Arctic in 1914 after having spent five years living with the Iñupiat and Inuinnait of northern Alaska and northwestern Canada. The reference to feather and fur coats indicates that the so-called "Alaska Indians" were Eskimos.

Conclusions

Natives from the Western Arctic had been traveling to the States since at least the mid-1860s. Their reasons for visiting the outside world were quite varied. Some went out of sheer curiosity or by happenstance by being stuck aboard a ship that could not land. Others went for educational, religious, or economic reasons. A good number of children, not often of their own volition, often traveled to fairs or boarding schools.

By early 1894, if not earlier, the American public received countless numbers of opportunities to see Western Arctic natives on exhibit at newly established fairs and expositions. It was usually the one chance to witness live performances of indigenous music and dance. Promoters of "Eskimo Villages" featuring Western Arctic natives competed against Labrador Inuit troupes for top billing. Perhaps because of their healthier state of drum dance songs, Western Arctic performances tended to feature a more traditional style. As shown in this chapter, native music and dance often went hand-in-hand with non-native songs. Such a combination brought out a sharper contrast between the two musical cultures, which sometimes led to casting the divergence in evolutionary terms. Observers often reported on the adoption of southern music by natives. The retention of popular songs was used as a gauge to measure the ability of indigenous peoples to assimilate into American society and culture. In the next chapter, I will continue to examine southern perceptions of the Eskimo, not by the latter's music, but as represented in the southerner's own music via the medium of sheet music, recordings, musical theatre, radio, film, formal and informal performances. Any possible links between their music and the musical entertainment of world exposition "Eskimo" performers will be discussed.

CHAPTER 8:
EARLY SOUTHERN PERCEPTIONS OF THE "ESKIMO" IN MUSIC

Homer: Lisa, vampires are make-believe, like elves, dragons, and Eskimos.

(from the television show *The Simpsons*)

Introduction and Theoretical Classifications

The joke told by the cartoon character Homer Simpson is funny for several reasons. In a sense, its wit is double-edged in that the remark pokes fun at southern perceptions of the "Eskimo", while at the same time maintaining the timeless stereotyped mystique of the Inuit. Embedded in this dichotomy is the idea that the "Eskimo" is both an imaginary and imagined entity. Imaginary in that Homer, the everyman, has difficulty fathoming the fantastical world of the "Eskimo", a people whose society is so geographically and culturally distant, as to be beyond his own. As imaginary creatures, similar to Cox's Brownies, Eskimos offer the southern mind freedom to manipulate and "make-believe" them as they see fit. When confronted by the notion that such beings actually exist, however, the southerner imagines, or responds with sociocultural constructions that attach meaning to the elusive "Eskimo" image. These run the gamut from the real to the imaginary, from fact to fabrication.

Music serves as a powerfully effective vehicle to convey cross-cultural imagery. Over the past few decades, scholars have conducted extensive research on the history of musical stereotyping with the American Indian (see, e.g., dissertations by Browner 1995 and Pisani 1996). Despite their exhaustive examination of Indian-themed music, little of what they wrote dealt with the Eskimo. The amount of musical material based on American Indian imagery far outweighs that of the Eskimo. Nevertheless, the number of examples involving the Eskimo, comprising approximately 100 from my own research, surprised me. I had expected fewer. To address this information gap, I have collected, organized, and interpreted musical sources with Eskimo imagery.[1] Through the medium of sheet music, phonographic recordings, musical reviews, radio programs, film soundtracks, audience and criticism in print, I will examine southern perceptions

[1] My personal collection of sheet music, library and archival resources, as well as those of Candace Waugaman, Jean A. Murray, and Suzanne Summerville, form the basis of my research.

of the "Eskimo" and "Eskimo" music and the role of music in advancing ethnic representations in all their varying degrees of accuracy or lack thereof..

Composers of both popular and classical music wrote works based on Eskimo-related themes. The manner in which they represented the "Eskimo" varied by personal attitude and knowledge, influence or use of indigenous music, and motive whether commercial, educational, or artistic. Despite the common presence of Eskimo music and dance performers at early American world expositions, fairs, and small-scale venues, there are few examples of composers who made use of actual northern indigenous music. Whether they drew any personal inspiration directly from such performances is unknown and without direct confirmation, it is impossible to prove. Careful analysis of the musical and lyrical content of sheet music, recordings, and other musical forms, allow one to draw connections between composers' works and their approaches to creating Eskimo imagery through music. Reworking Browner's theoretical model, which loosely borrows from the semiotic ideas of the philosopher Charles Peirce,[2] it is possible to categorize the relationship between southern representations and northern indigenous music, life, material culture, and natural environment into three groups: *imaginative*, *indicative*, and *incorporative*. *Imaginative* refers to those works that make no use of native musical sources and are simply imagined, native-inspired or connected to an idea or word that is native-related; *indicative* to ones that try to suggest the sound of native music but make no direct use of native material; and *incorporative* to those works that make actual use of materials from native musical cultures and attempt to imitate them (Browner 1995: 16-19 and Pisani 2005: 12-13). I will categorize each example whenever possible.

Early Examples of Eskimo-Themed Sheet Music

From a purely musical standpoint, the majority of Eskimo-themed pieces from the turn of the 20th century, particularly of the popular music genre, have little or no connection to the northern indigenous drum dance song tradition. Therefore, many of these works could be classified as only imagination-related to Eskimo traditions while a few could be indicative. Those examples that are more "classical" in both substance and expression tend to fit more

[2] The American philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce (1839-1914) was a founder of modern semiotics, a branch of knowledge devoted to the study of signs and their behavioral use. He proposed three sign classifications: *icon*, *index*, and *symbol*, which roughly correspond to my *incorporative*, *indicative*, and *imaginative* concepts. For more information about Peircean semiotics, see Peirce 1958 and Zeman 1975.

closely within the indicative or even incorporative categories, but may also be more imaginative in nature.

According to the sheet music I have examined, the musical form of popular songs generally follows a standard verse – chorus pattern, each section normally 16 or 32 measures in length and in the same key signature. The rhythm is almost always in common time, that is, 2/4 or 4/4. Short 4-measure introductory sections, vamps, and interludes frequently fill out the song structure. The lyrical content often consists of introductory references to the frigid country of snow and ice and a young Eskimo lass. Most of the songs and pieces that fit into a classical music category are more free form and follow programmatically the meaning of the lyrics. Still, others feature a verse – chorus structure but are less confined to a symmetrical number of measures.

The earliest pieces of Eskimo-themed sheet music that I have found date back to 1878 and 1887, respectively.[3] Both refer, at least nominally, to the polka, a Czech dance that had quickly gained popularity throughout Europe and the United States during the 19th century. As will be shown throughout this chapter, the practice of ascribing exotic titles to musical compositions began early on. The first, entitled *Polka des Esquimaux* by the Frenchman Charles du Grosriez was scored for both solo piano and orchestra under the J. Biloir publication label in Paris (*Journal Général* 1878: 188, 240). I was unable to locate a copy of the work and could find little information about the composer.[4] The second piece *Esquimau Polka* was written by Georg (or George) Asch, an obscure British composer who wrote military-band music mainly in the form of marches. Some of his descriptive works include *British Patrol*, *Turkish Patrol*, and the *Oriental March in C* or *La Caravane* all from the early 1880s (*Musical Standard* 1883: 120, 373, 406). His *Esquimau Polka*, released by J.R. LaFleur & Son in 1887, is a band composition written in a typical polka duple meter and features multiple sections consisting of 8, 16 or 32 measures.[5] Below is a musical sample of the introduction based on the composer's score, arranged for piano (Example 8.1).

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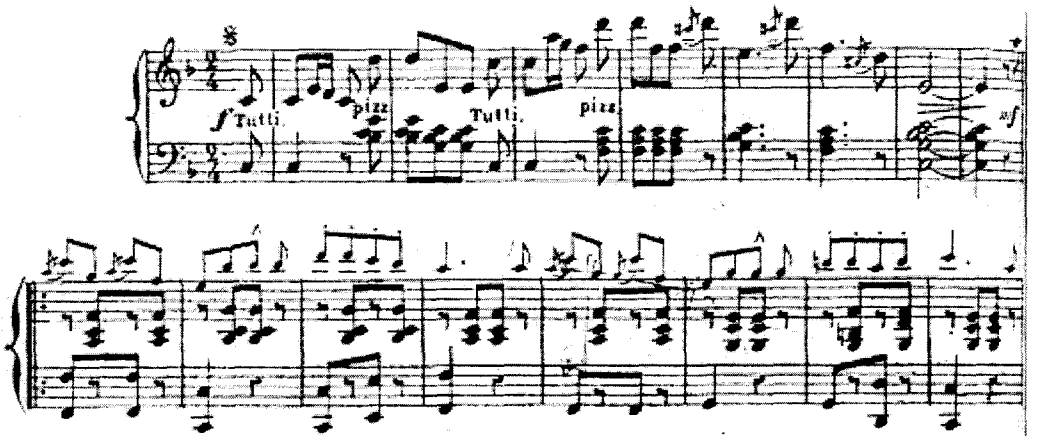
[3] Older examples of Eskimo-themed sheet music presumably exist, especially since sustained contact between Europeans and the Inuit of Labrador and Greenland occurred well before the 19th century. American interest in the Arctic greatly expanded during the search for the Franklin crew in the late 1840s and 1850s thanks in large part to the expeditions and subsequent writings of the Philadelphia-born explorer Elisha Kent Kane (Björnsdóttir 2010: 83-86).

[4] The Frenchman Charles Verstraete composed an accordion piece by the same title probably sometime around the middle of the 20th century.



Ex. 8.1: Georg Asch, *Esquimau Polka* (1887), conductor's score, mm. 1-16

Besides the title, no obvious reference to Eskimo music or culture is evident in this composition. The phrasing and melodic contour as well as rhythmic and harmonic elements are Western in style. It therefore fits closely into the imaginative category, only its title revealing an obvious element of "Eskimo" inspiration.

The earliest American song that I have found based on Eskimo imagery is *Esquimaux Slumber Song* by the prolific composer Adam Geibel (1855-1933) and lyricist Richard Henry Buck (1870-1956), both of whom lived in Pennsylvania (Fuld 2000: 317).[6] This piece is a slow-paced lullaby that lies somewhere between the art and popular song genres. It includes three verses and instead of a chorus a short tag with the lyrics "Sleep, Sleep, little drowsy one, sleep" ends the work. The beginning of each verse is shown in the following musical sample (Example 8.2).

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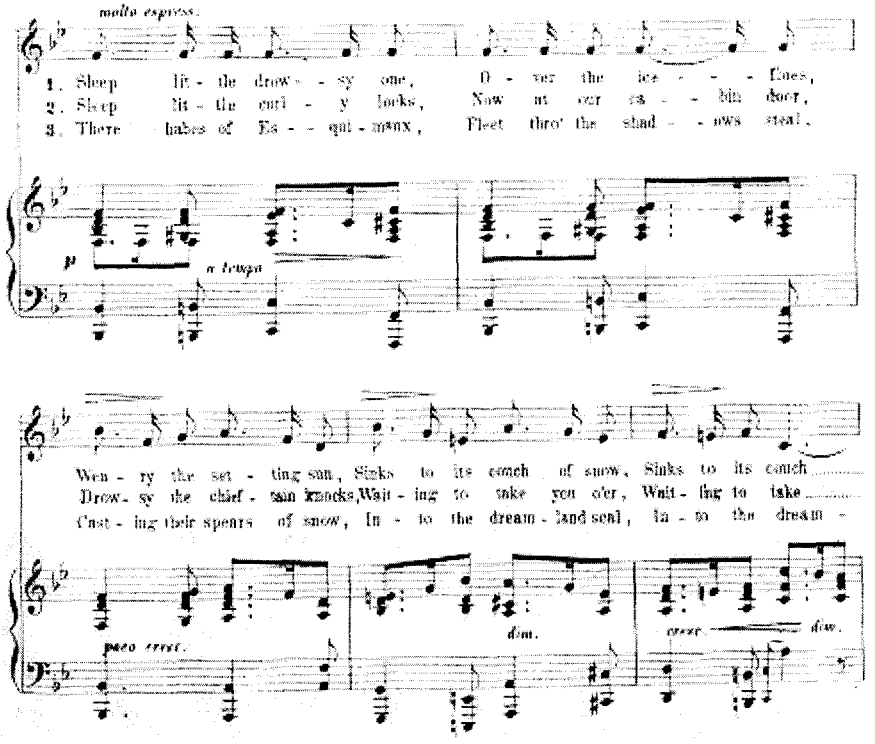
[5] The work is scored for 1st and 2nd violins, viola, cello, bass, flute, 1st and 2nd clarinets in Bb, 1st and 2nd cornets in Bb, horns in F, euphonium or bassoon, 1st and 2nd trombones, bass trombone, and drums.

[6] Geibel was born near Frankfurt, Germany and eventually immigrated to the United States. He became blind at an early age and devoted his life and career to music, working as a composer, organist and conductor. He was educated at the Pennsylvania Institute for the Blind in Philadelphia and taught there as well. Geibel wrote over 3,000 hymns and a sizable number of songs. Very little is known about Buck, who was born in Philadelphia and died in Pennsylvania (Fuld 2000: 317).



Example 8.2: Adam Geibel and Richard Henry Buck, *Esquimaux Slumber Song* (1896), mm. 3-7

Geibel incorporates a German Romantic musical style into his work, one characterized by dynamic expressiveness, and a use of chromaticism, diminished 7th and altered chords. Published by Boston's Oliver Ditson Co. circa 1896, the piece predates national news of the Klondike Gold Rush by about a year. According to the promoter in the following advertisement, the use of the term "Esquimaux" refers to the indigenous peoples of the eastern Arctic rather than those from the Western Arctic:

> Esquimaux Slumber Song" Bb 3 c to Db GEIBEL 40 [cents] A quaint little melody for low voice which would seem to have been wafted direct from Greenland's icy plains were it not for the familiar name of Adam Geibel on the title page. A home song of exceptional merit. (*Musical Record* 1896: 17)

The above description is insightful because it treats authenticity as a perceived criterion for judging the melody as Eskimo. Using the word "wafted", the promoter seems to suggest that the piece is incorporative, though, it could also carry indicative connotations. Very little, however, about the tune comes across as northern indigenous. Phrase repetition, an element of Native

American songs in general, may represent an Eskimo melodic feature, however, it seems more likely that Geibel used it to create a trance-like, sleep-inducing state, which is a functional aspect of lullabies. The piece seems to belong to either the imaginative or indicative category. Regarding the former, the composer was at the very least inspired by Eskimo culture. The composition is also indicative in the sense that Geibel apparently made an attempt to musically suggest the essence of Eskimo life.

In its portrayal of the Eskimo, *Esquimaux Slumber Song* invites comparison to that of another Geibel-Buck lullaby concerning African Americans (see Appendix 3, Compositions 1 and 2). During the same year of 1896, Geibel and Buck published a second song called *Kentucky Babe: A Plantation Lullaby*, which became a major hit and appeared decades later in subsequent editions. In contrast to the Eskimo example, this popular song includes offensive lyrics about African Americans, and is best categorized as a "coon song", a style of music especially popular during the 1890s. Whereas the *Kentucky Babe* lyrics imitate a southern Negro dialect that pokes fun at blacks, those of *Eskimo Slumber Song* carry a more serious tone, but also an overly romanticized depiction of Eskimo people and their natural environment. Such differences in minority representation will be further discussed in the next section.

Popular Sheet Music

The discovery of gold in Alaska and the Yukon Territory during the 1890s generated an explosion of popular music based on "Eskimo" imagery.[7] Among the first is the 1898 piece *Rory, Bory, Alice* written by composer William Potter Brown and lyricist George Bowles. Musically, its style approximates a standard comic novelty song of the Tin Pan Alley genre. The publisher of the piece, Witmark & Sons, was a well-known distributor of Tin Pan Alley sheet music. It features dotted rhythms that occur on the beat and very little syncopation, traits not found in rags or cakewalks (Example 8.3).

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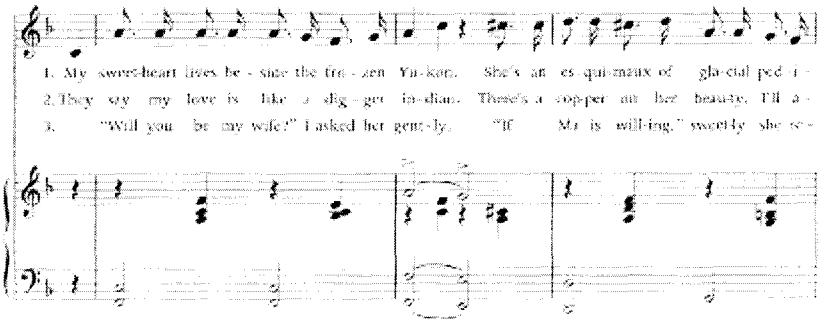
[7] Another phenomenon that stirred potential long-term interest in Eskimo culture was the publication of children's books for the school and home. The use of Mary E. Smith's textbook *Eskimo Stories* in the classroom (Smith 1902), beginning in 1902, coincides with a sharp increase in Eskimo-themed sheet music releases (see Appendix 4). Later books such as Lulu Maude Chance's *Little Folks of Many Lands* (Chance 1904) and Ernest William Hawkes's primary school supplementary reader *Eskimo Land* (Hawkes 1914b) as well as *The Eskimo Twins* (Perkins 1914) and *The Twins in Eskimo Land* (Hope 1936) from Lucy Fitch Perkins and Laura Lee Home's respective series of children's adventure stories kept Eskimo topics in the domain of American popular culture.



Example 8.3: William Potter Brown and George Bowles, *Rory Bory Alice* (1898), mm. 5-7

The lyrics refer to a miner's love for an Eskimo woman named Alice but also, in consideration of the title's pun for the aurora borealis, may also translate as his love for the North (see Appendix 3, Composition 3). The song depicts a Klondike setting due to the mention of "Dawson City" and possibly "indian". The use of the term "esquimaux" may arise from a misunderstanding of northern geography, or it may allude, however improbably, to the recent Nome Rush. A white man's expression of love for – and eventual marriage to – a native woman from remote northern latitudes, it shows that Eskimo-White relationships were more easily tolerated by mainstream American, that is White America, than those with other minorities, particularly African Americans. It is uncertain whether Brown or Bowles had been in the North prior to or around 1898, the time when the Klondike Gold Rush was in full swing.[8] The piece is imaginative since nothing about it suggests Eskimo music, yet the lyrical content clearly shows an inspiration of northern themes.

During the ragtime period, the late 1890s to the late 1910s, composers published large numbers of ethnic songs. As Joseph R. Scotti, biographer of the rag master Joseph Lamb, writes, "there were Jewish songs Irish songs, Italian songs, Spanish songs, German songs, and French songs, with all types of cross- cultural references, even to marriage" (Scotti 1977: 56). Some of the most exotic groups represented, especially during the first decade of the 20th century, were Hawaiians, American Indians, and Eskimos. Remarkably, lyric writers of the day, the majority of whom were European American, often paired up minorities in intimate relationships.

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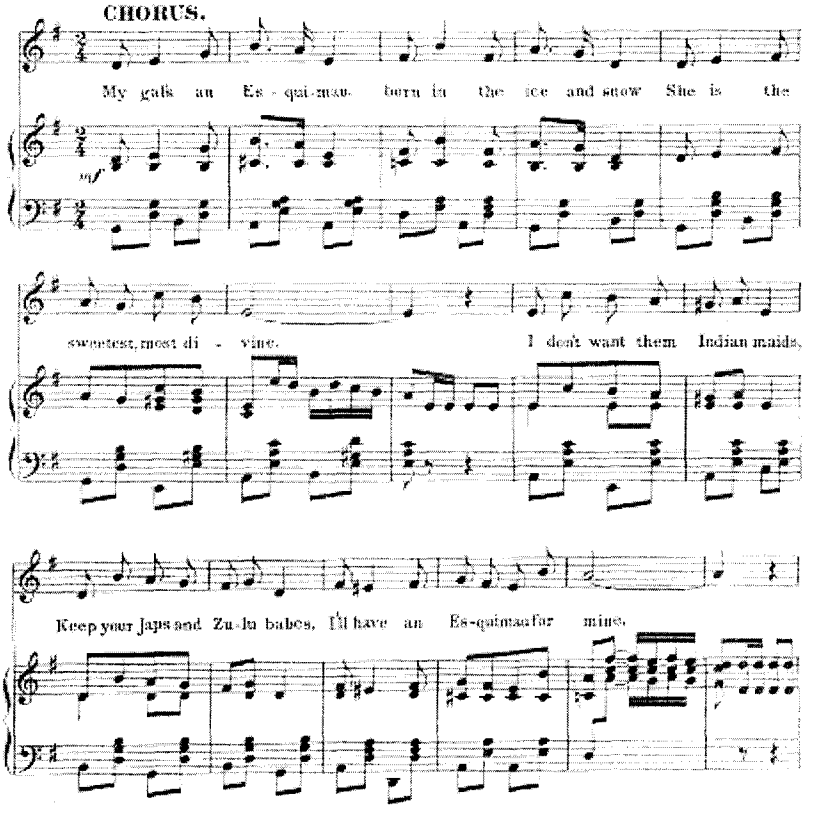
[8] Both men probably had not participated in the Klondike Gold Rush prior to the time they worked on their composition. According to written sources, Brown had arranged music for a vocal recital in Washington D.C. in February 1897 while Bowles had written a musical farce comedy called *The Perfect Lady* in New York in 1898 (*Evening Times* 2/27/1897: 4 and Library of Congress 1918: 1800).

The following two songs well illustrate this tendency. In Raymond Teal's song *My Gal's an Esquimau* from 1904, a shipwrecked African American man spends the Arctic winter with an Eskimo woman. A musical theme featuring relationships between whites and blacks would have been unthinkable. In fact, with the possible exception of Joseph Lamb's 1908 song "Three Leaves of Shamrock on the Watermelon Vine", there is a poignant absence of ragtime song lyrics with any reference to marriage or sexual intimacy between whites and blacks, much less to the offspring of such a relationship (Scotti 1977: 56, 277).[9] In sharp contrast, examples of loving relationships between European American men and Eskimo females are plentiful in turn-of-the-20th century popular song literature.

With its use of syncopation, though limited, and disparaging lyrics about blacks (and other ethnic groups), *My Gal's an Esquimau*, fits most closely into the "coon song" genre (see Appendix 3, Composition 4). The excerpt below contains the first half of the chorus and features both the slight use of syncopation and offensive lyrics (Example 8.4).

[9] Scotti writes that in his 1975-76 conversations with Trebor Tichenor, owner of apparently the largest collection of ragtime sheet music in the United States, no such song describing biracial marriage between whites and blacks came to mind (Scotti 1977: 56).



Example 8.4: Raymond Teal, *My Gal's an Esquimau* (1904), mm. 45-60

Like many other composers of his day, Teal performed as a minstrel singer and undoubtedly had strong musical connections to the genre. For instance, according to a Decatur, Illinois newspaper, "Raymond Teal is a black face comedian and monologuist. He is a former minstrel man and is the author of many popular songs" (*Decatur Review* 9/2/1906: 20). By the early 1900s, however, as mainstream America began to appropriate more black-inspired music, classification of "coon songs" became less clear. To appease the mores of white middle-class America, song words carried less racist and racy overtones. Consequently, re-adapted "coon songs" gradually became absorbed into the acceptable ragtime literature. Berlin writes:

> ... "coon song" and its more respectable derivatives, which continued to flourish – especially in Negro shows and on the minstrel stage – came to share the ragtime label with songs that were racially neutral. Almost any American song with rhythmic life, particularly if it were danceable and in a duple or quadruple meter, was called a rag whether published with the designation or not. (Berlin 1985: 75)

Therefore, despite their mild yet lingering stereotypes of African Americans, hits such as Hughie Cannon's *Bill Bailey, Won't You Please Come Home?* and R.C. McPherson and James T. Bryan's *Please Let Me Sleep*, both from 1902 and performed by Teal, were more likely referred to as ragtime songs than "coon songs". Since *My Gal's an Esquimau* features such little syncopation, however, it may be a stretch to consider it a ragtime song. With its relatively less overt racist lyrics, it may be more precise to classify the piece as simply a popular song. Lacking any element of Eskimo or non-Western music, this song, like the previous one, is imaginative.

As the title suggests in Robert P. Skilling's *Reindeer Indian-Eskimo Song* from 1906, a relationship between an Alaskan Indian man and an Eskimo woman emerges. A special note at the bottom of the first page tells the story:

> Recently, in Alaska, an Indian chief named "Reindeer," after accomplishing almost incredible deeds of valor was "Hobsonized"[10] by the maidens of his community; but he ran away and hid in a cave of a bear, thereby proving himself a very great coward in matters of the heart.

The illustration on the first page is remarkable for its portrayal of an Alaskan Indian as a Lakota warrior bearing the archetypal headdress and protective breastplate (see Appendix 3, Composition 5). A much larger picture of an Eskimo woman's face in a fur parka is juxtaposed above the Indian chief. Despite some incongruent features, this is the earliest piece of sheet music that sharply delineates the American Indian from the Eskimo, both in artwork and lyrical content. Rhythmically, the song contains slight use of syncopation, as the accents fall regularly on the beat (Example 8.5).

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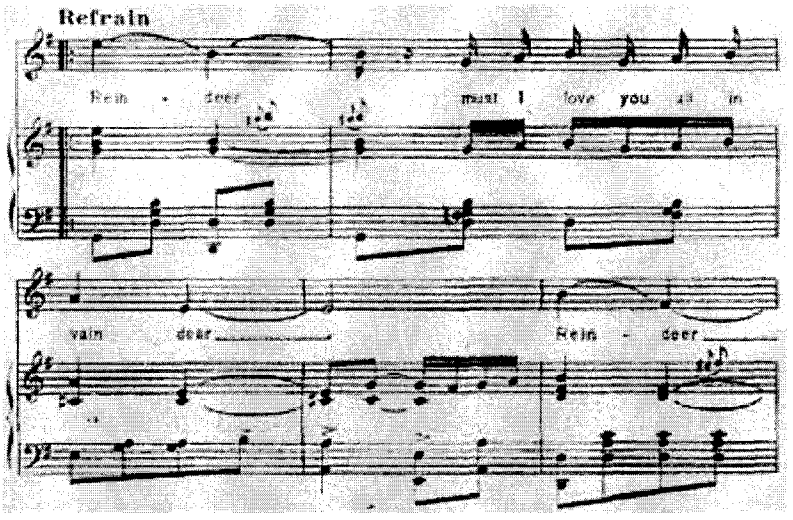
[10] The term "Hobsonized" was coined during the Spanish-American War. Meaning to kiss, the word referred to the adulation given by women to Lieutenant Richard Pearson Hobson following his unsuccessful attempt to block the Spanish Navy at Santiago Harbor, Cuba.



Example 8.5: Robert P. Skilling, *Reindeer: Indian-Eskimo Song* (1906), mm. 26-30

In a few places, a pair of grace notes follows immediately after the word "Reindeer", perhaps as a way to draw more attention to the word, or to express an "exotic" element to the composition. Western composers have long employed grace notes as an ornamental marker of the "Orient" (Pisani 2005: 123). For instance, Mozart and Beethoven used them in their Turkish marches. Such musical representations carried over to the practice of composing Native American-themed music, including that of the Eskimo. Again, this piece is imaginative for the same reasons as the previous ones.

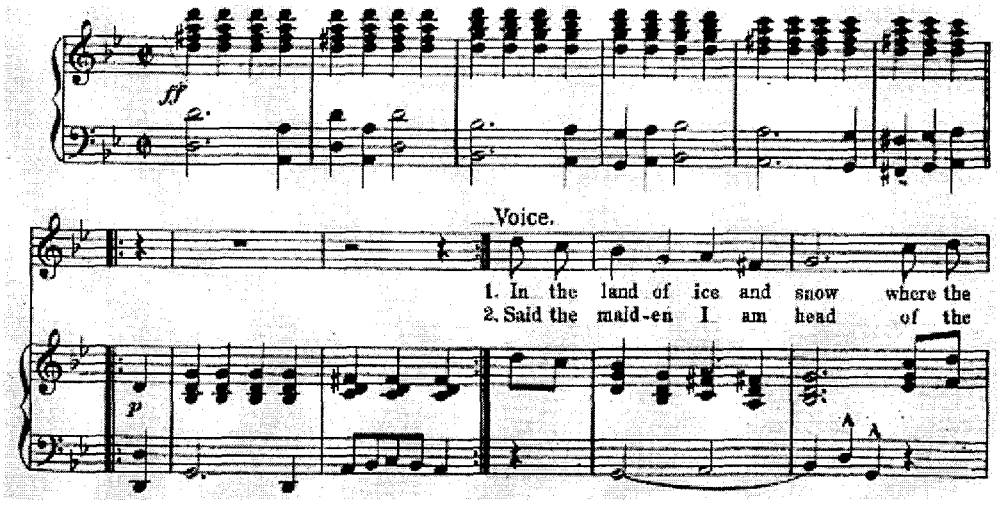
Little is known about the composer Skilling. A graduate of the State Normal School in Los Angeles in 1891 (State Normal School 1892: 14), Skilling wrote not only popular songs but also larger works such as the 1902 musical sketch *Past Present Future*, the monumental 1915 American-Japanese comic opera *The Mystic Rose*, and the 1919 comic opera Cleopatra II (Library of Congress 1918: 1778, *NYT* 6/13/1915: XX4, Library of Congress 1919: 1403).

A year after *Reindeer: Indian-Eskimo Song* appeared the songwriter William J. McKenna[11] followed up with *My Irish Eskimo*. Published by Jerome H. Remick & Co. in 1907, the song intertwines Irish ethnicity with the popular Eskimo theme – an Irishman falls in love with an Eskimo maiden and wants to marry her. Comparing McKenna's lyrics with those of previous songs, especially *Reindeer: Indian-Eskimo Song*, it is remarkable to see how they share

[11] McKenna's biography, at this point, is rather scant. Probably Irish American, he wrote many songs about Ireland and its people, including *Biddy: My Black-eyed Biddy Flynn* from 1907 and *Has Anyone Here Seen Kelly?*, the 1909 American version of the original British music hall hit *Kelly from the Isle of Man*, which he adapted to the musical *The Jolly Bachelors* (Green 1980: 180)

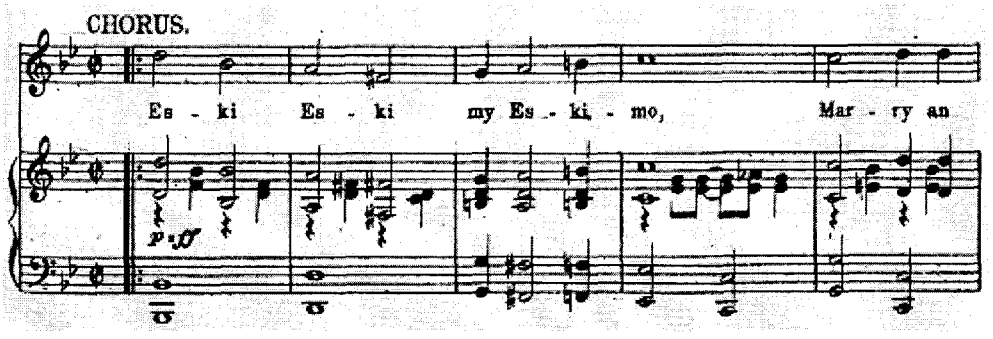
a common, sometimes almost cookie-cutter formula for song-writing (see Appendix 3, Composition 6 and previous ones). *Reindeer: Indian-Eskimo Song* contrasts with earlier examples. One of the most poignant lines in the song is "Back to Ireland I'll never go", which subtly points to the reality of many northern native-foreigner unions, in which the whaler formed an intimate relationship with an Eskimo woman only to leave once his ship left for the South.

Until now, none of the popular songs that I have discussed makes reference to Eskimo music, real or perceived. In *My Irish Eskimo*, McKenna uses a repeating chord figure in the introduction and vamp section of the piece to imitate the sound of a drum (Example 8.6).



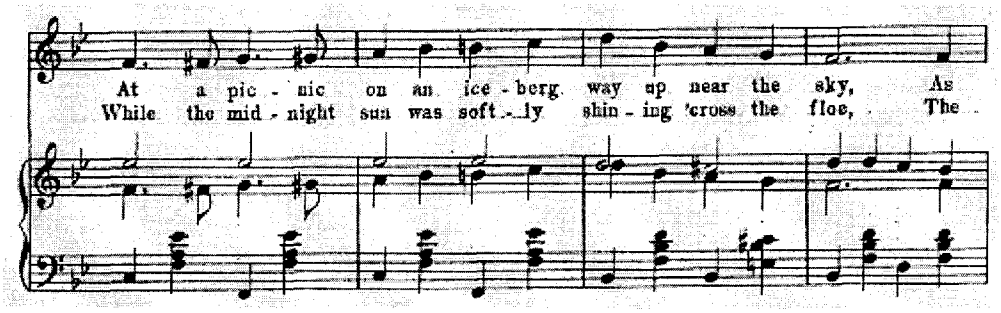
Example 8.6: William J. McKenna, *My Irish Eskimo* (1907), mm. 1-10

Another section where the imitation of a drum occurs is in the opening chorus section. Here the "drum" sounds on the first and third beats, rather than every beat (Example 8.7).



Example 8.7: William J. McKenna, *My Irish Eskimo* (1907), mm. 41-45

Another musical device that composers have used to express Otherness is chromaticism, as shown in the excerpt below. As a departure from the Western diatonic scale, such intervals evoke an "exotic" sound reflecting the music of Asia and other regions (Pisani 2005: 123, 181). A great deal of ragtime music features chromatic elements anyway, but since African and Latin American styles – that is non-Western forms – already influence the genre, musical representations of "exoticism" are perhaps already inherent (Example 8.8).



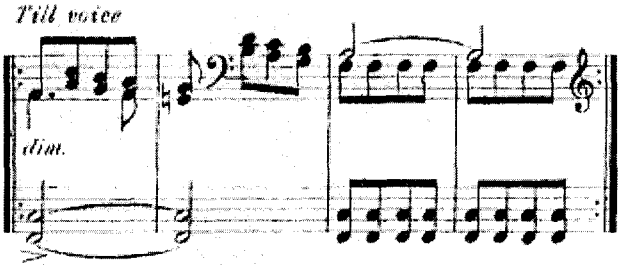
Example 8.8: William J. McKenna, *My Irish Eskimo* (1907), mm. 25-28

The use of the above musical devices places *My Irish Eskimo* well into the indicative category. Since no connection to actual Eskimo music has been established, the piece falls short of being incorporative.

The next Eskimo-themed song entitled *My Fairy Iceberg Queen* from 1910 was penned by Joseph Lamb (1887-1961), a figure ranking next to Scott Joplin and James Scott as one of the greatest composers of ragtime. Throughout his life, Lamb wrote pieces related to the North. Besides *My Fairy Iceberg Queen*, they include the following: his popular *Alaskan Rag* from 1959 celebrating statehood; an early song written in 1905 at age 18 called *Eskimo Glide*; possibly *Reindeer: Ragtime Two Step* (1915), *The Sourdough March* (1906), a piano instrumental dedicated to the Yukon Order of Pioneers (Y.O.O.P.) at Forty Mile, Yukon Territory; and the programmatic rag *Arctic Sunset*, probably one of his late works (Scotti 1977: 214, 216, 218-219, 274-276, 278, 282, 284). If the composer had a special affinity to the Arctic or indigenous peoples, it appears he did not articulate it to his family. Lamb's daughter, Patricia Conn, did not recall ever hearing her father speak about Native American people or northern themes (Patricia Conn, letter to the author, October 29, 2007).

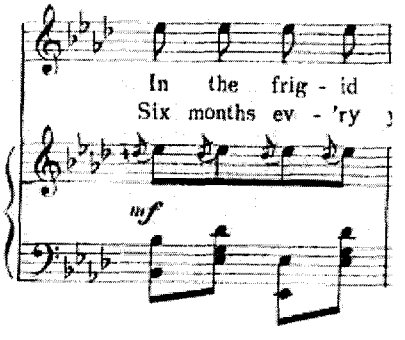
My Fairy Iceberg Queen follows the typical formulaic popular-song structure. Verses and the repeated chorus are 32 measures in length while an introduction and a vamp section set up the piece. Unlike other ragtime songs, which are usually written in the major key, a large part

of Lamb's piece is in minor. The introduction, vamp, and first half of the verse are in the key of F minor, an effect that heightens the northern images of remote desolation, cold, and mystery. Similar to McKenna before him, Lamb in the vamp section imitates the sound of a drum (mm. 11-12), this time employing a repeating open fifth bass figure that hearkens to "exotic" Asian, African, and Native American musical cultures (Example 8.9).

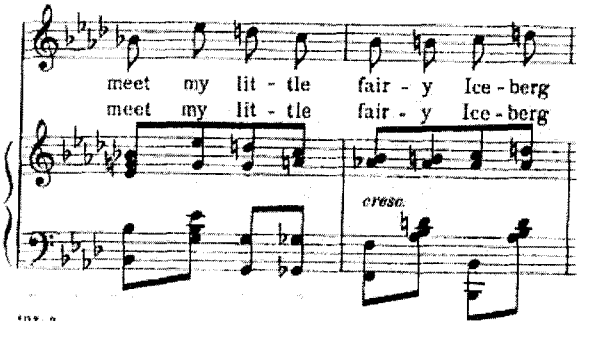


Example 8.9: Joseph Lamb, *My Fairy Iceberg Queen* (1909), mm. 9-12

Two other remarkable features that appeared in earlier songs are the presence of grace notes (Example 8.10) and chromaticism (Example 8.11), musical markers commonly used to suggest the "exotic" (Pisani 2005: 123, 181).



Example 8.10: Joseph Lamb, *My Fairy Iceberg Queen* (1909), mm. 29



Example 8.11: Joseph Lamb, *My Fairy Iceberg Queen* (1909), mm. 41-42

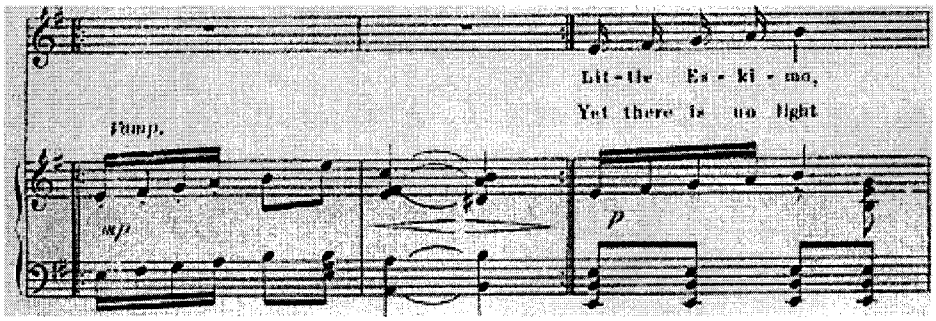
Sharing the same musical devices as *My Irish Eskimo*, this song by Lamb fits well into the indicative category.

Finally, the opening lyrical lines of this piece again closely resemble those of previous Eskimo-themed popular songs (see Appendix 3, Composition 7). In fact, some of the word groupings are so similar – compare the first few lines of *My Fairy Iceberg Queen* to *My Irish Eskimo* and *Reindeer: India-Eskimo Song* – that it appears song writing followed a certain thematic formula as well as musically structural one. Considering Lamb's talent as a composer of piano rags, this piece could stand alone as an instrumental. The addition of lyrics to original instrumental rags, however, proved so commercially successful that it became a popular trend, especially during the second decade of the 20th century. I will provide more examples of this later on. The cover sheet of *My Fairy Iceberg Queen* states that Josef [sic] Lamb contributed both the words and music, whereas the first page of music attributes Murray Wood as a collaborator. Murray Wood may have contributed lyrics to the song, but as a marketing ploy, the publishers could have decided to place the name of the more prominent Lamb alone on the front in order to increase sales. Pertinent information on Murray Wood was unavailable.

According to Scotti, Lamb had originally intended *My Fairy Iceberg Queen* (1910) to be a cowboy song but then changed it to a northern indigenous theme in order to ride the wave of popularity in Eskimo-themed songs (Scotti 1977: 72). This may have happened in response to Robert Peary's successful sled-dog run to the North Pole the year before. Composers and musicians celebrated this historical feat through song and sheet music, as shown in the analysis and musical excerpts below.

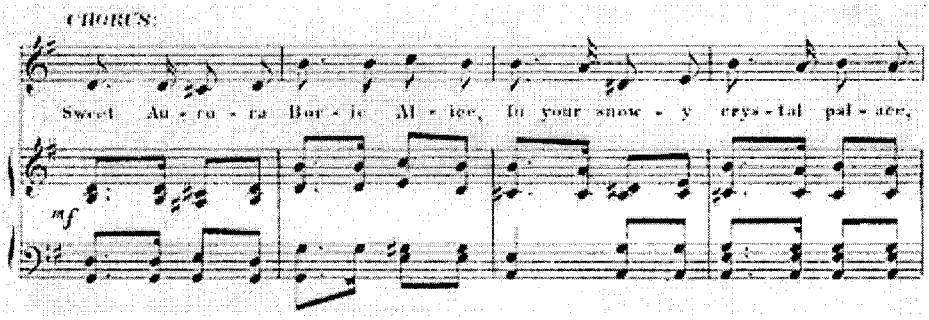
The lyrics in *Aurora Borie Alice* strongly evoke a dual meaning (see Appendix 3, Composition 8). The protagonist wants to "claim" the hand of his northern love, which can be interpreted as both a woman and the polar land. Telling the story of the conquest of the North Pole by Peary, the creators of this song in symbolic fashion, employ the Eskimo woman as a metaphor for nature. The 1898 song with the synonymous title, *Rory, Bory, Alice* discussed above is similar. In both examples a native woman serves as a metaphor for the lure of the North, an attraction to the country whether it takes the form of gold mining or polar exploration. Poignantly, the last few lines of the chorus return the metaphor to its source: an Eskimo woman because of her skin color alone may not be trustworthy in matters of the heart. Such nuanced stereotyping, of course, brings forth fear of the Yellow Peril, the encroachment of the Eskimo's Asian cousins into White territory and interests.

The juxtaposition of man/nature or southerner/Eskimo woman is also evident in the music. The introduction, vamp, and verses, which create the setting of the Eskimo's Arctic homeland, are written in the key of E minor. The strong use of percussive open fifth chord patterns in the bass line emphasizes the world of the Eskimo, and perhaps subconsciously her "Oriental" connections (Example 8.12).



Example 8.12: Samuel K. Stinger Jr. and Walter Peirson Jr., *Aurora Borie Alice* (1909), mm. 5-7

In contrast, the chorus transposes joyfully and triumphantly to the relative key of G Major, symbolically suggesting the impending conquest of the North (Example 8.13).



Example 8.13: Samuel K. Stinger Jr. and Walter Peirson Jr., *Aurora Borie Alice* (1909), mm. 23-26

Since this piece makes use of few musical devices intended to imitate Eskimo, or at least non-Western music, it is best categorized as indicative.

The lyricist Peirson and composer Stinger were from Philadelphia. Both published other songs (Library of Congress 1910: 1405, Library of Congress 1912: 76, Library of Congress 1945:

389), but it appears that writing music may have been, particularly for Stinger, an avocation. Peirson was an outdoorsman and hunter (Wolfe 1916), while Stinger was an inventor.[12] They are examples of popular song writers who wrote music not necessarily as a profession but more as an avocation. Because the sheet music to *Aurora Borie Alice* was published and eventually preserved in archival libraries, we today are aware of it. For every *Aurora Borie Alice* saved for posterity, there are countless other Eskimo-themed songs, many written by non-professionals, that have disappeared or are hidden away in forgotten diaries.

Eskimo Rag (1912-1913) by composer George Botsford and lyricist Jean Havez, represents the type of songs that appeared during the second decade of the 20th century, "songs specifically published as rags, many emphasizing ragtime's new universality" (Berlin 1985: 76). The tendency for musical universalism or globalization had already occurred a decade earlier as reflected in the titles of rags such as *Japanese Rag* (1901), *Russian Rag* (1905), and *Ethiopia Rag* (1909). Soon after, the trend of adding words to rags became a very popular one. Including lyrics added greatly to the commercial value of music such as *Eskimo Rag* (see Appendix 3, Composition 9), which instrumentally could stand very well on its own.[13]

Once *Eskimo Rag* was published in the United States as sheet music, phonograph recordings of the work soon followed. In April 1912, less than two months after its publication (Library of Congress 1912: 413), for example, the famous singer Billy Murray recorded the song with orchestra on Victor Records (label 17166). It was also one of the songs featured in the successful musical "The Little Parisienne" (*WP* 3/11/1913: 5). In circulation numbers, *Eskimo Rag* ranks as one of the most popular pieces of Eskimo-themed sheet music available today on eBay and auction houses.

George Botsford (1874-1949) was a successful composer of popular music, especially rags. Best known for composing *Black and White Rag* (1908), which appears to this day as a standard in the rag repertoire, he also wrote northern-themed works such as *Klondike Rag* in 1908, as homage to the earlier Klondike Gold Rush. Its lyricist Jean Havez (1869-1925) was a noteworthy writer of both the popular song and silent film genres. He collaborated with Botsford

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[12] In 1912, Stinger received a patent (Patent #: 1025545) for an electric street-switch controller (United States Patent Office n.d.).

[13] Incidentally, another of Botsford's pieces *Grizzly Bear Rag* (1910), originally published as an instrumental, became very popular when Irving Berlin added words to it (Berlin 1985: 75-76). The rag helped to promote a new craze in dance styles based on animal themes, including the fox trot and turkey trot.

on *Eskimo Rag*, which expresses the talent and individuality of both Botsford and Havez.[14] Compared to other ragtime songs, the length of its verse and chorus is unusual: 20 and 22 measures long, respectively, not the typical 16 or 32. The rag also contains an ample amount of chromaticism, a feature found in Eskimo-themed rags. Because of its lack of melodic devices suggesting Eskimo music, this piece is best categorized as imaginative.[15]

Themes of Love and Sex

A major theme that runs through the Eskimo sheet music repertory is the subtle (and sometimes not so subtle) references to love and lovemaking. The play on words and their meanings, which in essence reflects the human need for "extra" body heat in the cold surroundings of the North, was shaped by the common knowledge of the day. Stories based on lurid topics such as Eskimo co-marriage and sexual relations between Eskimo women and whalers, though exaggerated, presumably served as an inspirational source for composers. Writing songs about such topics may have increased commercial sales of their products. The following three songs, each from a different decade, show both the sustained popularity of such subject matter and how treatment of it became less veiled in later compositions.

The first song by Joseph Lamb is *Eskimo Slide*, supposedly written in 1905. Judging by the lyrics "Where the people never done [?] to do the "Grizzly Bear" (for context, see Appendix 3, Composition 11), the year is suspect since the popular "Grizzly Bear" dance did not appear until about 1909. It is possible that Lamb wrote the music first and added the words later. At any rate, flirtatious behavior and innuendos of intimacy characterize the song. The song also portrays Eskimos, particularly women, as culturally sophisticated. As in his other song *My Favorite Iceberg Queen*, Lamb makes ample use of the minor key. The vamp and verse are all in D minor

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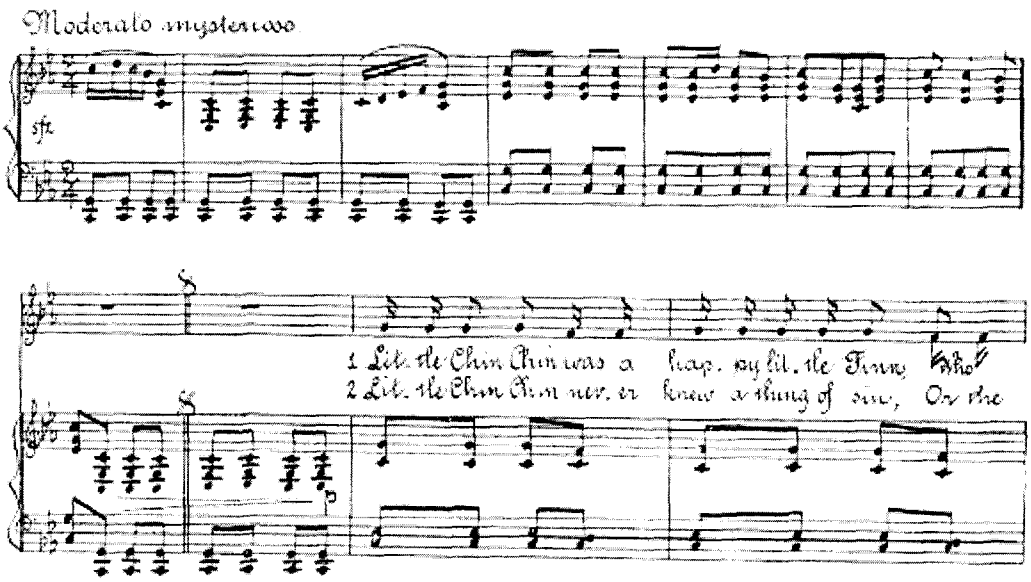
[14] The duo's biggest hit song was *Sailing Down The Chesapeake Bay* (1912).

[15] In addition to *Eskimo Rag*, the transformation of rags into rag-like songs and their global expressions are illustrated in other rags such as *That Italian Rag* (1910), *That Bohemian Rag* (1914), and, most poignantly of all, *That International Rag* (1913). Written by Irving Berlin, *That International Rag* expresses the notion that the world has wildly adopted American ragtime music, characterized by syncopation, or at least in the case of most ragtime songs during the period, dotted rhythms. Like its successors jazz and rock 'n' roll, ragtime served as one of the America's earliest musical contributions to the world. Largely because of its infectious dance rhythms, the style became a global craze that even reached the remotest regions of the polar world, as shown in earlier chapters. Its international appeal is well expressed in the lyrics (see Appendix 3, Composition 10).

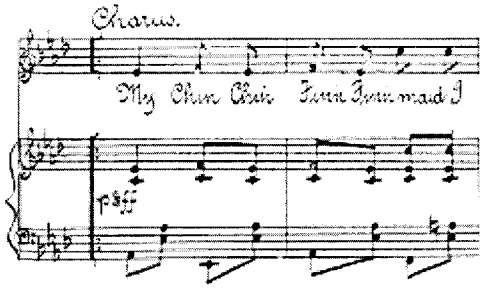
while the chorus modulates to F Major. Grace notes and chromatic runs characterize his compositional style as well suggesting that the piece is best classified as indicative.

The 1914 popular song *The Shy Little Eskimo: An Alaskan Idyll* by the composer Theodore H. Northrup and lyricist Robert Goodman also includes its fair share of desire, in this case, marriage in exchange for a trade item (see Appendix 3, Composition 12). Musically speaking, the song contains the standard 16 bar verse and chorus. Its introduction and verse, both in the key of C minor, are meant to be played at a moderate tempo and in a mysterious manner (Example 8.14).



Example 8.14: Theodore H. Northrup and Robert Goodman, *The Shy Little Eskimo: An Alaskan Idyll* (1914), mm. 1-11

Following the standard formula, the protagonist singer introduces an Eskimo woman, this time specifically an Alaskan Eskimo with the Asian sounding name of "Chin Chin", and expresses his yearning to marry her. The song then modulates in the chorus to the somewhat unexpected key of Ab Major, rather than the relative key of Eb Major (Example 8.15).



Example 8.15: Theodore H. Northrup and Robert Goodman, *The Shy Little Eskimo: An Alaskan Idyll* (1914), mm. 26-27

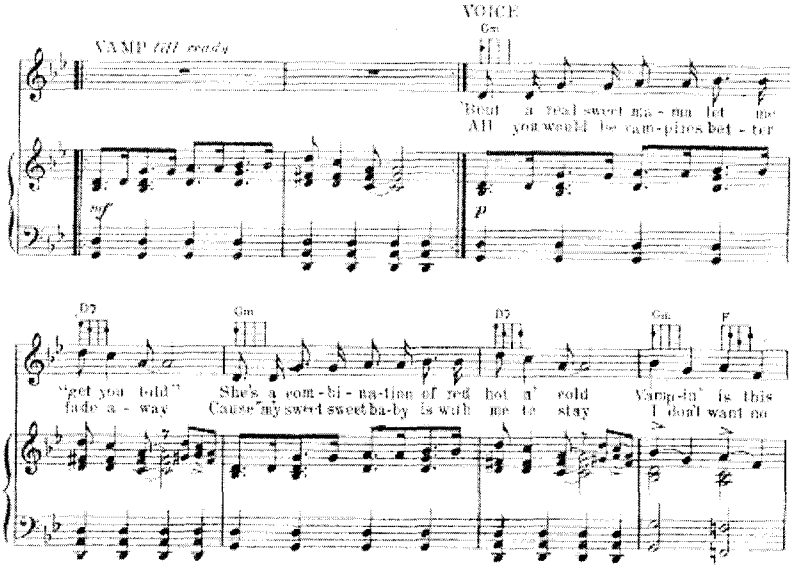
The protagonist finally wins the woman's hand after giving, or better yet, trading a tallow candle for marriage. It is important to point out that the song was published in San Francisco, headquarters of whaling and trading activities in the Western Arctic. Because of the city's connections to Alaska, it is not a surprise that the song features an Alaskan Eskimo specifically. To reinforce the perceived image of Alaska and Eskimo, the artist who illustrated the front cover presents the brilliant Northern Lights, ubiquitous dog sled, and the out-of-place igloo (see Appendix 3, Composition 12). This piece is best categorized as indicative.

The composer Theodore H. Northrup (1866-1919) is credited for writing one of the first authentic rags, *Louisiana Rag* and for arranging the first instructional book on the genre, *Ben Harney's Rag Time Instructor*, both in 1897. Born into a family of talented vocalists in San Francisco, he probably received a sound musical education. Northrup wrote a prodigious amount of popular and semi-classical music. He lived in Chicago toward the end of 1893 and presumably attended the World's Fair. There he likely would have experienced the performance of Labrador Inuit music or dance. Considering his San Francisco roots, Northrup seems to have made connections with Alaska. Among his several comic operas are three songs that he was commissioned to write for the 1909 revised production of *The Alaskan*. I could find no information on the lyricist and publisher, Robert Goodman.

The last piece relating to the use of Eskimo women as vehicles of lax social mores is *Hot Eskimo* written in 1925 by a team of song writers: Fay Meisel, who was Jewish, the African-American composer and lyricist Spencer Williams (1889-1965), and the European American writer Bob Schafer (1897-1943).[16] *Hot Eskimo* contains a heavy influence of the jazz style. By

[16] Meisel wrote lyrics to the song *Little White-Way Flower* (1924) with composer David Cohn and contributed lyrics to the big hit *Oh! What a Night* (1931) with Archie Gottler, a composer I will discuss later. Williams composed a large amount of popular music. One of his first hits was an adaptation of the

1925, ragtime had sharply declined in popularity and jazz, with its defining characteristic of "swing", became its successor. Although the song has the same standard structure consisting of an introduction, a vamp section, and a verse and chorus consisting of 16 and 32 measures, the rhythm and tempo are more vigorous than any found in previous rag songs. *Hot Eskimo* features the common notation for writing swing notes during the early jazz period, a pattern consisting of a dotted eighth followed by a sixteenth note. Reflecting another jazz characteristic, the chords in the song are much more complex than what are normally present in rags (Example 8.16).



Example 8.16: Fay Meisel, Spencer Williams and Bob Schafer, *Hot Eskimo* (1925), mm. 9-15

Again, the open fifth dyadic chords in the bass represent native musical culture and for this reason the piece is best described as indicative.

The lyrics of *Hot Eskimo* reflect the sexual liberation movement of the Roaring 20s, a period when women took greater ownership of their bodies and expressions of sexuality became much more open (see Appendix 3, Composition 13). Despite the perceived social freedoms

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existing song *Ain't Got Nobody* (1914). Other successful songs included *Royal Garden Blues* from 1919, and *Everybody Loves My Baby*, written in 1924 (Jasen 2003: 411-413). Lyricist and radio celebrity Bob Schafer worked with the legendary entertainer Jimmy Durante on a few songs. Two of them were the hit *I've Got My Habits On* (1921) and *Daddy Your Mama Is Lonesome For You* (1925), which Durante recorded onto disc (Pathé Actuelle 25162 Perfect 11596). In 1928, he co-wrote *Louisiana* with the composer J.C. Johnson, a song made famous by the Paul Whiteman Orchestra, Bing Crosby, Fred Astaire, and others (Jasen 2003: 119).

associated with sex, the appropriation of minority cultures, as demonstrated in the use of African American language and the metaphor of the Eskimo, is evident. Sexual connotations are expressed in a language imitative of the contemporary urban black dialect while Eskimo lovemaking is directly referenced as wildly erotic. Minorities were used as a means of social venting, a way for white middle class America to channel unconventional and largely repressed feelings about sex and power. Reina Lewis argues that the hyper-sexualization of the feminine Other emanated from Victorian values idealizing Western women as a chaste and pure object (Lewis 1995: 54). Erotically charged entertainment in the "name" of Eskimo women and other female minorities provided a place, both private and public, for licentious behavior, whether mental or physical.

Musical Imaging of Various Minority Groups

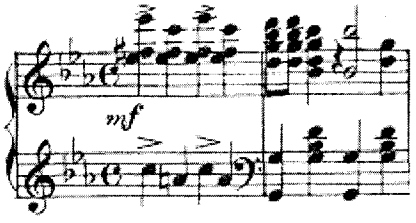
The next set of pieces illustrates different ways in which a European American popular songwriter treated the image of minorities and their respective cultures, in this case, a Chinese man, Hawaiians, and an Eskimo woman. Harold Taylor Weeks (1893-1967), an accomplished composer from Seattle, wrote a prodigious number of novelty songs during his career.[17] Between 1915 and 1921, his output of music based on ethnicity, included *Chong: He Come from Hong Kong* (1919), *My Honolulu Bride* (1915), *Everybody's Crazy 'Bout Hawaii* (1917), *Tropical Moonlight* (1921), and *Little Jo Daughter of the North* (1919). The proximity of Seattle to Alaska and the Pacific is an important factor to consider when examining Weeks' compositions. The success of the 1909 Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition announced to the world the role of "Queen City" as the gateway to the future. Compared to the eastern Tin Pan Alley composers, West Coast songwriters were, for numerous reasons, likely to be aware of the social and economic relationships between the West Coast and the American territories and countries of the Pacific Rim. The impact of Chinese immigration in mid-19th century resulted in a strong backlash of anti-Chinese discrimination, which in turn culminated in the passing of a series of exclusionary immigration laws, in particular, the Federal Exclusion Act of 1882 and the Immigration Act of

[17] According to the University of Washington Special Collections website, Weeks was, besides a composer, also "a trustee for the Fourth Church of Christian Scientist" and "was associated with the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers; Christian Science Publishing Society, and National Temperance League" (Weeks n.d.).

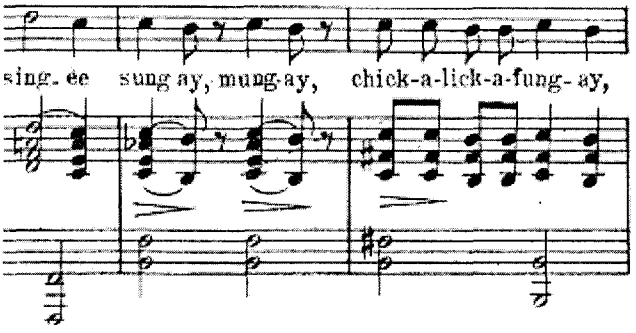
1924. These acts effectively restricted Chinese immigration and naturalization and the families of Chinese residents from entering the United States.

In line with the period's prevailing anti-Chinese sentiment, Weeks addressed the issue "humorously" through music. First, his lyrics in *Chong: He Come from Hong Kong* are suffused with stereotypical references to Chinese males (see Appendix 3, Composition 14), such as their perceived unmanly behavior and appearance (Tsou 1997: 33-35). With his love for rag music, his dislike for Chinese singing, and his professed desire to bring a Chinese bride back to the United States, Chong is portrayed as an immigrant who relates positively to American culture. However, as shown in the chorus line "Chong, go back to Hong Kong" the American response told through the narrator is one that is clearly unwelcoming.

In terms of musical devices, the composition features a few ethnic markers. The opening two measures express the stereotyped "Chinese" sound, consisting of repeated pairs of descending notes that spell out a minor 3rd interval (Example 8.17). The rhythmic figures occur wherever superficial imitations of Chinese dialect appear, drawing a close link between music and language (Example 8.18).

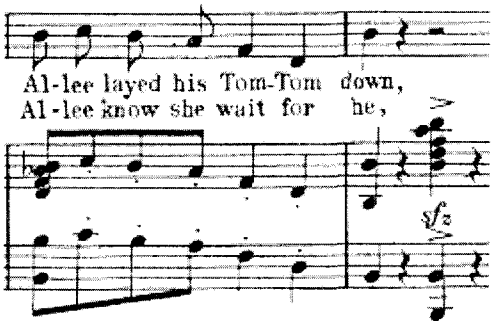


Example 8.17: Harold Weeks, *Chong: He Come From Hong Kong* (1919), mm. 1-2

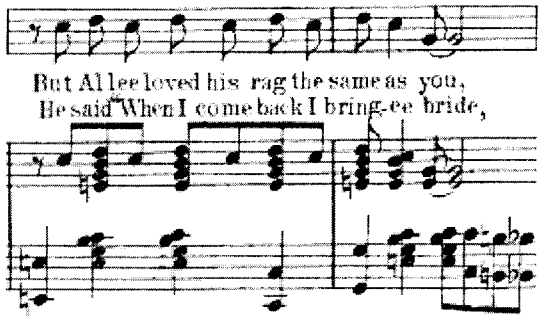


Example 8.18: Harold Weeks *Chong: He Come From Hong Kong* (1919), mm. 38-40

In the first verse, isolated use of staccato markings and material emphasizing a straight duple meter are evident whenever a Chinese drum and setting are referenced (Example 8.19). Sandwiched between these Chinese-inspired passages are measures containing syncopation, a device used to express American rag rhythms and a play with words on the line "But Allee loved his rag the same as you" (Example 8.20).



Example 8.19: Harold Weeks, *Chong: He Come From Hong Kong* (1919), mm. 21-22



Example 8.20: Harold Weeks, *Chong: He Come From Hong Kong* (1919), mm. 17-18

The contrast between Weeks's depiction of the Chinese and that of Hawaiians and Eskimos is striking. As Garrett writes, with particular regard to Hawaiians:

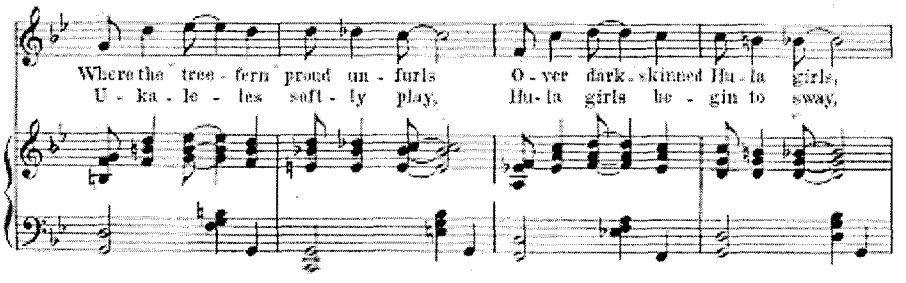
> Because of the distance between Hawai'i and the United States and the lack of any large-scale history of immigration, the Hawaiian people did not pose a tangible threat to everyday Americans, nor did they prompt calls for confinement of assimilation. In contrast to ethnic novelty songs that demonized mainland U.S. immigrant groups, such as the Chinese, Hawaiian-themed songs fashioned a different set of stereotypes, typically portraying Hawaiians as primitive yet not frightening, sensually alluring yet safe, questioned for their island ways yet envied for living in paradise. (Garrett 2008: 194)

A significant difference to point out in Weeks's treatment of the Chinese is that Chong is a male character. In almost all of his other songs pertaining to the Hawaiian and Eskimo, he wrote about females and framed them in a less negative light. Both Hawaiian and Eskimo women are generally portrayed as exotic and loving, especially in the eyes of a white male narrator. This depiction of womanhood is also a common theme in popular songs concerning Asian women, though connotations of sexual permissiveness are often ascribed to all three female ethnic groups.

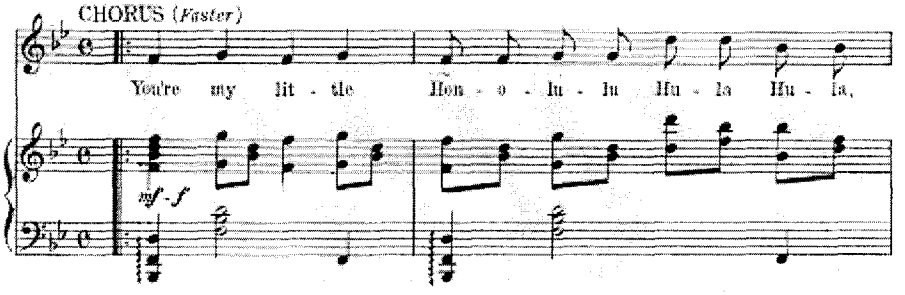
In his song *My Honolulu Bride*, Weeks painted a romantic setting filled with the soft sounds of a 'ukulele, native women dancing the Hula and wearing multi-colored lays, while adding the exotic elements of Hawai'i, including birds of paradise, tropical ferns, the blue ocean and the setting sun (see Appendix 3, Composition 15). The "oriental" reference to the narrator's love interest expresses an extra layer of Otherness.

Not only did Weeks create a Hawaiian image through his lyrics, he also painted one with musical imagery. The composer used various rhythmic styles, including the globalized sound of

ragtime syncopation evident in the verses (Example 8.21) and the stereotyped chugga-chugga style of the 'ukulele found in the chorus (Example 8.22).



Example 8.21: Harold Weeks, *My Honolulu Bride* (1915), mm. 15-18



Example 8.22: Harold Weeks, *My Honolulu Bride* (1915), mm. 23-24

In this 1915 song, one of Weeks's earliest well-known releases, there is a clear-cut attempt to bring out the essence of Hawai'i, both with words and music.

When it came to exporting Hawaiian culture, rather than importing white male visitors to Hawai'i, composers such as Weeks voiced protectionist concerns through popular song. In the 1917 hit song *Everybody's Crazy 'Bout Hawaii*,[18] he criticized the widespread American appeal to the Hawaiian 'ukulele,[19] steel guitar, and hula (see Appendix 3, Composition 16). Compared to his first Hawaiian song, Weeks is highly critical of what he perceived as Hawaiian culture

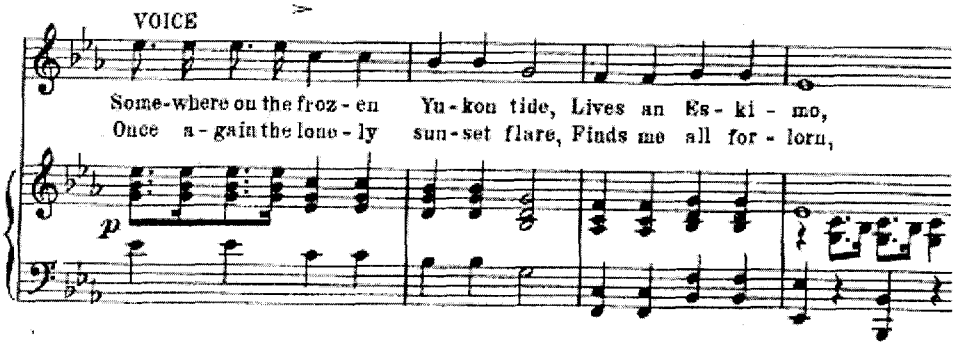
[18] A song with a similar title called *Everybody's Crazy 'bout the Dog-done Blues (But I'm Happy)* by Henry Creamer appeared during the same year and was popularized by the Ziegfield Follies.

[19] Exemplifying the expansion of globalization in the 19th century, Madeiran immigrants introduced a 'ukulele-like instrument to Hawaiians as recently as the late 1870s. Within a few years, partly due to the support of Hawaiian royalty, the instrument became associated with the islands' indigenous musical culture. Following the successful American debut of Hawaiian 'ukulele ensembles at the 1915 Panama Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco, the instrument became the rage across the country. One important reason for its popularity may have been its prior Western connections.

encroaching on the mainland United States. Fearing the enormous impact of Hawaiian music and musical instruments on America's identity, Weeks proposed a national call to sing instead the patriotic tune *My Country 'tis of Thee*. Therefore, to sum up the two Hawaiian sheet music songs, the idea of appreciating or appropriating Pacific Island women and their natural surroundings within the confines of the islands is an acceptable theme for the first song. In sharp contrast, the second song describes a scenario where a "foreign" musical culture is threatening the existence of the American status quo. Whereas the u'kulele was a desirable Hawaiian association in *My Honolulu Bride*, it carries the connotation of a kitschy, invasive foreign instrument in the second song. Since nothing of this sort occurred with the Arctic frame drums, the dancer of a cultural invasion by the distant Eskimos was, like the people themselves, virtually unimaginable. Like *My Honolulu Bride*, *Everybody's Crazy 'Bout Hawaii* contains an infectious number of syncopated rhythms and hula rhythms. Interestingly the length of the chorus sections in both songs far exceeds that of the verses, suggesting that the main objective of the composer was to create a catchy and pithy chorus, one that would drive sales of the sheet music and phonographic recordings.

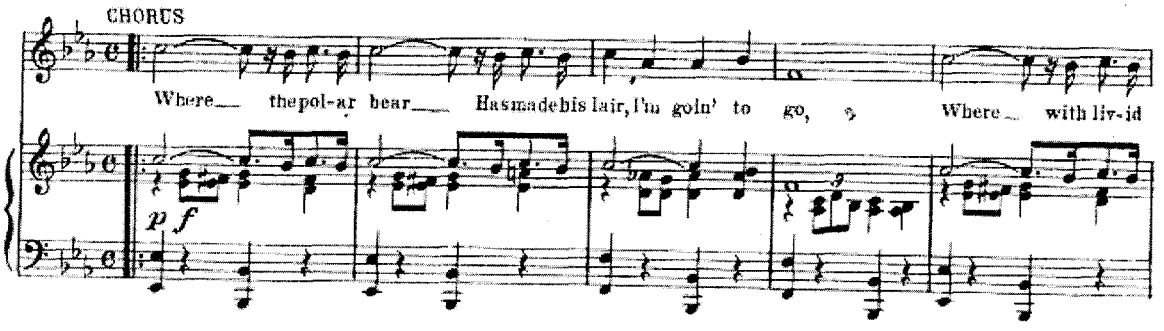
Little Jo: Daughter of the North appears to be Weeks's only known publication based on an Eskimo theme. Its storyline follows the standard formula that we have seen in previous examples as well as much of the Hawaiian-themed songs dealing with female natives of the tropical paradise. Compared to earlier works, his lyrics express even more vividly the natural surroundings of the North, the heroic battle between man and nature all juxtaposed against the protagonist's love for a native woman (see Appendix 3, Composition 17).

Little Jo: Daughter of the North bears no obvious resemblance to actual Eskimo music. Beginning in the verse, it does feature an opening melodic line that is pentatonic and descends along minor 3rd intervals (Example 8.23)



Example 8.23: Harold Weeks, *Little Jo Daughter of the North* (1919), mm. 7-10

Whether this is an expression of an Eskimo song or merely the use of a generally common "Oriental" device for representing exotic culture, is uncertain. The stereotypical "Oriental" rhythm used occasionally in *Chong: He Come from Hong Kong* also appears in the above excerpt. It is possible that Weeks attempted to bring out the idea of "monotony" in the chorus section. "Monotony" was often the designation imperceptive ethonographers applied to Eskimo song. Especially in the first half of the chorus, much of the vocal line repeats itself (Example 8.24).



Example 8.24: Harold Weeks, *Little Jo Daughter of the North* (1919), mm. 23-27

It does not include as much contrast as the melodies featured in Weeks's other songs. Even more remarkably, the tune has very little rhythmic variation, perhaps reflecting the composer's limited knowledge of Eskimo music. The use of such musical markers described above places this song into the indicative category.

The final piece in this section on popular music is one of the best known and most successful of Eskimo-themed songs. *Oogie Oogie Wa Wa (Means I Wanna Mama to an Eskimo)*, published in 1922, has appeared in numerous recordings and was re-released in the 1950s. Among the top-rank performers recording this novelty tune were Al Jolson on the *Columbia* label, No. A-3588, which sold for 75 cents (*CDT* 5/20/1922: 14, *BDG* 5/20/1922: 2, *LAT* 6/10/1922: I3), Billy West on the *Puritan* label 9115 Disc, one of first to record in March of that year, Margaret Young on the *Brunswick* label, No. 2265, 10 inch record selling for 75 cents (*NYT* 5/13/1922: 13, *CDT* 5/13/1922: 8, *LAT* 5/22/1922: II6). Advertisements continued at least through January, 1923 (*CDT* 1/27/1923: 5).

The Benson Orchestra of Chicago also made an instrumental fox-trot recording on *Victor Records* No. 18917 10-inch record for 75 cents (*NYT* 9/1/1922: 8, *LAT* 9/1/1922: I2, *AC* 9/1/1922: 6, *WP* 9/1/1922: 3). It continued to sell at the top of its list at least through September 1922 (*BDG* 9/1/1922: 3, *BDG* 9/9/1922: 7). Other companies such as *Davega* offered double-

faced records of the fox-trot song at a cheaper price of 50 cents (*NYT* 7/10/1922: 30). Featuring singer Billy Jones, *Vocalion Records* released a version of the song that ranked as one of its three best sellers (*CDT* 6/4/1922: F14). Another recording of the song featuring the *McMurray's California Thumpers*, *Gennett* 4943, was one of the three best sellers on *Gennett Records*, selling for 75 cents (*LAT* 10/28/1922: I5; *CDT* 10/29/1922: E9).[20]

Not only did the song appear on recordings, in sheet music, but also on the radio. By request, WGM radio in Atlanta aired an orchestral version of the song on August 31, 1922 at 6:30 p.m. (*AC* 8/31/1922: 8). On November 17, "Oogie Oogie Wa wa" was one of the dance numbers performed by the Atlanta Constitution orchestra *Warner's Seven Aces*. They had earlier performed in September (*AC* 9/8/1922: 14) and October (*AC* 10/3/1922: 4, *AC* 10/18/1922: 17, *AC* 10/19/1922: 4). During the November 17 performance, the musical selection "presented the group in the jazz mood, although Mr. Warner insists (and he is correct) that the Aces do not play "jazz" in the accepted sense of the word" (*AC* 11/17/1922: 7). In Washington D.C., phonographic recordings of the piece broadcasted on Way – Woodward & Lothrop, the WEAS – The Hecht Co., and WJH – White & Boyer and (*WP* 9/19/1922: 4, *WP* 9/21/1922: 5, *WP* 10/31/1922: 13).

As discussed earlier with the jazz song *Hot Eskimo*, the Roaring 20s brought about a momentous period of social change. Music reflected this change poignantly. Lyrical innuendos about lovemaking became even more explicit during this decade than previous ones (see Appendix 3, Composition 18). Despite the new openness of the mainstream American public, the need to use minorities as a promotional vehicle for expressing such sentiment continued. Like African Americans, Asians, and Hawaiians, the image of Eskimos as promiscuous peoples proved a handy device. By treating the subject of lovemaking in an innocent and cutesy manner, characteristics ascribed to the Eskimo, song writers succeeded in disseminating ribald lyrics through subtle means. Even contemporary anthropology theoretically recognized such examples of "primitive promiscuity" as an explanation of "primitive" kinship reckoning.

On a musical level, composers contributed to the idea of Otherness by using formulaic musical markers to express perceptions of non-Western cultures. Often this meant placing many different minorities within the same category. Like others, the composer of *Oogie Oogie Wa Wa* Archie Gottler made use of "Oriental" or "Native American" musical devices such as

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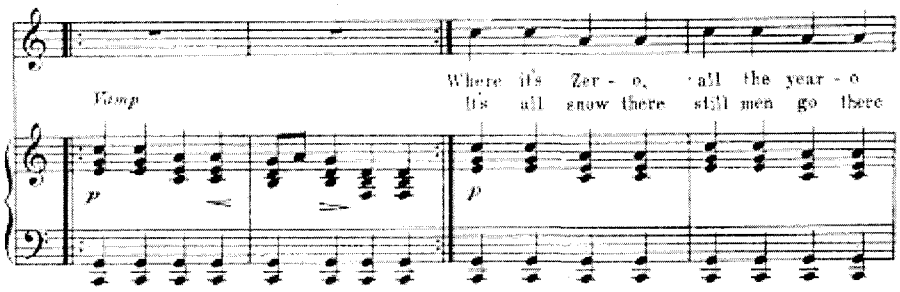
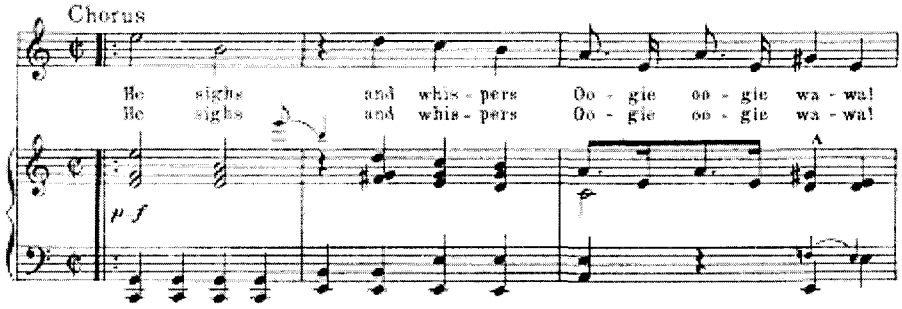
[20] The leader of the band on alto saxophone, Loren McMurray, was a rising star in the jazz world. Less than two months after recording *Oogie Oogie Wa Wa*, the 25 year-old musician's life was tragically cut short from an infection due to blood poisoning (*Dismuke's Hit of the Week* n.d.).

pentatonicism and open fifth bass patterns meant to imitate drums, to articulate an "Eskimo" sound. Such use of musical devices places this song in the indicative category (Examples 8.25 and 8.26).



Example 8.25: Archie Gottler, Grant Clarke and Edgar Leslie, *Oogie Oogie Wa Wa* (1922), mm. 5-8



Example 8.26: Archie Gottler, Grant Clarke and Edgar Leslie, *Oogie Oogie Wa Wa* (1922), mm. 23-25

Oogie Oogie Wa Wa (Means I Wanna Mama to an Eskimo) became such a successful song that it entered the English language as a popular saying soon after its 1922 release. Writers used it, for example, as an allusion to regions of the Arctic such as Lappland (*NYT* 10/1/1922: 58). In Gottler's obituary on June 24, 1959, the song listed as one of his most notable compositions, which included Tin Pan Alley tunes as well as music for motion pictures and Broadway musical productions (*CDT* 6/25/1959: B6).

Oogie Oogie Wa Wa also became an enormous hit abroad. A French version came out in 1923, a year later, following the success of Flaherty's silent documentary *Nanook of the North (The Story of Life and Love in the Actual Arctic)*. A copy of the front cover to the sheet music shows the film's influence, as expressed in an English translation of the title, "In Love with

Nanook" (see Appendix 3, Composition 19). The Parisian comedy duo Léo Lelièvre and Henri Varna translated the song into French. Through the medium of music and efforts by the commercial music industry, "Eskimo" imagery reached a height of popularity during the early 1920s.

Scores to Early Eskimo-Themed Films

The first films to feature Eskimos are from the 1901 Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo. Three motion picture companies – the Thomas A. Edison Company, American Mutoscope and Biograph Company, and S. Lubin, made at least eight short films based on Eskimo Village settings and activities, including panorama shots, games, and a dance (Zwick 2006: 64). As previously mentioned, the whereabouts of the film containing dance footage is unknown. Presumably, the performers were all members of the Labrador Inuit troupe. Since the motion pictures were silent to begin with, however, the question as to the actual nature of musical accompaniment is somewhat of a moot point. The same predicament applies to the first dramatic films written by and featuring Eskimos, *The Way of the Eskimo* and *Lost in the Arctic* from 1911. The former picture, for which the famous Inuit entertainer Columbia received writing credit, begins and ends with a sun and wedding ceremony, typical cultural activities that her fellow Labrador Inuit rehearsed and performed at the various expositions (Zwick 2006: 64-65, 109-120). If and what kind of music accompanied the ceremony is unknown.

Synchronous recorded sound did not appear in film until the 1920s. Until then virtually all showings of silent film had live music, which helped to furnish atmosphere and heighten the film's action and emotional content. When Robert J. Flaherty's groundbreaking film *Nanook of the North* came out in 1922, it was both a commercial and critical success. It is uncertain whether live music was provided. It was not until 25 years later in 1947 that a film soundtrack by Rudolf Schramm was included in the documentary.[21] In large part, music used to accompany Eskimo-themed silent films probably was styled around Western classical, popular, and theatrical traditions. Whether companies employed indigenous music such as Eskimo drumming and singing to accompany certain scenes is uncertain, but possible, especially if Inuit participants had some creative control of the film.

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[21] Papers advertising the showing of the film such as the *Los Angeles Times* reported about the newly edited version (*LA T* 10/20/48: 27)

The first films to present casts consisting almost entirely of Alaskan Eskimos were *Igloo* and *Eskimo* from 1932 and 1933, respectively. Whereas *Igloo* had a full soundtrack based on an orchestral score, *Eskimo* featured primarily dialogue spoken in the Iñupiaq language, though it also contained music from Mussorgsky's *Night on Bald Mountain*. The music recorded for *Igloo* included so-called Eskimo melodies and incidental pieces composed by Val Burton, Corynn Kiehl, and Edward Kilenyi (Burton, Kiehl, et al. 1932). Only one copy of the music was located at the British Library. Because of copyright problems, the piece was unavailable for examination.

Musical Theatre

Attempts to represent the "Eskimo" in musical theatre coincided with that of early popular sheet music. One of the first known productions to feature Eskimo characters was the drama *Nature*, which premiered at the Academy of Music in New York in August 1897. One reviewer described it in his headline as "A Spectacular Play on the Lines of the 'Black Crook,' but Without the Brilliancy of that Production" (*NYT* 8/27/1897: 7). Led by director William E. De Verna, who had died just before the premiere, lyricist Benjamin Cohen and composer Frederic Clifton, *Nature* documents an attempt to discover the North Pole. To create a visual spectacle, the dramatic play featured special effects. Moreover, five of the cast's characters – Nature, Psyche, Vacuna, Una, and Cupid played prominent roles as Immortal Esquimaux, representations of *Nature*, which the northern travelers invoke for guidance to reach the pole (*NYT* August 8/27/1897: 7). Not much is known about the music. One critic panned it and the dancing as "beyond description" and remarked that "the best music of the evening" was the "playing [of] the 'Cavalleria Rusticana' intermezzo on a concertina" (*NYT* August 8/27/1897: 7).

The play alluded to several events in Arctic history. The party heading to the North Pole is called the "Crew of the Erebus", a reference to the name of one of the two ships lost fifty years earlier during the ill-fated John Franklin Expedition.[22] During the 1890s, Arctic explorers like Robert Peary were reaching farther and farther northward into the Polar regions. Such popular themes combined with visual spectacle served as potential draws. Though critics panned the

[22] During the 1850s, unfounded rumors circulated around England that Inuit in central Canada had cannibalized a number of the Franklin Expedition crew. Fifty years later, the Inuit were seen as mighty gods that explorers could ask for assistance in achieving their goals.

production it ran profitably for seven weeks, partly because its fantastic scenery design was a great attraction for children (Bordman 2001: 174).

Another comic play about exploration, aptly named *The Explorers* appeared in 1901 (see Appendix 3, Composition 20). With a libretto by Bert Leston Taylor and music by Walter H. Lewis, the work was performed in 1901 and 1902. A popular musical, it ran for 118 performances at the Dearborn theatre in Chicago and in a revised form for two weeks at the Tremont theatre in Boston (*BDG* 1/19/1902: 29).[23] Even though the musical contained a polar theme, it is uncertain whether it featured "Eskimo" characters.

The Man From China, libretto by Paul West and music by John W. Bratton, was a musical comedy released in 1904 (see Appendix 3, Composition 21). It flopped after 41 performances (Bordman 2001: 231). Like *The Explorers*, only one song relates to an Eskimo theme, a duet entitled "The Amorous Esquimaux," which appears late in the second act. Such tangential musical usage led one reviewer to critique the musical in the following way: "But instead of rising to a climax, the play descended to imitation of familiar recent successes – the monkey dance, adapted to Eskimo life" (*NYT* 5/3/1904: 9). As shown in the *The Man From China* and other later musicals expressing Eskimo themes, theater personnel and artists saw a close connection between Eskimos and dance.[24] The idiosyncratic manner of using Eskimos, or imagined Eskimos, appears to follow the hodge-podge theme of the play. Among the minor characters featured in the musical are "Fashionables, Golfers, Automobilists, Bathers, Humming Birds, Columbine Flowers, Clorinda Girls, Continentals, Yachtsmen, Yachtswomen, Sailors, Servants, Esquimaux etc." (*The Man from China* 1904: 3).

The Top o' th' World (see Appendix 3, Composition 22) reflected the excitement surrounding the race to the Pole between Peary and Cook (*NYT* 12/9/1907: 16). It ranked as a big hit in 1907 (*CDT* 11/17/1907: G8), having run for twenty weeks (Bordman 2001: 275). Mark E. Swan wrote the books while James O'Dea provided the lyrics, and Manuel Klein and Anna

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[23] *The Explorers* served as a springboard for the entertainer Richard Carle's career (Bordman 2001: 202, 209).

[24] Representation of the Other through the performance of dance has featured prominently in this dissertation. With regard to the Eskimo, such depictions often revolved around elements of humor as well as the exotic and erotic. In Washington D.C., during the fall of 1905, one could attend a burlesque performance called "The Esquimaux Ballet" featuring "thirty handsomely gowned girls" (*WP* 10/4/1905: 4).

Caldwell the music (*NYT* 10/20/1907: 9).[25] It featured several Eskimo characters, an Eskimo belle named Kokomo, a little girl named Maida, and Kankakee. The noted drama critic Franklin Fyles wrote approvingly of the musical and mentioned in one number that the young Eskimo maid Kokomo and a bear danced a ragtime song together (Fyles 1907: R2).

The plot was inspired by an attempt to discover the North Pole in a hot air balloon and a girl trying to find Santa, based on the attempt; it also loosely combines the themes of *The Wizard of Oz* (1902) and *Babes in Toy Land* (1903) with Peary's explorations and Andrée's failed Arctic balloon expedition of 1897. The musical comedy was successful, running well over a hundred times in New York, at theaters such as Casino, in less than a year (*NYT* 2/22/1908:14; *NYT* 6/7/1908: SM7).

The novel comedy opera *The Alaskan* (see Appendix 3, Composition 23), began as a Pacific Northwest production under the management of impresario John Cort. Though it premiered on the East Coast, it held much greater importance for the city of Seattle. There in late December 1907, it appeared at the new Moore Theatre, an attraction built in anticipation of the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition (Engeman 1990: 54 and Hawkinson 2009: 4). *The Alaskan* was scheduled to premiere in Boston, with the debut of Miss Sarah Truax (*CDT* 4/7/1907: H2) and later, was supposed to open in Chicago in June 1907 (*Town and Country* 7/20/1907: 23). Finally, Cort rescheduled it to premiere in New York on August 12, 1907 at the Knickerbocker Theatre, where it ran for several weeks (*NYT* 7/30/1907: 7, et al.)[26]

Most critics reacted negatively to *The Alaskan*. One of its few positive reviews came from the *Dramatic Mirror*, which asserted that "There is more originality, freshness and downright charm in "The Alaskan" than in ten ordinary musicals put together. At last a new locale has been found [and] best of all the new field is our own – Alaska" (Bordman 2001: 271). However, the critic Fyles reviewed the musical on August 18, 1907, and essentially panned it, claiming "you may get educational satisfaction but nothing that occurs to me at this writing" (*WP* 8/18/1907: E3). Mistaking various Alaska Native peoples, he began the article with "Sixteen totem posts, those hideous things that stand, when at home, in front of Eskimo houses in Alaska,

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[25] Anna Caldwell was the wife of James O'Dea, writer of the famous song "Hiawatha". She became a successful composer, particularly in popular music

[26] Newspaper advertisements show that performances ran as well on August 5, 6, 12, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 30, September 2 and 4, 1907 (*NYT* 8/5-6, 12, 16-17, 20-24, 26, 9/4/1907: 14; *NYT* 8/30/1907: 16; *NYT* 9/2/1907: 16).

marched into Broadway on the warmest August night we have had" (*WP* 8/18/1907: E3, *CDT* 8/18/1907: I2). Confusion over the different native groups and their geographical locations may have come about because the play featured both southeast coastal totem poles and Eskimos (*NYT* 8/13/1907: 7).

Producers of *The Alaskan* did attempt, however, to create a more realistic touch. One source reported that the composer Harry Girard, who allegedly had three years of experience gold mining in Alaska, was planning to travel to Alaska with his wife to "secure real Esquimo suits to be used in the production" (Engeman 1990: 60, 62-63). The musical also featured a team of twelve Alaskan sled dogs, which had covered the mail trails between Valdez and Nome. Their driver, an Alaskan mail carrier, Martin Victor Smith, explained in one article that he would "drive them on the stage in the prologue, and exit – me, the dogs, and the sled – up a long scenery kind of mountain, just like the mountains of Alaska. We will have a the regular old sled we used in the mail service, to supply what the stage man calls 'local color,' and the dogs will supply the howl motif (*NYT* 8/4/1907: X5). Despite its perceived penchant for realism, the comedy opera also attempted to draw a larger audience by resorting to sensationalist tactics such as hiring "folicsome young beauties", dressed in fur (*WP* 8/18/1907: E3).

The Alaskan ran for only 29 performances in New York, but its road tour was more successful (Bordman 2001: 271-272). The production went first to Rochester and then west through Kansas City, Denver, Salt Lake City, and Sacramento, before heading north through communities in Idaho, Washington, and British Columbia, including Spokane, Moscow, Colfax, Lewiston, Pullman, Ellensburg, Tacoma, Bellingham, Everett, Olympia, Victoria, Vancouver, and New Westminster (Engeman 1990: 64). Out West, *The Alaskan* had a somewhat impressive following, especially at Seattle's Moore Theatre, where it drew its largest crowd on opening day, December 28, 1907 (Murray 1999: 54 and Engeman 1990: 54). Below is an image of the debut performance, featuring a scene of Eskimo-clad performers (Figure 8.1).

Figure 8.1: The New York cast of *The Alaskan*, which opened December 28, 1907 at the Moore Theater in Seattle, J. Willis Sayre Photograph Collection, Negative UW 8418, University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections Division

While the audiences generally liked the Seattle production, critical reviews ranged from restrained enthusiasm to grudgingly lukewarm approval to outright dismissal of at least some of its aspects, including music (Engeman 1990: 64-65).

In 1908 and 1909, Girard sought the assistance of other composers to contribute song material. One of them was Theodore H. Northup, composer of the earlier discussed *Shy Little Eskimo*, provided three songs for the 1909 revised production of *The Alaskan*: "For I Dream of You", "You for Me", and "The Moth and the Gay Bumblebee". The new presentation was successful to some degree. The show ended up gaining a bigger following across the country. With a multiple-month run in Chicago (*WP* 5/3/1908: SM2, *LAT* 1/16/1910: III1), the comedy opera emerged as one of the city's summer musical successes (*WP* 6/6/1909: TA3, *CDT* 6/10/1909: 11). According to a Los Angeles report, a new supply of comedy that included audience participation proved effective. In one of its most popular numbers, "Snowballing", "eight Eskimo girls pelted the audience with snowballs made of yarn and were vigorously and genially pelted in return (*LAT* 1/16/1910: III1).

The timing of the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition based partly on the Klondike, Nome, and Fairbanks gold rushes helped to promote the revival of the production as well. Based on life in the Far North and the gold strikes that attracted thousands of people to the Arctic, *The Alaskan* was especially popular in the West, where audiences could better relate to the characters. It ran in

Los Angeles for a number of months before finishing up on December 12, 1908 (*LAT* 12/13/1908: III2).

Despite the inclusion of new music into the production, much of Girard's original selections remained. One of his most memorable ones was "Totem Pole", which remained very popular among audiences. In Los Angeles, the song received half a dozen encores (*LAT* 1/22/1910: II5). Despite the largely negative review from a New York critic, the number also received rousing applause from audiences in the first week of production in August 1907 (*NYT* 8/13/1907: 7, *AC* 8/21/1907: 8).

Following his departure form the *The Alaskan* cast in February 1908, Girard returned to Seattle where he tried to continue his vocation as a music teacher. He went to New York only a few months later, however. In 1910 in Los Angeles, Girard directed the performance of a work that he and the writer Joseph Blethen had earlier collaborated on, a Hawaiian-themed musical comedy called *The Maid of Manalay* (*Bankers' Magazine* 1910: 542). The production also appeared at the Elks lodge in Houston, Texas (Engeman 1990: 66). Begun in 1905, the work was almost ready for performance the following year. Perhaps due to the influence of the manager Cort, however, the composing duo surprisingly redirected their efforts on *The Alaskan* project instead (Engeman 1990: 61).

Business preparation for the upcoming 1909 Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, an event meant to promote Seattle's connections to the North, helped influence the decision. Also considering that *The Alaskan* was quickly put together in a matter of months, reviewers and Girard himself, suggested that the more solidly prepared Hawaiian work stood a good, if not better, chance at success. Finally, when it came to musical comedies, as opposed to dramas, tropical themes seemed to appeal to general audiences much more so than polar ones. As the critic James Willis Sayre[27] wrote:

> While play-goers will readily accept Alaska as the scene of a drama, it will be a hard matter to have them accept it as the home of comic opera...It is not a co-incidence that the great mass of musical plays have tropical isles for their scenes of operations. There is a psychological reason back of it. The tropics afford a chance for langorous, dreamy music, for glittering, tinsely costumes, for warmth and richness of stage pictures that people love to go in on a cold winter night to see, and that Alaska can never afford. A range of snow-capped mountains is not a jovial picture ... Joe Blethen and Harry Girard

[27] Not only a critic and writer, James Willis Sayre also collected a treasure trove of photographs from the 1870s to the 1950s, many depicting images of Seattle's entertainment world. Two of the images are presented in this section.

> have individually done excellent work in "The Alaskan." If they would take up their "Maid of Manalay" and complete it, there is no doubt of its complete success, in view of the talent at writing and composing they have shown in "The Alaskan". (Engeman 1990: 65)

Between 1914 and 1918, Girard worked as a vaudeville entertainer and traveled around the country performing a two-person act centered on his hit song "The Totem Pole". His wife Agnes Cain Brown, who had been one of the leading cast members in *The Alaskan*, often played the second part. Named the "Wail of the Eskimo", the act featured northern sketches and Eskimo costumes. Below is an image of Girard dressed as an "Eskimo"performer (Figure 8.2).

Figure 8.2: Harry Girard wearing an "Eskimo" costume as vaudeville performer, J. Willis Sayre Photograph Collection, Negative UW 12930, University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections Division

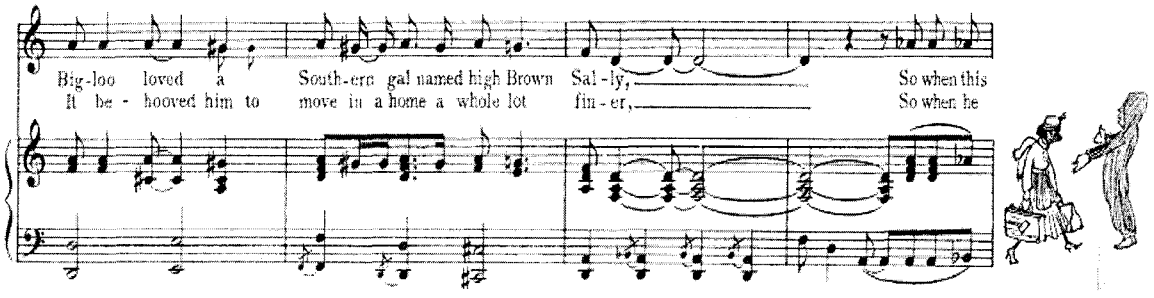
Demonstrating the range of territory covered by their Eskimo-themed show, one performance headlined as an Alaskan musical comedy at the Temple in Rochester, New York during the week of March 28, 1917 (*Fairport Herald* 3/28/1917: 7), while another took place at the Palace vaudeville theater in Milwaukee in April 1918 (Engeman 1990: 66). Such geographical distances were common on the vaudeville circuit.

Musical Advertisements: Sheet Music and Radio

The "Eskimo" image became popular creating brands of certain kinds of products, generally ones meant to keep the potential buyer warm or cool. The earliest example I have found of advertising sheet music is *Sigloo Bigloo*, a 1921 musical advertising gimmick arranged by the Monitor Stove Co. in Cincinnati (see Appendix 3, Composition 24). What sets this commercial song apart from others in this section is that it appeared before the advent of radio in 1925. Prior to that year, the circulation of sheet music and, to a lesser degree, phonographic recordings was the most effective means of promoting the product sales.

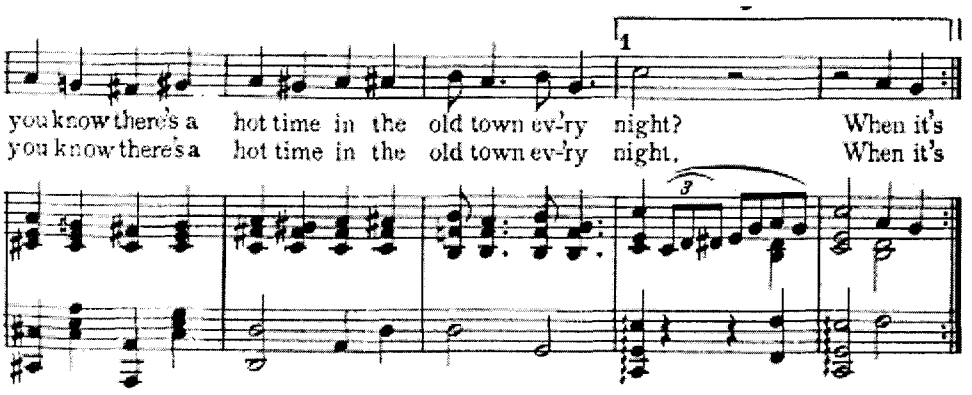
Sigloo Bigloo is another example of a bi-racial relationship involving minorities, in this case, an Eskimo man and, according to the cover sheet and the second line of the first verse, a brown-skinned Southern woman. Similar to earlier pieces the lyrics in this song unsurprisingly reveal a limited geographical understanding of Alaska and its indigenous peoples. The writer, however, did correctly draw a correlation between Juneau and totem poles and that the settlement had access to modern conveniences unlike most areas to the north.

Musically, the piece calls for a jazzier rhythmic style, as shown in the following musical excerpt. Except for one measure, the piece suggests no other ethnic markers. In the seventh measure of the verse (mm. 12), four open chords written as quarter notes and a few attached grace notes could perhaps express "exotic" drumming. Note at the far right side, the depiction of a dark-skinned woman meeting an Eskimo man (Example 8.27).



Example 8.27: Joe J. Marx and Ted Shapiro, *Sigloo Bigloo* (1921), mm. 10-13

The last line in the chorus shown below is a reference to Theodore Metz's 1896 hit *Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight*, one of the most popular songs of the gold rush period (Example 8.28). In Alaska, the tune was a favorite among both natives and non-natives (Murray 1999: 33).



Example 8.28: Joe J. Marx and Ted Shapiro, *Sigloo Bigloo* (1921), mm. 45-48

Although this piece is predominantly imaginative, the slight use of drum imitation would place this piece also in the indicative category.

The advent of radio brought the musical world of the Arctic dramatically closer to the southern regions. Several newspapers in August 1925 reported on the first time entertainment from the Arctic was radio broadcast to the Outside world:

> On the evening of August 19, 1925, "an audience of 25, seated before an amplifier in station 9XN in a wheat field on the outskirts of ... [Arlington Heights, a] ... Chicago suburb", heard "a concert of popular songs and weird Eskimo music radiocast from Etah, Greenland, 3700 miles away" (*BDG* 8/20/1925: A24, *LAT* 8/21/1925: 1, *CSM* 8/20/1925: 1).

According to the same writer, "because none of the audience could understand the Eskimo performers, phonograph selections proved best in reception" (*BDG* 8/20/1925: A24; *LAT* 8/21/1925: 1, *CSM* 8/20/1925: 1). Another one wrote that the Eskimo music "sounded a good deal like static" (*BDG* 8/22/1925: 10)

Radio programs featuring individuals with Eskimo monikers appeared soon after. One of them was advertised in the *New York Times* as such: "Iutuk the Eskimo" 20-minute program on New York's radio station 422 – WOR – 710, 6:30 in the evenings (*NYT* 12/3/1927: 18). The content of the programming is unclear. Eskimo music may have been broadcast, but it is more likely that the announcer merely used the title as a promotional tool to gain curious listeners.

One of the most popular and wide-reaching advertisement to make use of the "Eskimo" image was done by the *Clicquot Club Company* (see Appendix 3, Composition 25). In order to

promote its ginger ale products, this beverage company collaborated with NBC to hire a band led by banjo virtuoso Harry F. Reser (1896-1965) called the *Clicquot Club Eskimos* (Figure 8.3).[28]

Figure 8.3: The Clicquot Club Eskimos
(Harry Reser in the center, Bill Wirges at the piano)

Performing on a weekly half-hour basis from 1925 to 1935,[29] the group appeared on the set of NBC's main station WEAF wearing "Eskimo" suits and playing various pieces of music throughout the program, including the introductory instrumental fox-trot march shown below in sheet music.

The performance of live music on the radio and the distribution of sheet music helped maintain profitable sales. Emphasizing the power of music to sell products, the *New York Times* radio writer Orrin E. Dunlap asserted in his 1929 book *Advertising by Radio* that "music is more captivating than words on the radio" (Dunlap 1929: 87). Comparing the medium of radio to that of print in terms of advertising, Dunlap made the following point:

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[28] During the 1920s and early '30s, the relationship between advertising agencies and broadcasting networks was inseparable. While the networks such as NBC and CBS provided studio space and lease airtime, advertising agencies produced the majority of programs. As a result, producers integrated jingles and ads featuring music directly into the programs. There was no clear separation between the two – programs were advertisements and vice versa (Taylor 2003).

[29] Reser and his band apparently maintained their "Eskimo" image at least through 1936. That year they played *Tiger Rag* and *You Hit the Spot* in the Vitaphone musical short *Harry Reser and His Eskimos*.

> The headline of a printed advertisement is extremely important. It catches the eye. The headline of an ethereal [i.e., radio] advertisement must attract the ear. It is usually done by the opening announcement or in some case an orchestra plays an introductory musical selection before a word is spoken. It is often easier to lure the ear with a snappy musical selection than with words. (Dunlap 1929: 86).

According to Taylor, there are no known recordings of the *Clicquot Club Eskimos* program (Taylor 2003: 24, fn18).[30] A script outlining the opening scene survives as well as a description by Dunlap, however. The latter wrote a brief summary of the introduction in the following way:

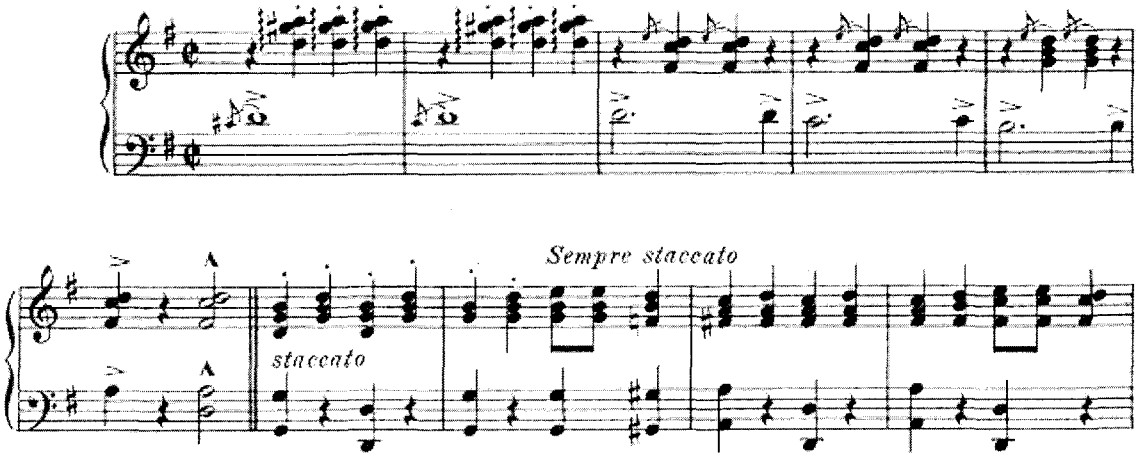
> the Eskimos play 'sparkling' music because their ginger ale sparkles. They open their program with the Clicquot March and the bark of the Eskimo dogs. They hope that when listeners see the bottle with the Eskimo on the label they will recognize it as the same Clicquot that made the loudspeakers sparkle with pleasant banjo tunes. (Dunlap 1929: 88).

A direct association between "Eskimo" imagery and characteristics of the ginger ale product is very evident in the script. Aural devices such as barking dogs, jingling bells, and a cracking whip combined with examples of word painting in Reser's instrumental helped create a sonic landscape reminiscent of the North and ginger ale beverage. Below is a detailed synopsis of the scene followed by excerpts of the musical score.

> *Announcer*: Look out for the falling snow, for it's all mixed up with a lot of ginger, sparkle, and pep, barking dogs and jingling bells and there we have a crew of smiling Eskimos, none other than the Clicquot Club Eskimos tripping along to the tune of their own march — "Clicquot."
>
> *Orchestra*: (*Plays* "Clicquot"; *the trademark overture*.)
>
> *Announcer* (*Continuing*): After the long breath-taking trip down from the North Pole, the Eskimos stop in front of a filling station for a little liquid refreshment—and what else would it be, but Clicquot Club Ginger Ale—the ginger ale that's aged six months. Klee-ko is spelled C-L-I-C-Q-U-O-T. You'll know it by the Eskimo on the bottle. (Slight pause.) Up in Eskimo-land where the cold wind has a whistle all its own and a banjo is an instrument of music, the Eskimos spell melody with a capital "M," and tell us that "It Goes Like This."
>
> *Orchestra*: (*Plays* "It Goes Like This.") (National Broadcasting Company, *Making Pep and Sparkle Typify a Ginger Ale* 7-8).
>
> (Taylor 2003: 24)

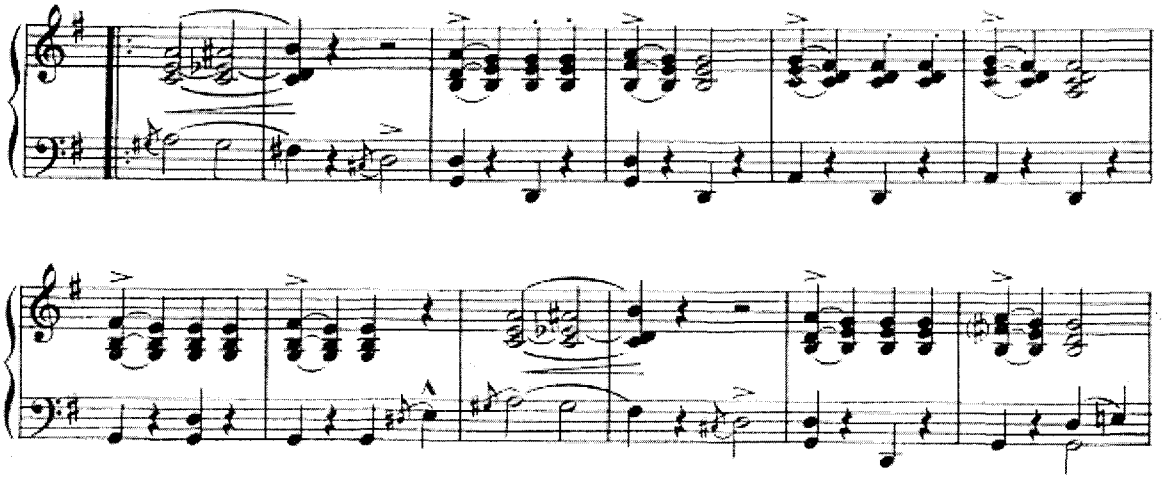
[30] In 1950, the program reappeared on the radio and one of the broadcast recordings was privately issued (Taylor 2003: fn18).

Music heightens both the program's imagery and text. As shown below, the pervasive use of staccato markings matches the product's bubbly characteristics (Example 8.29).



Example 8.29: Harry F. Reser, *Cliquot: Fox Trot March* (1926), mm. 1-10

Even though no direct references to sleigh bells, barking dogs, or cracking whips are evident in the sheet music, written for piano, imitations of these sounds are notated in the score as accented grace notes (Example 8.30).



Example 8.30: Harry F. Reser, *Cliquot: Fox Trot March* (1926), mm. 25-36

The programmatic nature of this piece and the use of musical devices to imitate Eskimo life make this piece indicative.

There is a telling parallel between the history of early radio advertising and the development of musical expression in Western classical music. Both appear to have started early on with the use of word painting to accentuate the text and imagery. This approach would eventually lead to a new direction, one that emphasized the power of music to stir emotions.

Finally, not only the performance of live music, but also the distribution of sheet music served as an advertising tool to draw interest to a product. In 1929, NBC and the Clicquot Club Company reportedly gave away copies of Reser's sheet music to fans writing in to the program, a number that may have amounted to 50,000 requests (National Broadcasting Company 1929: 17 in Taylor 2003: 25). Because of this publicity stunt, copies of the Clicquot Club Company sheet music are often found on ebay or auction houses for sale.

Other members of Reger's *Clicqot Club Eskimos* who worked on side projects also made use of the "Eskimo" image to promote their music. One was the piano player "Eskimo" Bill Wirges (1894-1971), composer of one of the most successful commercial jingles, the *Chiquita Banana* song. In 1927, he wrote a suite of novelty piano solo called *Polar Pep*. Seven in number, they each reflect an Arctic theme: 1) Igloo Stomp, 2) Aurora, 3) Polar Pep, 4) Snowshoes, 5) Over the Ice, 6) A Polar Suite, and 7) Pure as Snow (see Appendix 3, Composition 26).

Novelty piano solos became an important genre of music shortly after World War I, a time when rags began to lose their popularity and jazz was coming to the forefront. As such, novelty pieces represent a bridge between ragtime and early jazz, mixing both elements of syncopation and swing together. Pianists/composers such as Bill Wirges often performed these challenging pieces in order to show off their technical command of the instrument. Judging by the first piece in his *Polar Pep* set "Igloo Stomp", the compositions have no apparent connection to Eskimo music.[31] Therefore, it would best to classify it as imaginative.

Another company that successfully made use of "Eskimo" imagery to sell its product was the Eskimo Pie Corporation. Invented by Christian Nelson in 1920, the sweet concoction originally received the name "I-Scream-Bars". When Nelson teamed up with Russell C. Stover the following year to obtain enough financing to mass produce the ice cream bar, however, they

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[31] Another composer of novelty piano solos was the English pianist Billy Mayerl who performed with the Savoy Havana Band in London. One of the selections in his suite *Pianolettes* is the 1925 piece *Eskimo Shivers*. Like Wirges's works, *Eskimo Shivers*, especially when played fast, requires a strong technique. There is also no reference to Eskimo-themed music.

changed the name to "Eskimo Pie". The idea to use the word "Eskimo" seemed to originate with its associations of cold (Baldock 1998).

According to a 1930 newspaper record, the Eskimo Pie Company aired a program called the Eskimo Ice Cream Hour each week on New York's radio station WBNY (*NYT* 8/31/1930: XX9). Early in its inception, the company made use of radio jingles to sell its product.[32] One of them was the ever-popular *I Scream, You Scream, We All Scream for Ice Cream* written by Howard Johnson, Billy Moll, and Robert A. K. King, and released in 1927. Below is an excerpt of some of the lyrics. As homage to an earlier big hit, note the reference to "Oogie-wawa" in the third line.

In the land of ice and snows
Up among the Eskimos,
There's a college known as Oogie-wawa!
You should hear those college boys,
Gee, they make an awful noise
When they sing an Eskimo tra-la-la!
They've got a leader, big cheer leader,
Oh, what a guy!
He's got a frozen face just like an Eskimo Pie!
When he says, "Come on, let's go!"
Though it's forty-five below,
This is what the Eskimos all holler:
I scream, you scream, we all scream for ice cream!

Numerous recordings of the jingle quickly appeared, including at least two by Reser and his group, both listed under a different band name – *Harry Reser and the Syncopators* recorded December 23, 1927 on the Columbia label and *Harry Reser's Six Jumping Jacks* recorded January 14, 1928 on Brunswick.

A second radio jingle called *O! My Eskimo Pie* was published in 1930.[33] Sheet music based on the music was also published the same year (see Appendix 3, Composition 27). Its

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[32] An example of an Eskimo Pie radio recording featuring more obscure Eskimo-themed entertainers is entitled "Eskimo Pie Time" from the early 1930s. Placed on a 78 rpm 12" laminated shellac phonograph, the recording features the comedy duo "Singing Icicles" composed of Ed East and Ralph Dumke. Likely pressed by Columbia, the record "has a printed label which shows a black and white drawing of an Eskimo Pie ice cream bar and bears the handwritten names of "East & Dumke" in white ink." Though It contains only one side of music, the recording is of decent quality. Two songs accompanied by piano are present: "Illway Ouyay Gimme A Little Isskay" and "Big Time Gal" (Powell 2001).

[33] A third jingle "New Eskimo Pie on a Stick" appeared sometime in 1934 or after.

composer and lyricist Dale Wimbrow (1895-1954) was a vaudeville performer and radio artist who wrote and recorded many original songs, some to the accompaniment of his own 'ukulele, as pictured on the front cover. He is author of the poem "The Guy in the Glass." Wimbrow entertained listening audiences on the *Eskimo Pie* program as well, including the performance of his composition *O! My Eskimo Pie*.[34] Musically speaking, the song bears no connection to Eskimo singing or drumming and therefore is imaginative.

Classical Style Approaches to Eskimo Music

During the early 20th century, a handful of classical composers took Adam Geibel's lead and began to dabble in writing music based on "Eskimo" imagery. Their compositional style sometimes overlapped that of popular song and instrumental writers in terms of complexity or lack thereof. Whereas the incentive of most popular music composers was commercial success, however, that of composers devoted to art music was mainly aesthetic or pedagogical. Of course, the division between classical, popular or even folk composers is generally not very clear-cut. Professional writers of popular music frequently wrote more "serious" compositions while classical composers often turned to writing commercialized music.

With the possible exception of Geibel's *Esquimaux Slumber Song*, the earliest classical piece of "Eskimo" music or imagery I have found is the 1901 work *Eskimo Cradle Song*, music composed by Gena Branscombe and lyrics written by her mother Sara Elizabeth Allison Branscombe (Figure 8.4).

Figure 8.4: Gena Branscombe and her mother Sara

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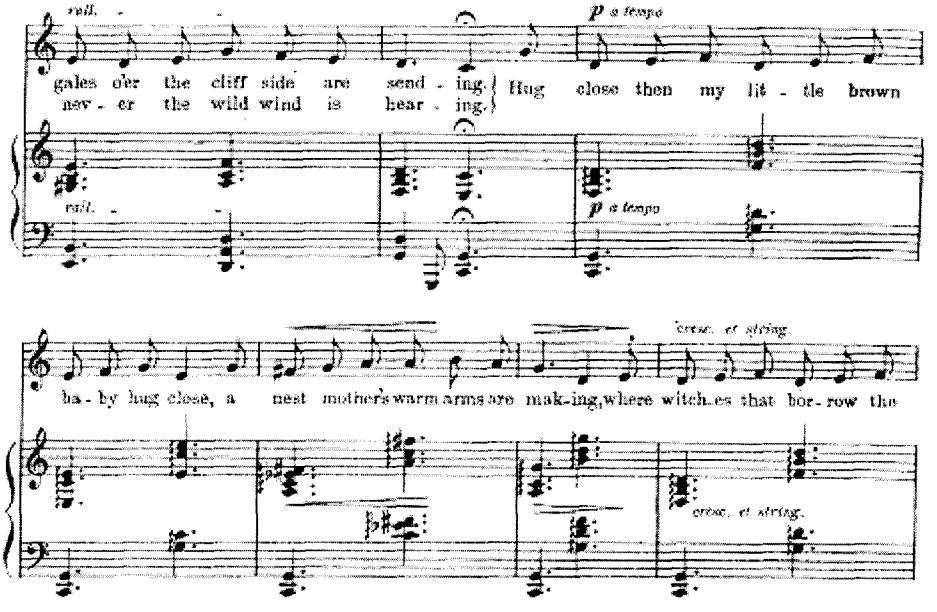
[34] In 1935, Wimbrow premiered on the *Eskimo Pie* radio program a new song by the old writer Theodore Metz, famous for his *There'll Be a Hot time in the Old Town Tonight*, written almost 40 years earlier (*Time* 8/5/1935)

Gena Branscombe was a relatively well-known Canadian composer born in Picton, Ontario in 1881. Her maternal grandfather, Rev. Cyrus Allison, was a Christian missionary to Native American communities in Ontario (Roger Phenix, email message to the author, November 3, 2007). At sixteen, she studied piano and composition with German teachers at the Chicago Musical College and later with Englebert Humperdinck in Berlin. Branscombe was about 19 when these two songs were published, making it one of her earliest published works. Similar to Geibel's piece, *Eskimo Cradle Song* evokes a serious and somewhat romanticized view of the Eskimo people and their world. Her mother's lyrics express a sentiment that seem derived from imagination than any experience with Inuit people (see Appendix 3, Composition 28). The musical imagery also appears to have no connection to Eskimo or native music (Example 8.31).



Example 8.31: Gena and Sara E. Branscombe, *Eskimo Cradle Song* (1901), mm. 13-19

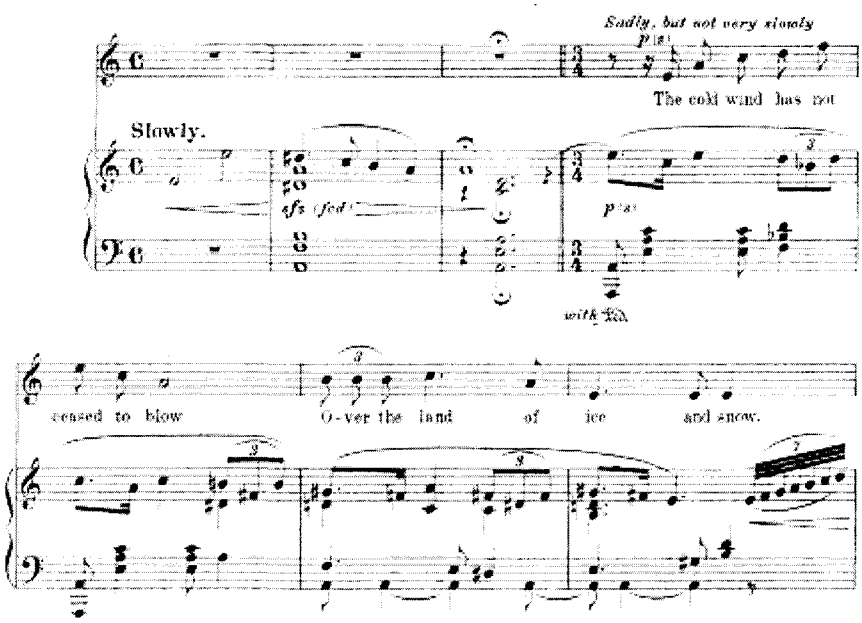
Strongly influenced by Humperdinck and the late German Romantic tradition, Branscombe's music features examples of thick harmonies, chromatic progressions, altered chords, and diminished 7ths. Such stylistic writing corresponds to the intensely dramatic lyrics expressing the strong emotional bond between an Eskimo mother and her child as well as the raw and uncompromising natural world of the Arctic.

Branscombe's *Eskimo Cradle Song* does not incorporate any elements of Eskimo music but it appears to be one of the earliest known pure art songs, at least among Americans and Canadians, to be inspired by the idea of Eskimos. As such, the work is imaginative. No early recordings of the piece exist. *Henry Burr and His Orchestra* recorded a work by the same title in

1908 on the *Zon-O-Phone* label, but it is unlikely to be the same (*Zonophone Numerical Listings* n.d.). In the present day, a professional singer named Kathleen Shimeta has been resurrecting Branscombe's legacy by regularly presenting vocal recitals based on her song repertoire.

Another Eskimo-themed work, *Eskimo Love Song*, appeared in 1906. Its composer, Stanley Avery, was born in Yonkers, New York in 1879. After high school, he received musical training at Columbia Music College from teachers influenced by the lighter style of Victor Herbert, Rudolf Friml, and Sigmund Romberg as well as Edward MacDowell, American torchbearer of the late German Romantic tradition. Like Branscombe, Avery studied under Humperdinck in Berlin, a composer of light classical music (Laudon 2002).

Eskimo Love Song is based on a poem written by Frances C. Lamont and is notated for medium voice and piano. Like Geibel's piece, *Eskimo Love Song* contains no chorus, but instead two verses. Both lyrically and musically, it resembles the Branscombe's work. The subject matter again deals with Eskimo life, the natural environment, and the risk to human life (see Appendix 3, Composition 29); the music consists of an ample amount of dissonant chords and chromatic movement (Example 8.32).



Example 8.32: Stanley R. Avery and Frances C. Lamont, *Eskimo Love Song* (1906), mm. 1-7

Written in the A minor and A Phrygian mode, however, in contrast to the previous song's C major tonality, Avery's piece bears a darker quality of sound, one that heightens the lyrical

message of lost love and death in the harsh, desolate northern landscape. Like Branscombe's piece *Eskimo Love Song* best fits into the imaginative category.

Significantly, the song was published in the Wa-Wan press, an important independent publishing company founded by the Indianist composer Arthur Farwell in 1901.[35] Its chief aim was "to promote by publication and public hearing, the most progressive, characteristic, and serious works of American composers, known or unknown, and to present compositions based on the melodies and folk-lore of the American Indian (Wa-Wan Press 1970). The Indianist movement grew out of a nationalistic need for composers of the United States to identify and establish an American classical music identity, one separate from the European tradition. As exemplified in his New World Symphony from 1893, Antonin Dvorak showed composers how Native and African American melodies and rhythms could serve as a foundation for the country's new music. Two of the movement's leading exponents, Edward MacDowell and Arthur Farwell, composed numerous works based on Indian music, though they disagreed about the rationale for using such source material to represent American music as a whole. MacDowell saw no significant need for it, whereas Farwell did.

While representatives of the movement wrote Indian-themed pieces, only two appeared to have devoted their time to composing Eskimo-themed ones, Stanley Avery and Amy Beach. In fact, *Avery's Eskimo Love Song* is the only selection in the entire Wa-Wan Press that features Eskimo imagery.[36] Why such an imbalance occurred was at least partially due to the latter group's limited exposure, especially their music. Despite their representation at world's fairs, expositions and such, Eskimo people were generally less able to demonstrate their music and dance compared to that of American Indians. More importantly, far fewer Eskimo music recordings, in particular, transcribed recordings were available to composers. In fact, not until the mid 1920s were transcriptions of Western and Central Arctic Eskimo released to the public. I will discuss the importance of this publication in the next chapter.

Despite being Avery's sole Eskimo-themed work, *Eskimo Love Song* was a piece that the composer continued to play well after it appeared in print. In 1909, three years after the Wa-Wan Press published the song and one year after Edward MacDowell's early death, Avery performed it

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[35] For a deeper analysis of the Wa-Wan press, read Edward N. Waters's "The Wa-Wan Press: An Adventure in Musical Idealism" (Waters 1943)

[36] Gena Branscombe also contributed music to the Wa-Wan press, but none of her compositions were Native American-inspired.

for the MacDowell Club in New York. In the same program, Arthur Farwell gave a talk on American folksongs *(New Music Review and Church Music Review* 1909: 221).

When the Wa-Wan Press published *Eskimo Love Song* in 1906, it may have inspired a certain musician to incorporate actual Eskimo music into her own works. By early the next year, Amy Beach published and began performing her children's suite *Eskimos* (Block 1990: 150),[37] consisting of four short piano pieces entitled "Arctic Night", "The Returning Hunters", "Exiles", and "With Dog-teams" (see Appendix 3, Composition 30).[38] According to Beach biographer Adrienne Fried Block, the composer used eleven Eskimo melodies (Block 1990: 149-153, 165 ff48, ff49; Block 1998: 126). Because of her direct use of Eskimo music, this work could be classified as incorporative. However, as will be discussed, Beach's Westernized classical treatment of the original material places the piece perhaps closer to the indicative category. The source material she chose was Franz Boas's 1888 monograph *The Central Eskimo* (Block 1990: 149 and Block 1998: 127), which contains numerous transcribed Inuit songs from the Cumberland Sound region in the Eastern Canadian Arctic's Baffin Island. Boas's work includes a few extra musical transcriptions prepared by early explorers, including Elisha Kane, Emil Bessels, William Parry and George Lyon (Boas 1888: 657-658). One of the latter's melodies appears in the fourth movement of Beach's *Eskimos*. Beach would continue to make use of these Inuit tunes in two later compositions, the *Quartet for Strings in One Movement* from 1929 and the *Trio for Piano, Violin, and Cello* published in 1938 (Block 1990: 152-163). Considering these three works, Beach's interest in Eskimo music as compositional source surpasses that of any other Indianist composer, or for that matter, any other composer of the early 20th century.[39]

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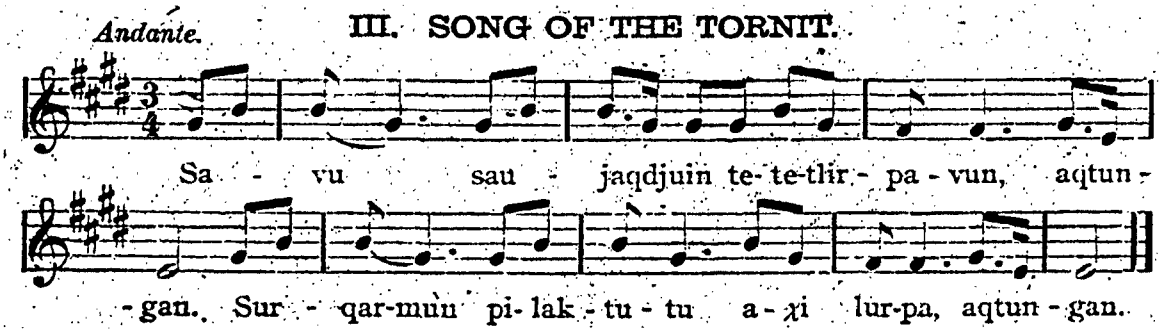
[37] Beach already performed *Eskimos* on March 15, 1907 at the Hotel Tuilleries in Boston (Block 1990: 150). Two months later, when Avery performed *Eskimo Love Song* at Arthur Farwell's American Music Society meeting in Boston on May 22, Beach missed an opportunity to play her *Eskimos*. Instead, she opted with a rendition of her 1905 piano work *Variation on Balkan Themes* (Block 1998: 126). Farwell, however, likely received a copy of *Eskimos* around that time, "for in December he played the suite during a lecture recital for young people in Emporia, Kansas" (Block 1990: 149).

[38] *Eskimos* appears to be the first serious treatment of Eskimo music as compositional material. Her use of Eskimo melodies was very similar to what Bartok and Kodaly did with the folk tunes of Hungary and other nearby countries. By the late 19th century, if not earlier, several classical composers had been working with American Indian themes, including Dvorak, MacDowell, Farwell, and others. Beach, however, appears to have been the first to base her compositions directly on the music of Eskimo peoples.

[39] Very few American composers during the early 20th century took Beach's lead in using Eskimo music as a compositional source. With the exception of Anice Terhune, discussed later in this section, and Derrick Norman Lehmer, who in 1932 published an Eskimo song cycle based on Diamond Jenness's recordings of Inuit songs, the next known composer to share a similar approach was Henry Cowell. In 1945, Cowell made use of Eskimo source material for his band piece *Animal Magic*, based on a Greenland Eskimo three-

Beach's knowledge of Eskimo music and perhaps exposure to live performances of Eskimo music and dance date back to at least 1893 when she attended the Chicago World's Fair.[40] Her bookish knowledge of such music occurred a few years earlier with the publication of Boas's Eskimo writings beginning in 1888. When in May 1893 Dvorak challenged American composers to incorporate African American tunes into their works, Beach responded in writing with the remark that it would make more sense to use Native American music, including that of Eskimos: "Were we to consult the native folk-songs of the continent, it would have to be those of the Indians or the Esquimaux, several of whose curious songs (?) are given in the publications of the Smithsonian Institute" (Block 1990: 146). By 1893, if not earlier, Beach had therefore already considered, at least hypothetically, the possibility of using Eskimo music as a compositional source.

Since Block already analyzed the Inuit themes contained in the first two movements of *Eskimos*, I will instead focus on those found in the introduction of the third movement entitled "Exiles". The original melodies share similar characteristics with those of others in the collection. The ambitus of the first one contains a somewhat narrow range of a fifth while the second one has a much wider compass of an octave (Example 8.33).



Example 8.33: "Song of the Tornit", No. III, transcribed by Franz Boas (Boas 1888: 653)

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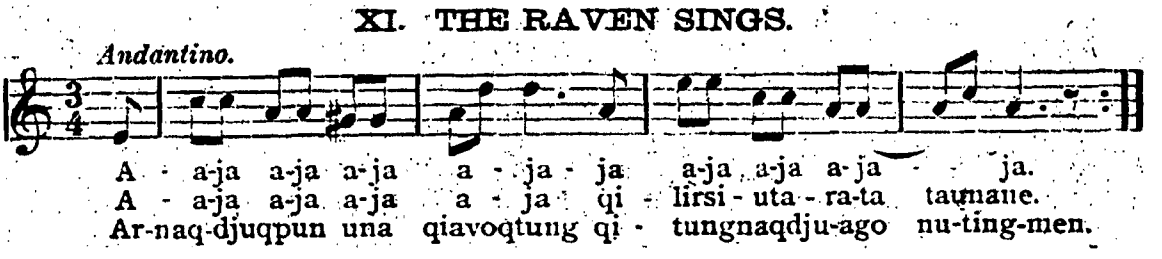
note motif (Weisgall 1959: 493-494). Several references falsely attributed the source to the Alaskan Eskimo, for example, naming the piece "Animal Magic of the Alaskan Esquimo" (Lichtenwanger 1986: 201 and Famera et al. 1982: 43). A composer devoted to the study of non-Western music, Cowell showed an interest in Eskimo drum dance songs. Besides writing compositions based on northern indigenous melodies, he collaborated with Laura Boulton by contributing liner notes to her seminal 1954 phonographic release *The Eskimos of Hudson Bay and Alaska* on the Folkways label.

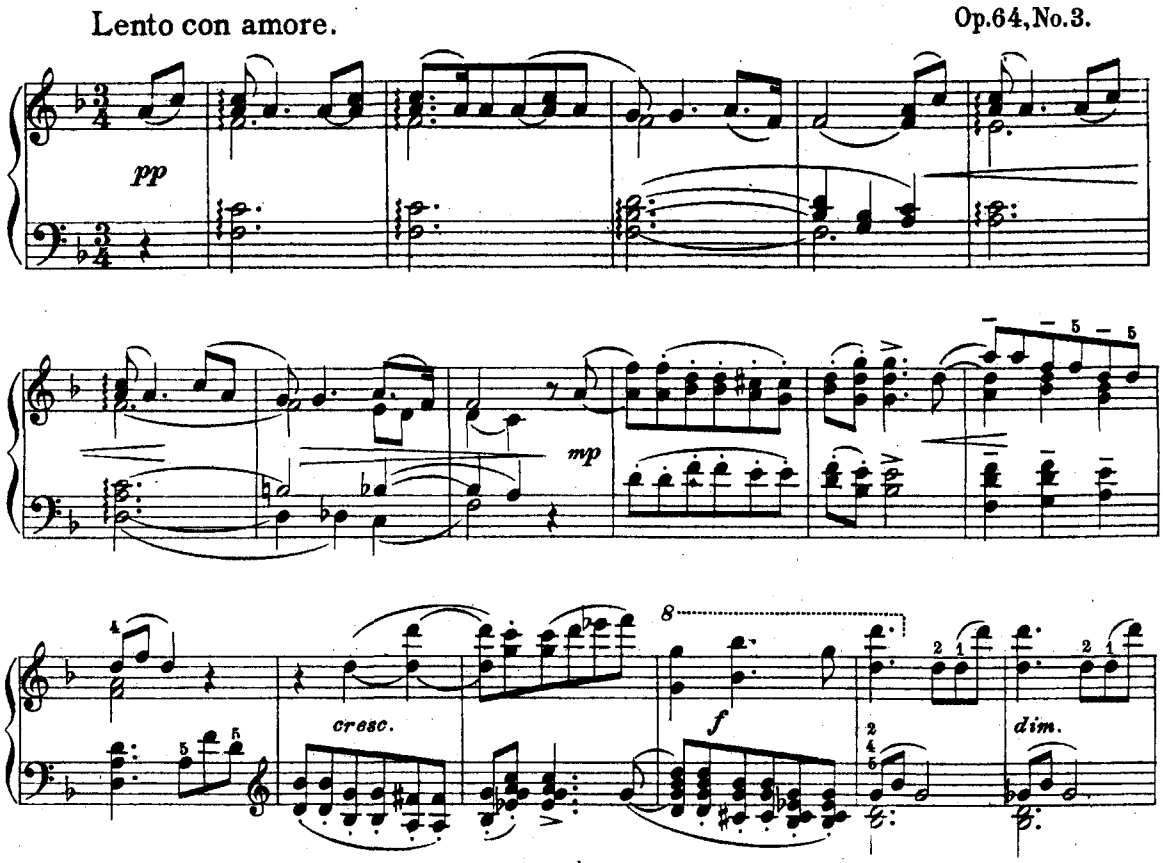
[40] Invited to perform her compositions, usually commissioned ones, Beach attended several other American world's fairs, including San Francisco's in 1915 and New York's in 1939 (Wright 1998).

Both tunes are gapped and feature some repeated notes. Although both melodies are notated in triple meter, an emphasis of the beat in the middle of the measure suggests a metrical structure or grouping of rhythm that is either unmetered or irregular (Example 8.34).



Example 8.34: "The Raven Sings", No. XI, transcribed by Franz Boas (Boas 1888: 655)

In his analysis of Eskimo melodies, Boas concluded that they correspond to the two main Western scales – major and minor. For instance, while the first melody "Song of the Tornit" is tetratonic, that is, contains four distinct pitches, according to Boas it would fit the basic outline of a major pentatonic scale. He adds the notion that such types of melodies are "identical with the Chinese and many of the Indian [Native American] ones" (Boas 1888: 652), a comparison demonstrated numerous times in this section. Following Boas's analysis, the second melody from "The Raven Sings" spells out a minor pentatonic scale. Another musical style that Boas draws a connection to is Gregorian chant, primarily in terms of the "relation between melodies to their key note" and the "retention of the same note during a large number of consecutive syllables" (Boas 1888: 652). Beach approached melodies in a similar fashion, placing the first melody in the context of a diatonic F scale and the second one in its relative D minor, that is, the opening melody from measure 1 to 8 matches that of *Song of the Tornit* while measures 8 through 12 correspond exactly with *The Raven Sings* tune (Example 8.35).



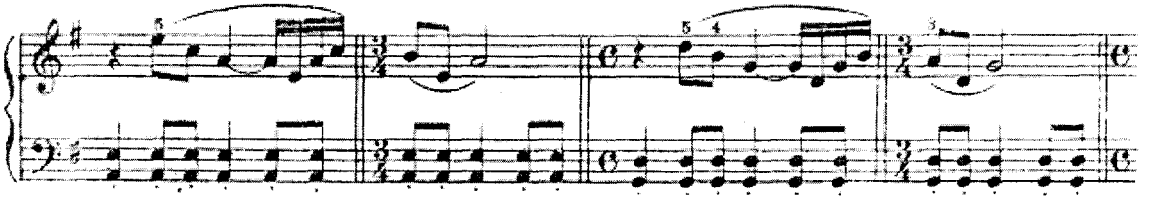
Example 8.35: Amy Beach, "Exiles", 3rd Movement of *Eskimos* (1907), mm. 1-17

Seeking to "enrich" Eskimo melodies by adding Western harmonies, much of Beach's compositional approach featured appoggiaturas, chromatic harmonic progressions, augmented and diminished chords, and varieties of seventh and ninth chords, all part of the late Romantic harmonic arsenal (Block 1990: 149). In "Exiles", her use of altered chords is generally less pervasive than in other movements. The triple meter remains the same with the tempo somewhat slower than that marked for the Inuit melodies.

One final remark about certain commentary ascribed to this piece. Despite the thorough scholarship of Block and Pisani, both incorrectly asserted that Beach used "Alaskan Eskimo or "Alaskan Inuit" melodies as a source (Block 1990: 144, Block 1998: 127, Pisani 2005: 232). For some reason, they mistakenly substituted Alaskan Inuit for the Baffin Island Inuit studied by Boas in the mid-1880s. A simple error, but also a glaring one since it reflects perhaps the lingering ignorance or carelessness of southern scholars, let alone average Americans, in accurately delineating the geography and culture of northern indigenous peoples.

The final two pieces in this section are the only extant examples I have been able to locate of Eskimo-themed classical music from the second decade of the 20th century. The first one is by the American composer and violinist George J. Trinkaus (1878-1960). Trinkaus studied at Yale University where he majored in violin performance. Part of his musical life also involved playing in Connecticut's *New Haven Symphony Orchestra.* Trinkaus composed numerous works, many of which were written for band and chamber ensembles. His *Polar Suite,* written in 1912, is a piano piece that shares both popular and classical elements (see Appendix 3, Composition 31). The composer may have intended the piece for children as a pedagogical study or simply as a non-technical novelty piano solo with a commercial interest in mind. Since M. Witmark & Sons was known both as a representative of the Tin Pan Alley music industry,[41] and as a publisher of classical works, it is difficult to place *Polar Suite* into one genre or the other.[42]

One particular rhythmical aspect of the work suggests a more classical orientation, however. As shown below, Trinkaus made use of meter changes in the first movement, a musical device not seen in any other pieces of sheet music from my research (Example 8.36).



Example 8.36: George J. Trinkaus, "An Esquimo Wedding: Dance and Invocation", 1st movement of *Polar Suite* (1912), mm. 9-12

The likely intention was to approximate the varying meters heard in Eskimo drum dance song. Why this musical element is lacking in other pieces, even those representative of art music, is surprising, given the unusual complexity often found in Eskimo rhythms. The common use of

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[41] Some of the M. Witmark & Sons publications that Trinkaus composed music for were popular songs such as *Mammy's Little Kinky Headed Boy* (1926) and *Bells of Kallarney* (1930) as well as classical pieces such as trio for two violins and piano entitled *Pollywogs at Play* (1911) and *Lodoma* , a mazurka written for violin solo and optional piano accompaniment (1912).

[42] M. Witmark & Songs also released works by other composers such as Theodore H. Northrup. Like Trinkaus, some of his compositions do not easily fit into the popular or classical genres. Northrup had a strong background in the art music tradition but also devoted much of his time to writing popular songs and pedagogical music books. For a comparison of Trinkaus's compositional output under the M. Witmark & Sons publishing house with that of Northrup's, see *George Grainger's Webpages* n.d.1.and *George Grainger's Webpages n.d.2.*

open fifth chords in the bass line indicating the sound of drums also appears in the excerpt. I have pointed this musical device out several times in earlier sheet music pieces.

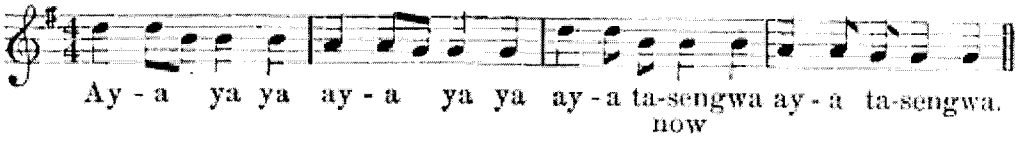
Besides the musical references to animal behavior and the use of A dorian and A minor modes in the first and third movements, respectively, nothing else in the suite seems to suggest a connection to Eskimo music or imagery. Like Beach's piece, *An Esquimo Wedding: Dance and Invocation* fits in both the iconic and indexical categories. As evidence of the former, the presence of irregular meters creates a rhythmic sound more similar to Eskimo music than that of any other example presented. Other aspects of the piece, particularly melody, however, do not contain an Eskimo influence, giving it an indicative classification.

The final piece in this section is *Snow-white Gull ("Isunga")* by Anice Terhune (1873-1964), an obscure composer who is known for being the wife of the successful author Albert Payson Terhune, a writer of collie adventure novels (Figure 8.5)

Figure 8.5: Anice Terhune

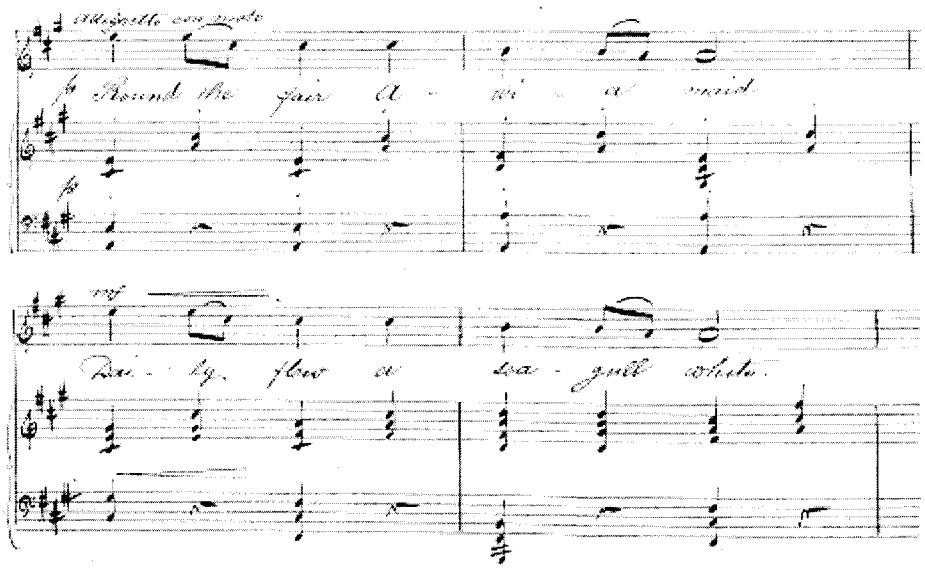
Many of Anice Terhune's compositions were intended as pedagogical studies for children. It is unclear whether *Snow-white Gull ("Isunga")* belongs to this genre. Based on "an Eskimo tribal melody", the song shares commonalities with previous examples. Alluding to a possible children's piece classification, it features a somewhat rudimentary level of technique similar to that of Trinkaus's. Its use of harmonies, however, are as sophisticated as Beach's piece, which was originally a children's piece. Like Avery's and Branscombe's works, the lyrical content of *Snow-white Gull ("Isunga")* expresses a more serious adult theme concerning a lover's death (see Appendix 3, Composition 32). Again, like her predecessors, Terhune refers to the natural environment and more specifically a gull, which symbolically represents the lover's soul.

I was able to determine that the opening melody is from a set of Greenland Inuit songs collected and notated by Dr. Robert Stein, leader of the 1899-1901 Expedition to Ellesmereland.[43] Stein wrote a chapter on "Eskimo Music" in the 1902 book *The White World* (Stein 1902), one of the first serious studies on Inughuit or Polar Inuit musical culture. The songs in the collection generally concern the area's animals and birds (Hauser 2010: 31-33). In this particular example, Terhune sub-titled her song "Isunga" (Library of Congress 1915), a word defined as "long-tailed Jaeger gull" in Stein's writing. Curiously, "Isunga" appears as the name for another melody in the set, one different from that used in *The Snow White Gull* (Stein 1902: 349-350). The original tune used in Terhune's piece was sung by an elderly woman named Atuhsu from Cape York in northwestern Greenland. Note that it is written in the key of G while Terhune's version of it is transposed to A (Examples 8.37 and 8.38).



Example 8.37: Northwest Greenland Eskimo Melody, transcribed by Robert Stein (Stein 1902: 350)

[43] Further evidence that Terhune referred to Stein's work is her use of the name Awia in the lyrics. Awia appears in Stein's books as the name of a middle-aged woman from Fort Magnesia near Cape Sabine on Ellesmere Island. Also known as Niwikengwa, she was the wife of Akomadingwa, who according to the song may have been deceased (Stein 1902: 344).



Example 8.38: Anice Terhune, *The Snow White Gull ("Isunga")* Founded on an Eskimo Tribal Melody (1915), mm. 3-6

The presence of a minor 3rd interval in the beginning of the melody is noteworthy. The same type of melodic contour is seen in earlier pieces, most notably Weeks's *Little Jo Daughter of the North* and Gottler's *Oogie Oogie Wa Wa*, suggesting an attempt on their part to imitate "Eskimo" song or to simply express Oriental exoticism in general. Apparently, Terhune used the original Eskimo melody as a starting point in her piece. She briefly develops it and then returns to the opening line.

A particular feature of the piece also shown in the above excerpt is melodic repetition. Importantly, it reflects a southern perception of "Eskimo" music based on a limited representation of Inughuit songs. Stein's collection is stylistically wanting since it contains almost exclusively examples of small-songs, rather than the more developed drum-songs of the region. Consequently, many of the songs have a simple form and close to half of them feature melodic repetition. Unknowingly, Terhune adopted a type of melody that failed to represent Inughuit, or more generally, Eskimo musical culture. Remarkably, other composers such as Weeks used this kind of musical device in his song *Little Jo: Daughter of the North.* What is interesting in Terhune's example is that she added different harmonies, often diminished seventh and altered ninth chords to the repeating melodic motifs. Beach employed the same technique but with much more intensity. In contrast, Terhune created a thinner harmonic landscape that allows the melody

to stand out. Since she made use of original Eskimo material, her song fits neatly into the incorporative category.

More Recent Examples of Eskimo-Themed Music

The practice of adopting Eskimo imagery into popular and classical music endured throughout the 20th century and continues to the present day, though at a much slower pace than in the past (see Appendix 4). Many of the themes involving Eskimo-ness still make use of the frigid environment and lovemaking often with humorous intentions. All the examples presented here are representative of imaginative pieces, except one. In the 1955 hit *Never do a Tango with an Eskimo* written by the British songwriter Tommie Connor,[44] and popularized by the English singer Alma Cogan, associations with Eskimo cold serve as an obstacle to dancing the hot tango (see Appendix 3, Composition 33). Those seeking someone capable should choose a partner of southern ethnicity or origin. Musically speaking, this tango-influenced piece features no Eskimo elements.

Another successful Eskimo-themed song appeared a couple years later, this time in the rockabilly genre – *Eskimo Pie* by the legendary George Jones.[45] Similar to previous decades, the song followed a series of hit tunes about interracial relations with exotic women from foreign lands, particularly Lawton William's 1957 hits *Fraulein* and *Geisha Girl* made popular by Bobby Helms and Hank Locklin, respectively. Thematically similar to songs from the early part of the century, *Eskimo Pie* is about an Eskimo woman who saves the life of a southerner and becomes his sweetheart. Though the man departs, his emotional bond to the woman remains unbroken (see Appendix 3, Composition 34).

The next song by Bob Dylan *Mighty Quinn (Quinn the Eskimo)* is one of the best known of the "Eskimo"-themed songs and arguably one of songwriter's most popular songs. Cryptic in the common Dylanesque way, a detached narrator comments on the magnetic appeal "Quinn the Eskimo" has on people and even birds (see Appendix 3, Composition 35). On one interpretative

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[44] Tommie Connor is most famous for penning the 1952 Christmas hit *I Saw Mommy Kissing Santa Claus.*

[45] A series of Alaskan-produced rockabilly and rock 'n' roll songs appeared in 1959, the year of statehood. They include *Eskimo Boogie*, performed by Betty Jo & Johnny Starr and released on *Alaska Records* and three others from the *Igloo Records* label: *Kiss an Eskimo*, written by Estelle Edwards and Hill Mathis and *Rockin' On a Reindeer* by Joe Pennypacker and Hill Mathis, and *Rockin' Little Eskimo* penned by Officer Mactavish. Harry Lee performed and recorded the first two while Bobby Swanson & his Sonics covered the third song.

level, the song is a warning to be wary of charismatic leaders, including demagogues and religious zealots. Though Dylan has said little on the subject, it is possible that inspiration for the song came from the 1960 film *Savage Innocents* starring Anthony Quinn as an Inuk struggling to preserve his way of life in the face of Western expansionism. Whether Dylan was critiquing the powerful influence of shamans in his song is open to debate. Along the same lines, the ambiguity of what the "Mighty Quinn" represents continues to trigger varying interpretations to this day.

The following comic song from 1993 is a good example of how songwriters have used the Eskimo image as a vehicle for social commentary. *Eskimo*, a novelty song more popularly known as *I'm the Only Gay Eskimo*, was written and performed by the Canadian musical and comedy act *Corky and the Juice Pigs*. About a sole homosexual living in an isolated environment, the song raises the issue of homosexuality and related attitudes within the context of both small and large-scale societies, that is, the Eskimo community and the larger population centers particularly of the southern regions (see Appendix 3, Composition 36).

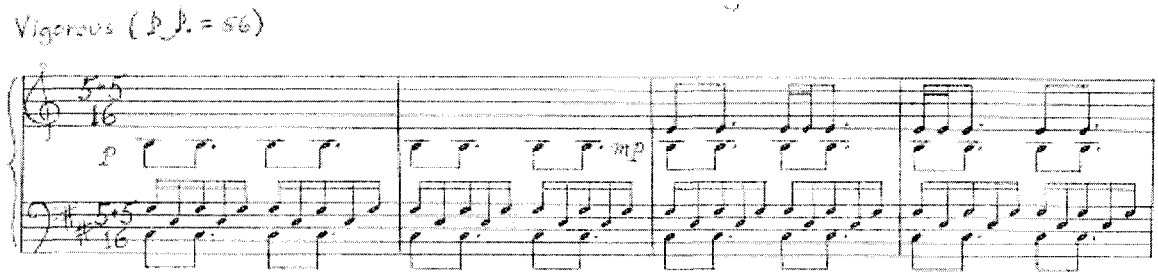
Intended to be humorous, the song's lyrics naturally trigger controversy on at least two fronts – its suggestive anti-gay and anti-Inuit overtones. The following news story from Inuvik, reveals in a particularly multi-faceted way, the complexity of such varying social attitudes surrounding the issue. According to the 2007 article, the community's high school staff decided after discussions with elders and other Inuvik residents to ban a female Inuvialuit student from performing the song at a school fundraising event. As part of their argument, they cited the lyrics as being culturally insensitive towards Inuit and too highly charged with regard to sexual behavior. The student responded to the decision by claiming that people who disagree with the song should lighten up and develop a sense of humor. She believed that a majority of Inuvialuit would find the song humorous but also conceded that such acceptance would more likely arise if the performer were Inuvialuit. In an interview with CBC News, she added, "If someone from down south, if they were doing the song, it might offend them. But, you know, I'm part of the Inuvialuit, so I didn't think it was going to be that bad" (*CBC News* 2007). Adding to the mix of varying viewpoints was the school's own concerns about framing homosexuality as offensive behavior, especially on the national level where laws and public opinion accept it. Juxtaposed against this, however, is the song's mass appeal across Canada as well as the United States.

The next and most recent example of Eskimo imagery is the German dance song *Der Eskimo Tanz* performed by the young German pop entertainer Alex Fischer. Appearing in 2008, the work closely parallels the lighthearted humor expressed in songs from the early 20th century.

Like in earlier examples, *Der Eskimo Tanz* draws a close association between Eskimos and dancing, a common activity to while away the long winters. References to nature and animals are also present (see Appendix 3, Composition 37). However, in this contemporary song, the notion of lovemaking is ascribed to polar bears and not to Eskimos, suggesting an attempt to avoid cultural insensitivity or stereotyping. Perhaps reflecting a change in what is considered to be appropriate or not, animals today are fair game to poke fun at, or direct humorous quips towards, as compared to that of ethnic groups.

Following the pattern of earlier examples, *Der Eskimo Tanz* features no references to Eskimo music, real or perceived. Fischer choreographs a series of dance motions, as shown on the back of the CD, but they too present no obvious associations with the actual Eskimo dance style. Instead, the pictures illustrate a set of simple, symmetrical movements not unlike the once-popular Macarena, which in this case drew connections with Latin dance styles.

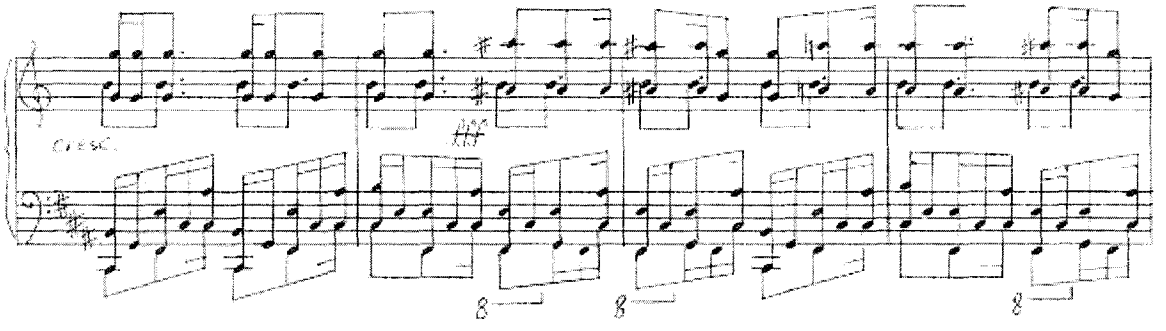
The final example in this section, the 1992 piano suite *Silam Inua*[46] composed by Craig Coray is representative of the more recent classical style approaches incorporating Eskimo music. The work consists of eight movements (see Appendix 3, Composition 38) based on mid-20th century Alaskan Eskimo and Canadian Inuit song recordings collected by Laura Boulton ("The Eskimos of Hudson Bay and Alaska") and Lorraine Koranda ("Alaskan Eskimo Songs and Stories"). Unlike Beach and other early composers who made use of Eskimo material, Coray's piece is guided by actual sound recordings, not written transcriptions. This difference combined with Coray's intention to respect the integrity of the original songs illustrates a composition that is highly incorporative. For an example of his compositional treatment, below is an excerpt of the introduction to the sixth movement entitled "Women's Dance Song" (Example 8.39).



Example 8.39: Craig Coray, "Women's Dance Song", 6th Movement of *Silam Inua* (1992), mm. 1-4

[46] Roughly translated as "Sky Spirit", the title represents the Inuit concept of an all-powerful spirit governing the sky world, including the weather.

Based on a Kobuk song from Koranda's collection, this movement features vigorous drumming rhythms written in the metrical division of 2 + 3 = 5, a common Iñupiaq feature. Coray remains faithful to the original melody employing only four notes in the top line. His use of two different tonalities in the right- and left-hand parts (bitonality) and an uncommon key signature help to not only create tension but also avoid the standard Western tonal sound. He also retains the typical Iñupiaq bipartite or two-part form as presented in the sound recording. This structure is characterized by an introductory section written in a soft and subdued style followed by a second section that repeats similar material but in a much louder and more energetic manner (Example 8.40).



Example 8.40: Craig Coray, "Women's Dance Song", 6th Movement of *Silam Inua* (1992), mm. 25-28

Demonstrating another element of the indigenous sound, the composer adds tone clusters in the second section (A#'s and B's), thus creating a dissonant effect that imitates the heavy drumming heard in the recording.

Raised in Alaska and as an ethnomusicologist devoted to preserving and interpreting Alaska Native traditional songs, Coray reveals an understanding of northern indigenous music uncharacteristic of earlier composers and songwriters. On the authenticity spectrum, his contribution represents the most authentic and musiculturally sensitive of all the examples presented in this chapter.[47] I will further address the measure of authenticity in the following sections and chapter.

[47] In March 2010, I had the opportunity to perform several movements of *Silam Inua* for a recital held at the University of Alaska Fairbanks. Entitled "Alaskan Voices: A Confluence of Cultures", the program included a drum dance song rendition of the original music, a feature that provided the audience another interpretative layer of the material alongside that of the piano solo. Performing on stage were drummer and

Young Non-Native Performances

This section is a lead-up to the next chapter. It concerns the performance of Eskimo dancing by non-Native children who lived a certain number of their formative years in northern Alaska during the early part of 20th century. I will focus on three individuals, two of whom were children of missionary physicians, the third, a daughter of an educator and collector: Elizabeth Marsh (1902-1993), Olivia Van Valin (1910-2003), and David Greist (b. 1918).

Elizabeth Marsh (married name Dubel), daughter of Horatio Richmond and Emma Marsh, was born in Barrow in August 1902 and lived intermittingly there until 1912. Together with her two older brothers Loren and Francis, she learned to speak the Iñupiaq language and dance in the Iñupiaq style. After leaving Barrow, Elizabeth and her family moved to Glendale, Oregon where she attended school. One particularly insightful photograph shown below, taken in 1913 or 1914, indicates that she and her older siblings had retained their knowledge of Iñupiaq drum dancing. Clad in native dress, the trio performed for their fellow classmates at the school's May Festival. The image appears to depict Elizabeth sitting on the right and accompanying her two brothers' dance motions on the drum (Figure 8.6).

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singer Joel Ataat' Forbes and dancer Debra Naaqtuuq Dommek, both university students. Coray also provided explanatory notes and analyses of the music.

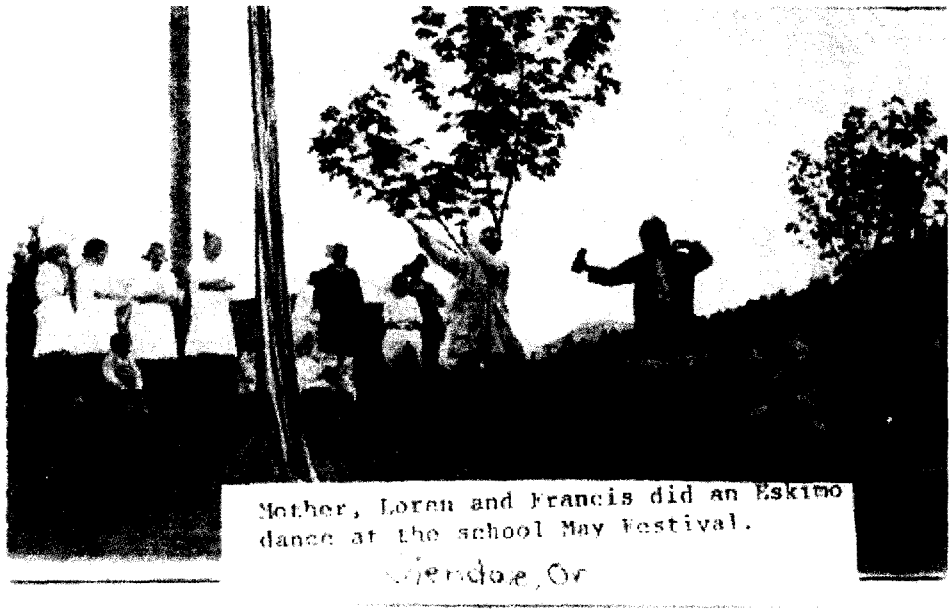


Figure 8.6: Elizabeth, Loren, and Francis Marsh performing Iñupiaq drum dance to their classmates at the school May Festival in Glendale, Oregon, circa 1913-1914, courtesy of Josephine Fletcher

How much of a direct influence native music and dance had on Elizabeth's musical upbringing is too difficult to assess. Nonetheless, according to her daughter Josephine Fletcher, it was when Elizabeth moved to Oregon that "she displayed her musical talent" (Fletcher n.d.: 55). Music continued to be important throughout her entire life, particularly as it related to the church. Fletcher provided more details about her mother's musical endeavors:

> The YMCA used her as a vocal soloist during their World War I entertainment for the soldiers. Later on after the move to Washington she taught both voice and piano. For a few years she taught along with a fairly well known musician who came up from Oregon. At this time she went to Longview and Kelso one day a week to teach there... She played the piano at the silent movies, then when things became more "modern" she ran the record player... Since she committed her life to Christ when young, her talents in both voice and piano were used along with other talents for the glory of God. For years she played the piano and organ in the church of Winlock. She sang solos, directed the choir. In addition to using her musical talents at church, she was also sought for her voice at both funerals and weddings. She had a "golden" voice. (Fletcher n.d.: 55, 57).

According to Fletcher, Elizabeth sang hymns that her father, the missionary physician Horatio Richmond Marsh, had translated into the Iñupiaq language. Since the Marshes also had an organ in Barrow, their musically inclined daughter likely learned to play it. The church music

introduced to Elizabeth while living in the North remained dear to her. It also left a deep impression on those who knew her. After her death in 1993, one individual recalled:

> ... she was always there. At the piano was where she made the hymns that I grew up on come alive. My interest in music, specifically the piano, had to have been influenced by her as I recall my focus was mostly never on the song leader but watching her. (Fletcher n.d.: 56).

While growing up in northern Alaska, Elizabeth had absorbed much of Iñupiaq culture, learning the language and customs of the locals. Over six decades later, on a return trip to Barrow with her daughter, she showed how much she had retained from her childhood. According to Fletcher, Elizabeth danced convincingly in the native fashion. She also remembered some Iñupiaq words, as shown in the following passage:

> When we visited Barrow, at one point someone came in the side door of the program hall and said something which sounded foreign. Mother jumped up and said, "Oh, the nellegatok [nalukataq], the nellegatok!". It was the blanket toss and they were calling us to come outside to see it. Mother was certainly excited. I had never heard the word, and I'll bet she had never heard nor said it for 60 years! (Fletcher n.d.)

Nalukataq is an event that visitors frequently referred to in the ethnographic literature. The Marsh family was no exception, documenting the blanket toss with a photograph taken sometime between 1897 and 1912 (Figure 8.7).

Figure 8.7: The Nalukataq blanket toss; photograph taken during the Marsh family's Barrow residency: 1897-1901, 1902-1904, 1907-1912, courtesy of Josephine Fletcher

Olivia Van Valin (married name Casberg), the daughter of William and Ethel Van Valin, also spent a number of her childhood years in northern and western Alaska. Between 1912 and 1915 and then 1916 and 1919, she lived among the Iñupiaq peoples of the Seward Peninsula and the northern Arctic communities of Wainwright and Barrow. The indigenous population bonded so closely with Olive that they gave her the Iñupiaq name "Petungnuk", meaning "fair wind" (Van Valin n.d.: 7). Olivia had a strong musical background and several northern photographs depict her participating in musical activities. On her travels aboard the Revenue Cutter *Bear*, for instance, the image on the left shows her with the vessel's crew of Filipino musicians, each holding guitars and mandolins (Figure 8.8). In another image not pictured here she is playfully directing the band. The photograph below on the right taken again on the *Bear* (Figure 8.9), depicts her Eskimo dancing with a middle-aged man dressed in fur skins (Casberg 1989: 5, 6, 10).

Figure 8.8: Philippine musicians on the "Bear" (Casberg 1989: 5)

Figure 8.9: Teaching the Eskimo dance to Olivia (Casberg 1989: 6)

In Barrow, Olivia had a rich share of musical experiences as well. She received her first organ lessons from her mother, a competent musician. The pump organ (Figure 8.10), an antique owned by her grandmother, was important enough to travel north to Alaska despite its size, freight cost, and impingement on space normally reserved for food and other necessities (Casberg

1989: 22). By the time the family left to return to the States, she was able to read music at a competent level (Van Valin n.d.: 21).

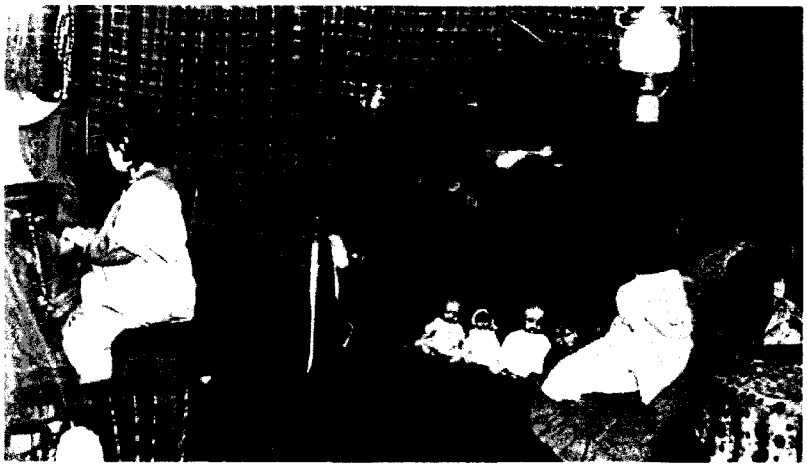


Figure 8.10: Olivia playing the pump organ at the Van Valin home in Barrow (Casberg 1989: 16)

Olivia not only danced with other children (Casberg 1989: 95), she also performed with elders such as Ping-oo-su-ga-ruk, supposedly around one hundred years old at the time. Born sometime in the early 1820s, he recalled as a young boy seeing a white man for the first time, probably one of Beechey's crewmembers, who had traveled by barge from Icy Cape to Point Barrow in 1826 in order to rendezvous with John Franklin. According to William Van Valin, Ping-oo-su-ga-ruk:

> ... would often come to Petungnuk's [Olivia's] house, and when he did he insisted that his little friend do the Eskimo dance for him. He would play his funny drum as long as she would dance. It was a hoop with a walrus stomach stretched over it. He beat it on the underside with a long, thin stick. "Yaw-yaw-yaw-yaw, ung-a-yaw,yaw," he sang to Petungnuk. (Van Valin n.d.: 22)

Extraordinary to imagine, one sees here an example of musical exchange between an elderly Barrow Iñupiaq man, and a young European American girl, the former who witnessed as a child over 90 years earlier initial direct contact between his people and Westerners, and the latter who had only recently experienced Eskimo ways for the first time. Below is a picture of the two engaged in Eskimo drum dancing (Figure 8.11).

Figure 8.11: Petungnuk [Olivia] doing the Eskimo woman's dance (Van Valin n.d.: 22)

Reflecting the longevity of musical experience, Eskimo dancing left a lasting impression on Olivia. She wrote much later in life the following lines:

> My remembrance of the Eskimo dance, as a child, was terribly exciting and with their encouragement, I would often join them. The only place I have seen more rhythm or more violent activity in a dance was in the State of Punjab in North India. (Casberg 1989: 91)

Living in a household that valued cross-cultural exchange, Olivia developed a close affinity to Iñupiaq culture. During her young years living in Arctic Alaska, Olivia participated in native celebrations such as Nalukataq, ate the local foods, formed friendships with the local children, spoke English with a slight Eskimo accent, and adopted what she described as Eskimo foot posture (Casberg 1989: 39-43, 81-84, 95 129, Van Valin n.d.: 13). Her time spent living among the indigenous peoples of Alaska certainly prepared her for a multicultural and multinational lifestyle, one which came about when she married a British diplomat and subsequently moved to dozens of places throughout Asia.

Like Elizabeth Marsh, music played an especially important role in Olivia's life. Her own parents were quite musical. Her mother had aspirations of becoming a professional singer, while her father was a self-taught musician who both sang and played the guitar (Casberg 1989: 29-30, 32-33 and Sylvia Casberg, in discussion with the author, July 3, 2010). Both parents instilled hope in their only daughter embarking on a musical career (Casberg 1989: 33, 129, 131). Olivia worked towards becoming a professional musician but pursued different interests after her

marriage. Music continued to occupy her, however. She wrote and arranged music partly in collaboration with her family. One such project was a compilation of songs attributed mainly to Albert M. Bean, a missionary friend of William Van Valin who accompanied him on a trip down the Yukon River in 1910 (Van Valin et al. 1940 and Van Valin 1941: 34). Bean proselytized at a number of mining camps throughout the Alaskan interior during the early part of the 20th century and was known for his singing and songwriting skills. Olivia arranged and harmonized many of his songs, which are generally infused with sentimental religiosity (Van Valin et al. 1940).

Olivia herself had a strong religious upbringing. Her maternal grandparents were missionaries and both her parents were closely associated with the Christian faith (Casberg 1989: 30, Van Valin n.d.: 5, 25). Coupled with this religious devotion, William Van Valin also shared a great interest in Alaskan Eskimo culture and fully participated in it. Although he made the claim that "the Bible has completely changed the Eskimos into a peaceable, sociable, friendly, unselfish people" (Van Valin n.d.: 5), judging by his ethnographic accounts, he showed an appreciation for many of their customs, including dance (Van Valin 1941: 25-27, 53-56). In his mind, native dance and hymn singing did not contradict each other. Both forms of musical expression could coexist side by side. Therefore, when they lived in Arctic Alaska, the Van Valin family learned not only Eskimo dancing but also Eskimo hymn singing. When they returned to the States, they subsequently introduced both to other family members. Jewely Van Valin, a granddaughter of William and Ethel and Olivia's niece, remembered being exposed to the music and dance at an early age:

> We grew up singing Eskimo Bible songs as children…Yes, my grandmother, aunt and father all sang the songs to the four of us growing up. My grandfather died in '50, and so I did not know him. My father would show how the Eskimo dancing was done, but of course he learned it from his father. I remember only "Jesus Love Me." If I heard some of the others, I probably would remember them also. (Jewely Van Valin, email messages to the author, July 7 and 12, 2010)

William and Ethel also left a musical impression on the Iñupiaq people of Barrow. Following her last trip to the community in 1998, Jewely remarked about how well the elders had liked her grandparents' singing and playing:

> When my grandfather and mother came to Pt. Barrow, they brought melodic music for the natives to listen to. My grandfather, Will played his guitar and my grandmother played the pump organ, which they brought up for her to play on. The Elders still talk about my grandparents singing voices and music. Not sure how many are left alive now,

> but this was in '98, when I was last up there. (Jewely Van Valin, email message to the author, July 12, 2010)

Music not only appealed to the Van Valins as a form of entertainment or expression of faith, it also helped to keep their family together. Before he passed away in 1951, William Van Valin's last request was for Olivia to notate and harmonize the melodies that he had sung throughout his life. One evening a few years later, perhaps in an attempt to reconcile with her mother, Olivia performed the arranged songs at the piano for her. She recalled:

> I sang for more than an hour. When I finished, she was drowsy. I kissed her forehead and bid her goodnight. Two days later, I was called from my church pew during the morning worship hour. Mother was gone. The music I sang that evening was a healing thing. I gave her the knowledge that I held nothing against her. At the same time, I gave her the opportunity to seek forgiveness as well. As I sang, I remembered, through tears, the times my father used those very songs as a balm to heal the hurts which plagued our family in the years we lived together. (Casberg 1989: 156)

Olivia was musically active throughout her long life. She continued to regularly perform at her church and entertain guests with her piano playing and singing until just before her death at age 93.

The third person I will discuss is David Greist, the son of the missionary physician Henry Greist and nurse Mollie. David spent most of his childhood years from 1921 to 1937 living among the Iñupiat of Barrow. Since his musical experiences are discussed in detail throughout this dissertation, I will limit my focus to his embracing of Iñupiaq culture through dance. Unlike other Presbyterian missionaries who lived in northern Alaska during the early 20th century, Henry Greist was arguably the most vocally opposed to native dancing. In sharp contrast to his father's deep-seated dismissal of dance, David developed a natural connection to it. He learned to dance in the Iñupiat style perhaps as early as four years old. Below is a picture of him demonstrating a vigorous command of the form (Figure 8.12).

Figure 8.12: Young David at an Iñupiaq dance (Greist 2002: 80)

Perhaps to his father's dismay, both he and his mother danced in the Eskimo fashion (Greist 2002: 79, 173 fn37), often during the Nalukataq whaling celebration held around June. In his autobiography, David disagreed with his father's views on native dancing (Greist 2002: 11). Like his predecessors, Olivia Van Valin and Elizabeth Marsh, David embraced many aspects of Iñupiaq culture, including speaking the language, eating the foods, which he himself helped to obtain, and, of course, dancing. By the time he went to school in California as a teen-ager, David told to his parents that he did not "seem to fit with these white folks; I am an Eskimo, and Point Barrow is where I belong" (Greist 1933b: 11). After spending over a decade of his formative years in the Arctic, he culturally identified himself as an Eskimo rather than a Westernized European American. Over half a century later, David has retained at least part of his Eskimo identity by keeping in contact with his old Barrow friends. He has visited the community a number of times in the past few decades and has managed to maintain a command of the language (Greist 2002: 168), and presumably also the dance.

In conclusion, all three individuals were raised for a number of years in the Barrow area. Each had a strong religious upbringing that could have brought them into conflict with the Iñupiaq way of life. Yet, despite their families' varying degrees of support for or opposition to native dance, each maintained a lasting connection to the Eskimo art form, let alone a connection to the community.

In terms of authenticity, their performance of native music and dance approached a greater degree of verisimilitude than that of any other southern representation presented in this

chapter. Applying my system of classification to the area of performance, the childrens' rendering of Iñupiaq dancing is best described as incorporative at the highest level because the young performers' representation was based on direct experiential knowledge. As young children they freely accepted the ways of the local population and picked up the music and dance in its natural setting, one very similar to that of their native peers. Their familiarity with Iñupiaq customs at such a young age helped bridge the gap between native and non-native culture. An examination of other types of Eskimo dance performances continues in the following chapter.

The experience of living among the Iñupiat and learning their way of dancing, shaped each of the children in his or her own respective way. For both Elizabeth Marsh and Olivia Van Valin, music remained an essential part of their lives, both as performers and teachers. For David Greist, it represented just one important aspect of his self-identity as an "Eskimo". Together with their families, Elizabeth and Olivia sought to impart their knowledge of native music and dance to others. In the case of the Marshes, the children demonstrated their abilities to their schoolmates. The Van Valin family went even deeper passing their knowledge onto relatives. With the Greists, one senses a split between the father and the son, at least with respect to the nature of Iñupiaq dance. Together, their way of representing Iñupiat/Eskimo music differed substantially from the mass-mediated forms mentioned earlier. Marsh, Van Valin, and Greist learned native singing and dancing not only on a first-hand basis but also at an age where it was just as, if not more so, culturally meaningful as southern expressions. For those who did not share such an experience, American performers and composers often resorted to a Western-constructed, socially agreed-upon set of musicultural devices to represent "Eskimo" music and imagery. Therefore, many of their representations fit into the indicative category. Finally, it is worthwhile to consider that many of those early foreigners who arrived as adults to the Western Arctic – explorers, whalers, and traders – developed an understanding of Eskimo life, though less profound than these children, yet substantial enough to share their musical experiences with friends and family back home.

The act of representing the "Eskimo" by music and dance has assumed a multitude of expressions in this chapter. Starting with examples of early sheet music, recordings, and live performances, from the late 19th century and early 20th centuries, the degree to which composers and songwriters attempted to portray Eskimo culture and music has ranged from the imaginative to the indicative and to the incorporative. Almost none of the examples featured an authentic reference to Eskimo drum dancing. Only some based theirs on an accurate understanding of

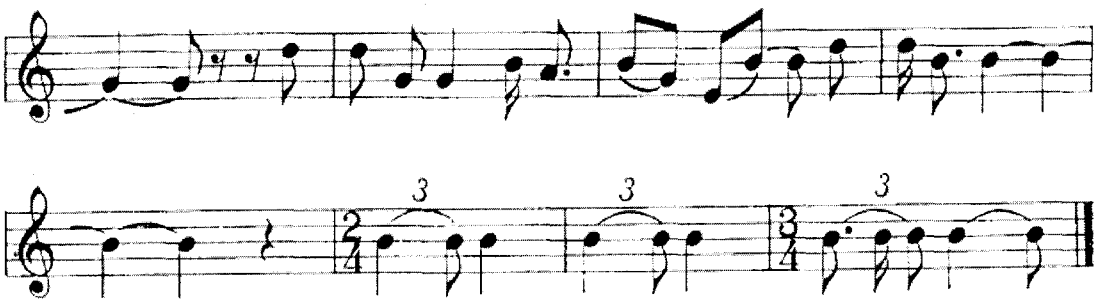
Eskimo culture. As discussed, the "Eskimo" frequently served as a vehicle for social commentary or as a way to express humor via stereotyping. Many of the novelty pieces, particularly those dealing with commercial advertising, handled the "Eskimo" image in an innocent way, even some from recent times. Similarities in the depiction of Eskimos and other minorities such as Asians and Pacific Islanders, both in terms of musical and lyrical content, were very common. To what extent an ethnic group represented a threat to mainstream American culture determined the severity or lightheartedness of the piece's message. Among the more "serious" art pieces, composers presented Eskimo culture either in an overly romanticized manner or in a somewhat juvenile form such as a children's piece.

Finally, the portrayal of the Eskimo by live dance performance probably demonstrates the greatest amount of contrast. Musical theatre and vaudeville performers presented an image based largely on hyperbole and misrepresentation, comedic devices essential for playing off and reinforcing the popular misunderstandings of northern indigenous cultures (imaginative or indicative). Among the dance renditions of children who grew up among Eskimos, however, the intention is more genuine, more educational without the entanglement of commercial motives (incorporative). In the next chapter, I examine the rather unique example of early 20th century "Eskimo" drum dance song performances of a non-Native professional musician, who never shared the experience of growing up among the indigenous people of the North but sought authenticity based on scholarly research. Juxtaposed is an emerging story about the present-day revival of the same drum dance songs by descendants of the original performers.

Postlude: Eskimo Representations of "Southern" Musical Culture

Musical reciprocity is a two-way street. While I have shown a number of non-native musical representations of "Eskimo" culture and music, it is important to point out similar expressions from the other end, that is, Eskimo conceptions of "southern" musical culture introduced from outside. Using my distinctions of sign-object relationships as guidelines, I will present examples of imaginative, indicative, and incorporative representations.

The first example is both imaginative and indicative. This Iñupiaq melody sung by Rose Ann Negovanna and Nanny Kagak of Wainwright is syllabically inspired by the Do-Re-Mi solfeggio, initially introduced by an early missionary (Example 8.39).



Example 8.41: *Tuning of the Drum/Do-Re-Mi Song* sung by Rose Ann Negovanna and Nanny Kagak of Wainwright, circa 1950-1964, recorded and transcribed by Lorraine Koranda (Koranda 1972: 28)

Recorded by the ethnomusicologist Lorraine Koranda sometime in the 1950s or 1960s, the syllables serve as the text but are not sung to a traditional diatonic scale. They instead match up with an original Iñupiaq tune. Entitled *Tuning of the Drum*, the song adopts the practical function of solfeggio but not its musical function. Eskimo drummers did not traditionally tune their instruments to a specific pitch. In order to prevent the frames from cracking, however, they applied liquid to their drums. This technique brought about changes in pitch (Koranda 1972: 28). Preparation of the voice by singing solfeggio is analogous to the preparation of the drum by wetting the instrument and attaining a suitable resonance.

A second tune also featuring syllables introduced by an early missionary is the *A-B-C* song. Originally from Point Hope, the Eskimo melody contains the letters of the English alphabet as vocables, much like the common syllables "a-ya-yanga". According to the ethnomusicologist Johnston, when the missionary physician John Driggs taught the alphabet to the residents of the community, they found the sounds amusing. In response, the locals created a work of satire, a trait commonly found in Eskimo songs (Johnston 1976c: 442). Like the previous one, this song is both imaginative and indicative.

Johnston described another Point Hope song based on a Western tune. In this example, the music and words are treated differently – the melody has remained the same but the words have changed. Introduced in the 1920s by an African American from the South, the melody resembles "Marching to Pretoria" but the sounds of the accompanying English lyrics have been distorted to such a degree that they no longer contain any meaning. Regarded by the local population as a humorous song (Johnston 1976c: 443), its representational form is incorporative since it makes use of original musical sources.

The next song entitled *Little Song* was recorded in August 1961 at the village of Gambell on St. Lawrence Island. Featured in Miriam Stryker's *Eskimo Songs from Alaska* collection, the work bears no obvious connections to southern music although the title clearly reveals the influence of Westerns, which had become popular in Arctic Alaska for several years. Similar to how early 20th century southern songs based on Eskimo imagery contained no reference to actual Eskimo music, this example in turn is strictly Siberian Yupik in style. Since the words allude to aspects of southern culture, the song is best categorized as imaginative.

The final song is an example of Eskimo musical representation based not on southern musical culture but on the song style of neighboring Athabascan Indian peoples. The purpose is to show that Eskimo perceptions of the Other were not confined to non-natives peoples of the South but included fellow indigenous groups as well. Recorded by the anthropologist Helge Ingstad during his 1949-1950 stay among the Nunamiut Iñupiat of Anaktuvuk Pass, *Very Old Chandalar-Indian Song* bears both musical and lyrical references to Athabascan song style. It employs vocal syncopation against a steady quadruple beat, a common melodic contour characterized by an initial upward jump and gradual descent, and the use of "he hani ho" vocables. This song clearly exemplifies incorporative representation.

In terms of reciprocity, the Iñupiat greatly shaped the music that they had received from outsiders. Unlike many in the southern latitudes who lacked the opportunity to experience authentic Eskimo performances, the Iñupiat frequently had the ability to both observe and participate in foreign events featuring music-making and dancing. Because of these experiential differences, Iñupiaq representation of Others' music tended to make use of more incorporative forms of presentation compared to that of southerners who performed Inuit/Eskimo-styled music.

CHAPTER 9:
THE DIAMOND JENNESS RECORDINGS FROM NORTHERN ALASKA AND MACKENZIE DELTA: THEN, NOW AND BEYOND

Introduction and the Issue of Authenticity

As discussed in the previous chapter, early composers such as Amy Beach and Anice Terhune turned to Boas's and Stein's eastern Arctic transcriptions of Inuit music for inspiration and source material. Notated indigenous music from this region was ample, but that of the Western and Central Arctic was limited, at least until the second quarter of the 20th century. In 1925, the publication of Helen Roberts and Diamond Jenness's *Songs of the Copper Eskimo* was published, making accessible for the first time, a collection of native songs from northern Canada and Alaska. As will be shown, this release greatly influenced American and Canadian composers and performers. Nonetheless, southern exposure to the music came strictly in the form of the notation and not of sound recordings. Since cylinders and records of the music at that time were presumably inaccessible to the public, composers and performers instead turned to a graphic expression of the songs for inspiration.

This difference between auditory and visual representation and transfer of musical information merits discussion. The Jenness recordings and transcriptions both constituted and facilitated musicultural exchange. Their means of dissemination across cultural and natural landscapes varied, however. An examination of these flows of information (recordings and transcriptions) and practices (performances) and their en route modifications is useful in shedding light on issues of authenticity and enhancement, cultural knowledge and identity.

The pathways of musical transference are analogous to the Peircean-influenced semiotic classification introduced in the last chapter. The differences between imaginative, indicative, and incorporative representation may be expressed metaphysically as shades of authenticity and epistemologically as degrees of experiential knowledge. Correspondingly, the range of experience with regard to indigenous music and dance may increase in order of richness from stereotyped or exaggerated "knowledge" derived from hear-say communication or sensationalized writings on one level, to the limited examination of written descriptions, photographs, and transcriptions on another level, to the listening of a sound recordings (and the

watching of sound videos on a higher level, to finally prolonged first-hand observational and participatory experience at the top level.

In the previous chapter, the proximity of southern compositions/performances to Eskimo music/dance revealed varying degrees of familiarity with and treatment of northern indigenous music and dance imagery. Some composers incorporated actual Eskimo music into their compositions (incorporative), while others worked with certain musical conventions to suggest it (indicative). Still others looked to Eskimo culture or their perceptions of it by imagination (imaginative). At the same time, the verisimilitude to Eskimo music and dance by southern performers varied according to the level of cultural experience. Performances by non-native children raised in the North were more realistic than those by vaudeville entertainers who were inexperienced in Eskimo dance music. Furthermore, the ability level of short-term visitors to the Western Arctic, namely explorers, whalers, traders, and some missionaries, who had learned Eskimo drum dancing and singing, fit somewhere in the middle of the authenticity spectrum.

These compositional and performative distinctions relate to the processes of globalization. As experiential knowledge of another musical culture increases, representational examples of its music and dance gradually shift from imaginative to indicative and finally to incorporative, or in general terms, from least authentic to most authentic. In turn, audience perceptions of the composition and performance depend on the viewers' familiarity with the musical culture. The ability to judge something as authentic depends on one's experiential knowledge. Finally, the intention or expectation of the composer, performer, and audience is also important to consider. The intention to present authenticity, on one hand, or entertainment based on inaccuracies on the other, correlates loosely with the difference between incorporation and imagination, classical or commercialized music and art.

The Diamond Jenness Collection and Its Influences

It will be helpful to furnish a brief overview of the original recordings. The Diamond Jenness collection of Canadian Arctic Expedition songs comprises the first extant recordings of indigenous music from northern Alaska and northwestern Canada. Recorded between 1914 and 1916, the song repertory represents the musical culture of five distinct groups: Inuinnait or Copper Inuit, Hudson Bay Inuit, Inuvialuit, Iñupiaq, and Siberian Yupik. Jenness recorded at least 137 songs, over a hundred of which are of Inuinnait origin. The remainder consists of some

half a dozen Hudson Bay Inuit songs, ten Inuvialuit, five Iñupiaq, and two songs recorded by a Siberian Yuit from South Head, Siberia.[1] The first part of my discussion concentrates on the last three ethnic groups. The second part pertaining to the folkloric career of Juliette Gaultier involves both Iñupiaq and Inuinnait songs from the collection. The third and final part briefly covers the contemporary revitalization of Jenness's Inuvialuit songs. The way in which Jenness's recordings both embodied and promoted musicultural exchange form a major thread of this chapter. Approaches to and representation of Eskimo music in terms of musicultural proximity form another important thread.

The Recordings: Then

Jenness wrote two major publications on native music based on his Canadian Arctic Expedition research: a 1922 short paper entitled *Eskimo Music in Northern Alaska* (Jenness 1922a) and the 1925 monumental work *Copper Eskimo Songs* (Roberts and Jenness 1925) prepared in collaboration with ethnomusicologist Helen Roberts. The first writing consists of four harmonized transcriptions of melodies that Jenness had notated by ear during his first year of ethnological work spent in northern Alaska, 1913-1914. Because his recording equipment was lost on the ill-fated expedition's flagship *Karluk*, the ethnologist was unable to prepare phonographic recordings during this period. Sometime after testing his transcriptions to a harmonium provided by a Barrow missionary, probably Reverend D.W. Cram, Jenness had the melodies harmonized for the organ by George Young of Bushey, England (Jenness 1922a: 377). Four arrangements were prepared for publication (see Example 9.1).

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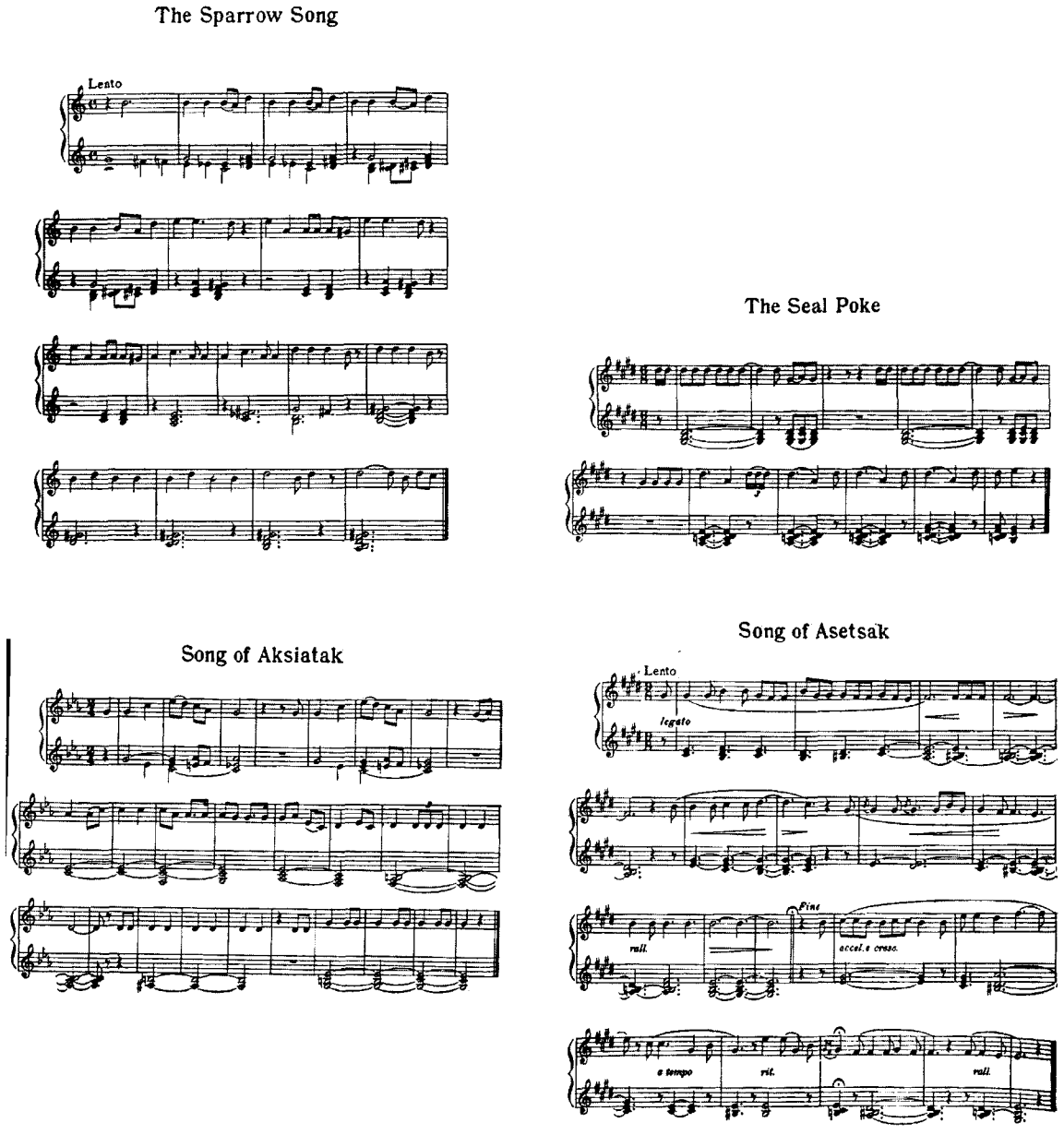
[1] In *Songs of the Copper Eskimos*, Roberts and Jenness list only two examples sung by the Siberian Yupik man Mike of South Head, Siberia: No. 120 Record IV.G.1c and No. 125 Record IV.G.1b (Roberts and Jenness 1925: 351, 359). I have in my personal possession a recording of a third song almost certainly sung by Mike, which could be Record IV.G.1a, a source not discussed in *Songs of the Copper Eskimos*. I will present an analysis of this song later in the section.



Example 9.1: Harmonized organ arrangements of four Alaskan Iñupiaq songs initially transcribed by Diamond Jenness (Jenness 1922a: 378-382)

Similar to Amy Beach's classical treatment of Baffin Island Inuit songs, the pieces make use of late German Romantic musical idioms such as chromaticism and diminished chords. All four transcriptions are interpreted in the typically European duple and compound triple meters. Bearing other overtones of Western ethnocentrism, Jenness remarked that "the scale of the

Eskimo music appeared to be substantially the same as our own, except, of course, that its range was much more limited; the time, too, was comparatively simple, being always either common time or 2-4" (Jenness 1922a: 377). Surprisingly, Jenness did not qualify his statement about rhythm, since complex rhythmic patterns and irregular 5- or 7-metrical structures often characterize the Iñupiaq drum dance song style. Suggesting perhaps a more accurate interpretation of the original music, the organist who harmonized the Iñupiaq melodies, "noted that *tempo rubato* was required to give the proper expression to the songs" (Jenness 1922a: 377). Whether Young simply offered a common Romantic period approach of inserting free time to the pieces or had a deeper understanding of northern indigenous musical style is unclear. There is no evidence to suggest that the Englishman had personal experience listening to Eskimo song. In line with his harmonic handling of the melodies, Young probably expressed the arrangements through the medium of Western art music etiquette.

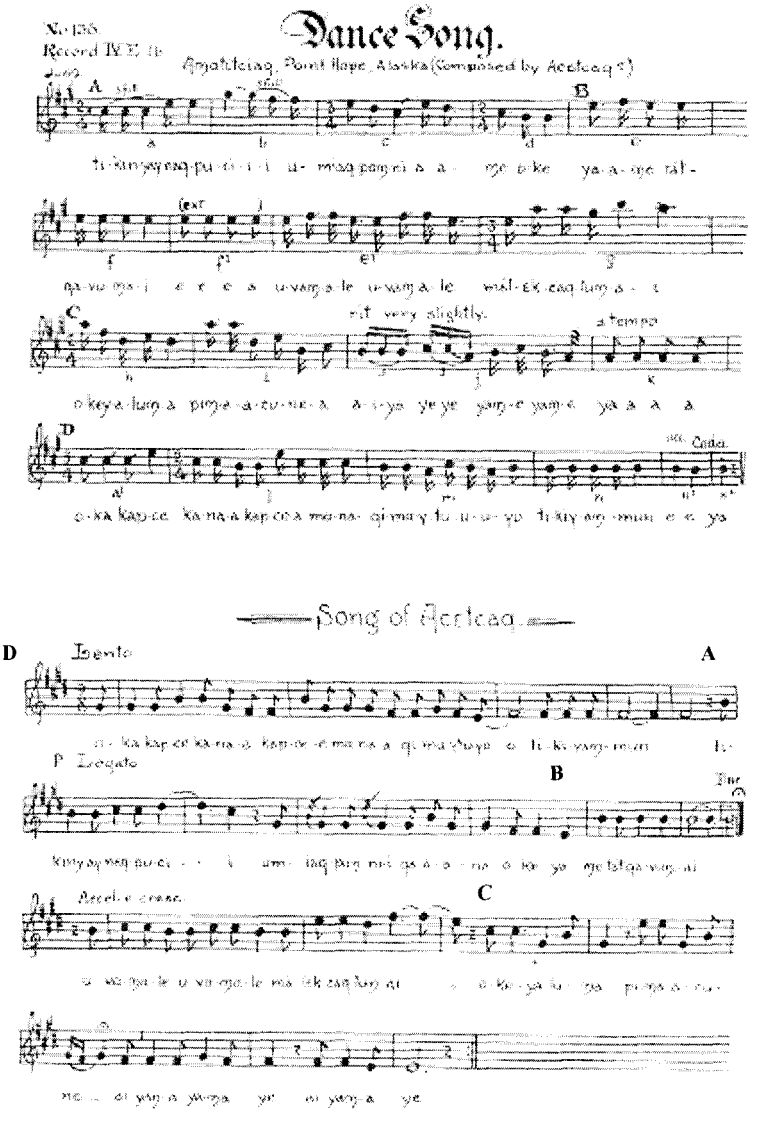
The piece most pertinent to this discussion is the last one entitled *Song of Asetsak.* Categorized as a "topical" song by Jenness, the composition reflects an event experienced by Asetsak, an Iñupiaq man who worked for the Canadian Arctic Expedition aboard the *Karluk* shortly before pack ice carried away the ship causing it to sink off the coast of Wrangel Island. Homesick for Tikigaq (Point Hope), his birthplace, and perhaps fearing that he would never return there, Asetsak composed the following song words to express the dire situation:

> Winters how many down there, how many, this place
> Leaving it behind, to Point Hope
> Are you due to reach in the big ship, when winters far
> Away to the east?
> I, I am going to pass through winterings three.
>
> (Roberts and Jenness 1925: 505)

Asetsak left the *Karluk* with Jenness and other members of a sled party shortly before the ship drifted to its doom. Reaching the shore, he traveled along the coast teaching his new creation to the local populations. During that winter of 1913-1914, the song was perhaps the most popular one along Alaska's northern coast (Jenness 1922a: 381).

Like the hits of the American popular music genre, the popularity of Eskimo topical songs rose and fell according to the current tastes of the people. Without the advantage of written transcriptions or recordings, such compositions tended to fade away into obscurity after a

relatively short period. Demonstrating its enduring appeal, however, *Song of Asetsak* was still remembered a couple of years later, for around 1915, Jenness recorded a version of it sung by another Point Hope Iñupiaq man named Anutsiak. Also known as Ikey Bolt, he had learned the song while accompanying Asetsak and Jenness on their travels (Roberts and Jenness 1925: 388). Listed in the Jenness collection of phonographic recordings as No. 136 Record IV.E.1b, the dance song is remarkably similar to but also different in several ways from the original transcription. Both versions are shown below (Example 9.2).



Example 9.2: "Dance Song" and "Song of Acetcaq", IV.E.1b (Roberts and Jenness 1925: 387)

For comparison, note that parts A, B, C, and D of the melody in the recorded example (top) correspond respectively to parts A, B, C, and D in the original transcription (bottom). This alteration in form is one notable difference. Another is that the rhythms vary to a large degree – duple patterns are found in Anutsiak's rendition whereas Asetsak's version contains more triplets. Third, despite an overall congruence in melodic contour, the C section in the recording differs considerably from the notated version. According to Jenness, when Anutsiak sang the song into the phonograph, he had not checked his version of the song with anyone else, including the composer, since learning it. His memory of the song seemed to have changed over time and consequently his interpretation diverged more from the Asetsak's composition than Jenness's early transcription. Although the two examples differ, they share some remarkable similarities, both in terms of overall melodic line and lyrics (Roberts and Jenness 1925: 389).

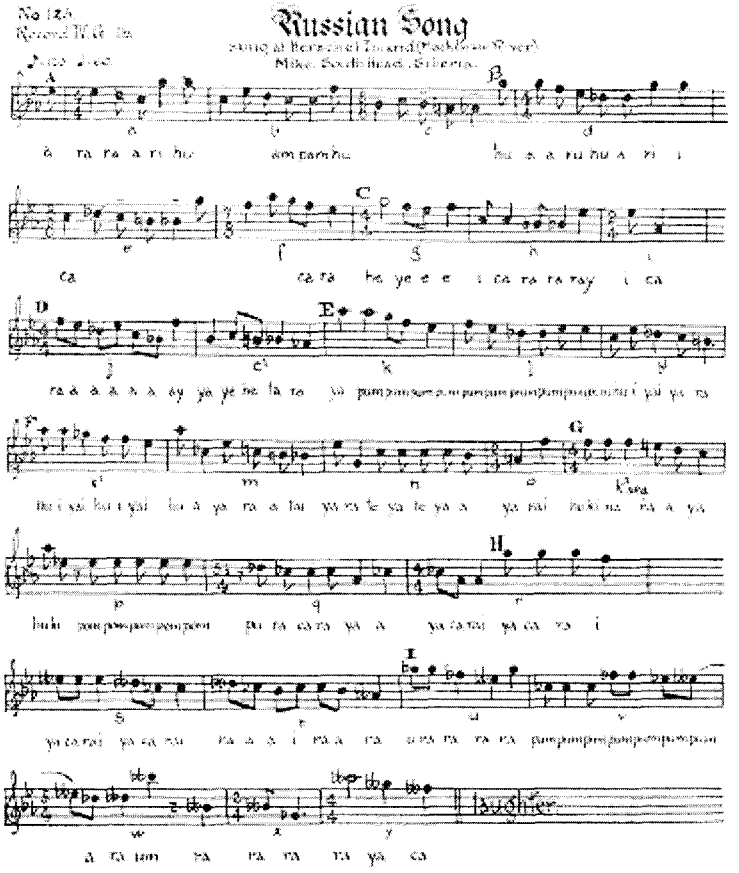
The spread of native music across the Western Arctic is important to consider in terms of globalization. Extensive trading networks were already in place there long before the arrival of Europeans, Russians, Americans, and other outsiders. As whaling, trading, and exploring activities expanded in the region, however, cultural contact among native and non-native peoples further intensified. As a result, indigenous songs circulated more quickly and traveled greater distances, covering territory from Siberia to the central Canadian Arctic and back.

Like *Song of Asetsak*, several other examples from the Jenness collection reflect musical processes of globalization at an indigenous level. For instance, at Herschel Island, two Inuvialuit women named Unalina and Cukaiyaq learned a couple of Point Hope dance songs, representing the Alaskan Iñupiaq category (Roberts and Jenness 1925: 381-384). Listed as No. 133 Record IV.D.7b and No. 134 Record IV.D.7a, they demonstrate musical contact encouraged by economic opportunities at the old whaling base.

Some other songs included in the Mackenzie River Inuit or Inuvialuit grouping further exemplify globalization processes as they encompassed native music. Jenness met a Siberian Yupik man named "Siberia" Mike who recorded at least three songs for him: No. 120 Record IV.G.1c, No. 125 Record IV.G.1b, and a third one unlisted but possibly referring to the skipped reference IV.G.1a. According to Jenness, Mike was born in South Head, Siberia and lived for many years in the Mackenzie Delta eventually marrying a woman from the Kitigaaryuit area named Ciss or Sis and fathering two children (Roberts and Jenness 1925: 497-498 and Jenness 1991: 262, 818 fn17). Perhaps unsurprisingly, his first recording No. 120, called *Herschel Island Dance Song*, bears musical characteristics more similar to that of cultures to the west than that of

the Mackenzie Delta. Its dotted rhythms, for instance, are similar to what is found in the music of Point Hope. Yet, its tempo is vastly slower than in neighboring areas. According to Roberts, the emphasis on second, fourth, and sixth scale degrees is also unusual for the Delta and writes, "disconcerting to European ears" (Roberts and Jenness 1925: 351). The unique sound in this recording reflects the singer's cultural background, not necessarily a singular expression of his Siberian Yupik heritage, but instead a combination of his multicultural experiences, as demonstrated by several different Eskimo musical styles – Siberian Yupik, Iñupiaq, and Inuvialuit. Another feature in the recording also bears a cosmopolitan stamp – language. Mike speaks several of them in the song itself, as commentary to the song or the recording setting. Thanks to linguists Michael Krauss, Steve Jacobson, and Larry Kaplan, at least four languages were identified – Russian, English, Iñupiaq, and probably the Naukanski dialect of Siberian Yupik (Michael Krauss, in discussion with the author, November 24, 2009, Steve Jacobson and Larry Kaplan, in discussion with the author, December 8, 2009).

Another unusual song that demonstrates musical mixing among the indigenous peoples of the Western Arctic is Siberia Mike's recording No. 125 entitled *Russian Song* (Example 9.3).



Example 9.3: "Russian Song", IV.G.1b (Roberts and Jenness 1925: 359)

Russian Song is unique in the Jenness collection. Upon listening to it, one immediately hears a Russian influence expressed by a minor mode, a relatively wide range, phrasing repetition, and a steady quadruple meter. Other features more closely linked to Siberian Yupik music are the use of microtones, Naukanski intonation, and vocables, which often sound very similar to Russian words. Siberia Mike's chromatic treatment of the melody seems intentional and the feature is characteristic of Siberian Yupik singing. The mixing of Russian and Siberian Yupik musical elements in a song recorded thousands of miles away in another Eskimo setting illustrates the multicultural expressions of globalization, a phenomenon that had been already evolving for a century and a half in the Western Arctic.

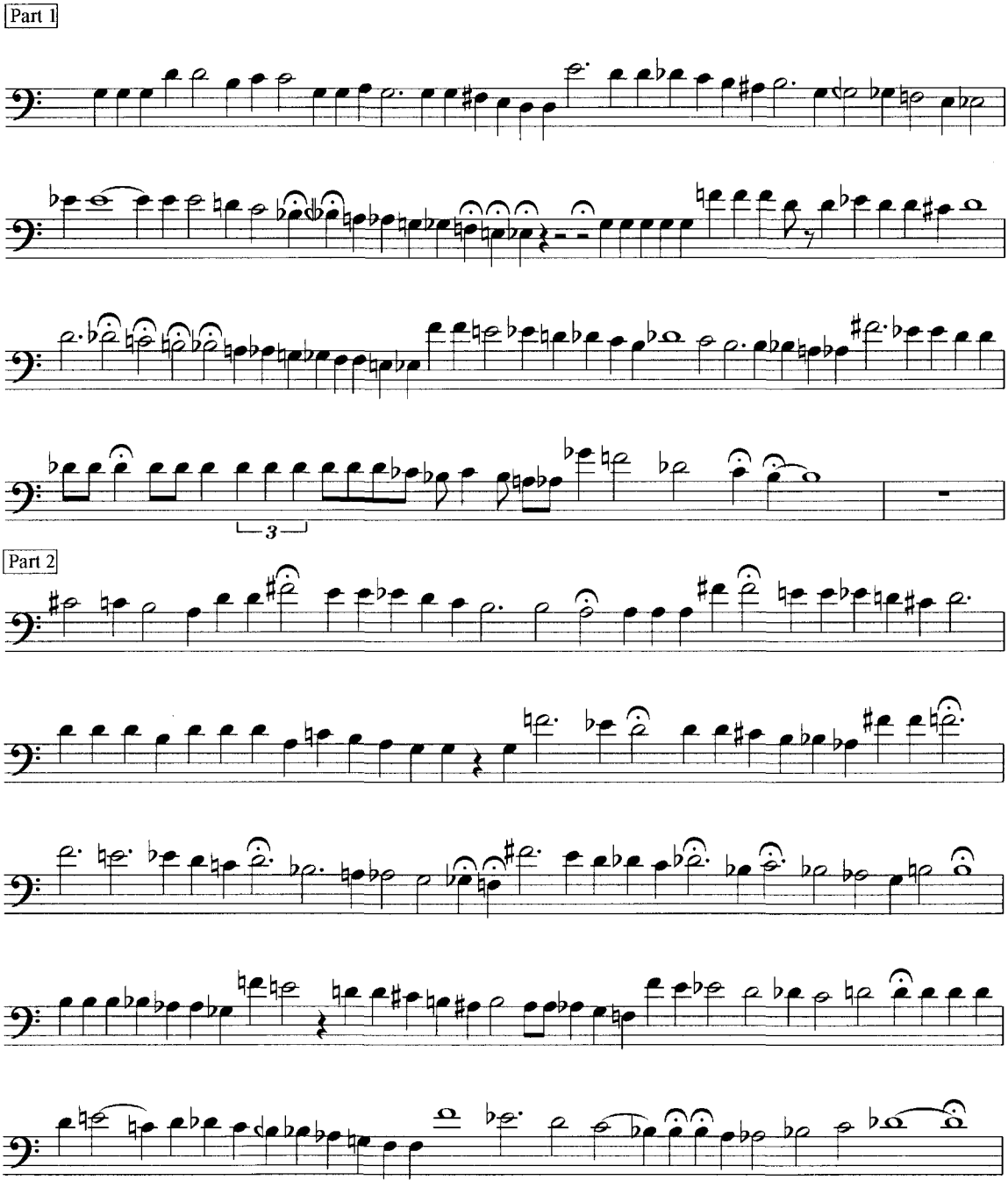
As mentioned above, Siberian Yupik singing makes use of an expansive vocal range and wide melodic leaps around an octave. Such vocal jumps do not normally occur in the Iñupiaq and Central Yup'ik songs. Together with the St. Lawrence Islanders, the Siberian Yupik people

incorporate half-steps and microtones into their singing (Williams 1996: 71-73). Vocables, accented grace notes, and repeated sections are common features in the music. Usually odd-metered, the rhythm shifts from a 7/8 (1 - 3 - 5 - -) time to that of 5/8.[2] A major distinction between the traditional Siberian Yupik and Alaskan Eskimo musical styles is that Siberian Yupik songs and sections within the songs tend to feature ritardandos or a slowing down in time, while Alaskan Eskimo music contains tempos that either remain steady throughout, or, more commonly, accelerate (Johnston 1976a: 99).

Many of the above characteristics apply to another song almost certainly sung by Mike, although the authors of *Songs of the Copper Eskimos* make no mention of it. The recording may actually be a lost song that somehow slipped past the discussion of ethnomusicologists and anthropologists, including Roberts and Jenness. Because the two selections officially sung by Siberia Mike, No. 120 and No. 125 are listed respectively as IV.G.1c and IV.G.1b, it is reasonable to assume that the following song is IV.G.1a. Entitled "Siberian Yupik/Russian Church Song (Parts 1 and 2)," it seems to consist of two parts, each one recorded on a different 4-inch wax cylinder, which allowed up to four minutes of recording time (Jenness 1991: 707). Below is a transcription that I have prepared for analysis (Example 9.4).

[2] It is important to note that conceptions of odd or unsymmetrical meters are largely a Western projection. Native performers do not necessarily think in such terms but rather treat rhythmic phrases in additive ways relative to the text.

Siberian Yupik/Russian Church Song (Parts 1 and 2)



Example 9.4: "Siberian Yupik/Russian Church Song (Parts 1 and 2)," possibly IV.G.1a, from the Diamond Jenness 1913-1916 Canadian Arctic Expedition Recordings, transcribed by Paul Krejci

Like the previous song, Siberia Mike fuses both Siberian Yupik and Russian elements. One of the selection's most striking features is the prominent use of descending chromatic lines followed by upward jumps and once again gradual descents. Some of the sections, such as lines 1, 4, 5, and 6 suggest duple or triple meter, whereas several others contain free rhythm. In line 6, a Russian-like modal melody appears in a straightforward 4/4 meter. The slowing down in tempo at the end of some phrases may characterize Siberian Yupik singing or such ritardandos may simply be of Russian origin. The Russian Church appears to have also left an imprint on Siberia Mike's music. Towards the end of the first part, line 4, a declamatory style of intonation similar to Russian Orthodox singing continues at length on a Db note. Where and how Mike was exposed to such music is uncertain. According to Jacobson, the Naukan area where the Siberian Yuit reportedly was from had limited Russian influence. By 1910, though, a small group of Russian Orthodox missionaries led by the monk Amfilokhii had established a church in Nome (Steve Jacobson, in discussion with the author, December 8, 2009). It is conceivable that Siberia Mike heard Russian hymn singing there and carried with him his hybrid musical interpretations to Herschel Island. Another possibility is that his singing style may reflect a long-lost Naukan tradition.

Asetsak, Anutsiak, Unalina, Cukaiyaq, Mike, and countless other Western Arctic natives contributed to the circulation of northern indigenous song across thousands of miles of territory. Some such as Anutsiak, who settled among the Inuinnait of the Coppermine area with his wife Edna ne Klengenberg, were very influential musically introducing their Iñupiaq drum dance song tradition to the local population. This is only one example of the eastern expansion of northern Alaska Eskimo culture into central Canada (Binnington n.d.).

As shown in previous chapters, some northern indigenous music, including several songs from the Jenness collection, spread to lands beyond the Arctic. *Song of Asetsak*, for instance, was one that reached audiences in the United States, Europe, and elsewhere, though in an altered form. In England, the organist Young "frequently played it as a 'voluntary' in his church, and more than once was asked the name of its composer. One lady even thanked him for his 'lovely selection from Bach!'" (Jenness 1922a: 381). As shown, native music from the Western Arctic, particularly in the form of transcriptions and recordings, traveled far and quickly to other countries. Live performance by southern musicians was another way that songs disseminated. In the next section, I will discuss the intriguing representation of Eskimo music by a professional

Canadian singer who sought to educate the public via ethno-performance during the 1920s and 1930s.

Early Performances Based on the Recordings: Juliette Gaultier

One notable interpreter of Inuit music during the second quarter of the 20th century was the Canadian female vocalist, song collector, and performance interpreter born Juliette Gauthier (1888-1972). In 1926, she started her career in folkloric performance and changed her named to Juliette Gaultier de la Vérendrye. As homage to the explorer Pierre Gaultier de la Vérendrye, her name change signified a new symbolic role as a sonic explorer seeking unknown sounds of the musical world (Slominska 2009: Ch. 2, p. 5). I refer to this performer throughout the rest of the dissertation as Gaultier. For over a decade, she focused on presenting recitals of Inuit, First Nations, and French Canadian folk music, material some of which she collected and arranged. According to her biographer Anita Slominska, Gaultier's:

> ... folkloric performances emphasized "authenticity" which she believed she achieved by trying to recreate the songs' original context in a concert setting, through costumes and stage design, and by using "primitive" instruments. Her dedication to authenticity led her to combine a performance career with field research. Her recitals often incorporated lecture presentations and ethnographic films, which reflect a desire on her part to create greater awareness of Canada's folk cultures, rather than to provide musical entertainment only. (Slominska 2009: Ch. 2, p. 5)

Adhering to certain standards of "authenticity", she also reportedly studied the language of the Canadian Inuit as well as the dialects of several Pacific Coast Indians groups (*The Canadian Encyclopedia* 2010). Whether she achieved any degree of fluency in the indigenous languages is uncertain. In her own words, Gaultier studied enough of the languages "so as to give the music authentically" (Darrell 1930: 366).

Gaultier's first performance as a folklorist may have been at the MacDowell Club in New York, in January 1926 (Slominska 2009: Ch. 2, p. 6), just weeks after the publication of *Songs of the Copper Eskimos* (Roberts and Jenness 1925). During the previous year, she had already established important contact with the National Museum of Canada ethnologist Marius Barbeau, requesting examples of Canadian folklore music. Because of his close connection to Jenness and others at the museum, Barbeau had the means to provide Gaultier with indigenous music, including that of the Eskimo (Slominska 2009: Ch. 2, p. 6). Her aesthetic response to the

transcriptions of Jenness's Eskimo songs was one of enthusiasm and intrigue, remarking that the melodies were "rich and wonderful in sentimentality" and that the weather incantations were "spooky" (Slominska 2009: Ch. 2, p. 7). The apparent strangeness of the music was a quality that Gaultier and others likely exploited for generating public interest in her recital performances. Ironically, it was Gaultier's attempt to familiarize the public with indigenous and French-Canadian songs – to make the music less strange – that she eventually alienated herself from modernist composers and artists, who instead sought to create compositions intended to shock audiences (Slominska 2009: Ch. 4, pp. 32-33).

Later in the year, Gaultier participated in a four-month long series of performances at the Neighborhood Playhouse in New York. Described as "the most artistic theatre in New York, maintained by wealthy people for the sake of putting on plays etc. that are considered to have great artistic merit and which it is thought may not make a popular success" (Stefansson 1926), the venue suggests that Gaultier's ethno-performances were regarded as art music. In an article pertaining to one recital given on June 15, 1926, the author states:

> ... transcriptions of the gramophone records of the Eskimo songs were made by Helen Roberts and Marion Bauer was responsible for the harmonization. Mr. Jennes [sic] found the Eskimo tribes of the Far North 'a barbarous people who possess a gift of song unsurpassed by any civilized nation, whose melodies rival in richness and beauty the composition of the greatest artists of Europe and America (*NYT* 6/27/1926: X5)

Despite the prescribed beauty of the Inuit melodies, Gaultier initially sought to "improve" them by having her American friend and colleague Bauer (Slominska 2009: Ch. 2, p. 7), a composer and musician of merit, provide a Western style of harmonic accompaniment.

By 1927, Gaultier appeared to have become quite successful in her new career. According to her letters, she was in high demand and her performances received an enthusiastic response, particularly by males (Slominska 2009: Ch. 2, p. 10). The esteemed conductor of the Philadelphia Orchestra Leopold Stokowski was apparently so taken by Gaultier's singing, that he helped her to arrange the recordings of two phonograph discs on the Victor label. The first record No. 22311 featured French Acadian songs while the second one No. 22329 contained two British Columbia Indian songs and, on its A side, the following three Eskimo songs: *Call Of The Seal*, *Stone Age Dance-song*, and *Incantation For Healing The Sick* (Darrell 1930: 165 and World

Cat).[3] One critic considered the releases "the most recent and significant ventures in folk music recording" and suggested that such examples of folk songs should be "made to a larger public than [just] highly specialized investigators" (Darrell 1930: 365).

Gaultier received accolades from other well established figures in the musical and anthropological world, including the American composer Marion Bauer, the conductor of the New York Symphony Orchestra Walter Damrosch, and Stefansson (Slominska 2009: Ch. 2, pp. 6-8). Bauer praised her voice and artistry, Damrosch her "sympathetic voice" and skill on the accompanying instruments, zither and the Eskimo drum. Stefansson was captivated by Gaultier's singing and supposedly helped her learn Eskimo music. In a letter to Barbeau, he wrote that Gaultier's "singing makes a great hit in New York. It is a sure fire with the high brows and even pleases the low brows – and it is real Eskimo, not merely based on their music but is actually their music" (Slominska 2009: Ch. 2, p. 9). It is difficult to know how accurate Stefansson's assessment of Gaultier's abilities was. Since the explorer had a penchant for exposing inaccuracies and misinformation about Eskimo culture, he may have believed the ethno-performances to be authentic. It is also possible that he exaggerated her interpretive skills in order to promote Eskimo imagery.

On April 8, 1927, Stefansson provided an introductory lecture to Gaultier's recital at Town Hall in New York City. The event proved to be the most successful one for Gaultier in 1927 and perhaps of her entire folkloric career, receiving funding from John Murray Gibbon, General Publicity Agent of the Canadian Pacific Railway, a patron of the Canadian arts and folk culture, who had been hired to promote tourism in Canada. Now that the event was more high profile, organizers put a great amount of effort and thought into ensuring a successful recital. Stefansson's celebrity status and oratory talent were one way to draw interest. Intended to be educational, the performance also made use of ethnographic film to order to enhance understanding of indigenous culture. The visuals also provided filler during the costume and set changes. Staging and costuming were two other areas where planners tried to impress the audience. Painted scenes of native life and a portrait of Gaultier in Eskimo regalia are examples of their work. Gaultier herself concentrated on securing authentic indigenous clothing from museums. Though unsuccessful with the National Museum of Canada (Slominska 2009: Ch. 2:

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[3] At the present time, I have been unable to locate extant copies of these recordings. Gaultier reportedly received another opportunity to make recordings on the Columbia label (Slominska 2009: Ch. 2, p. 10), but no evidence of an actual release exists. However, later "ethnic" recordings from 1945 that feature Gaultier's singing are available at the Library of Congress.

13), she apparently managed to receive some items from the American Museum of Natural History (Jessup 2007: 281).

The singer also put more time into her musical preparation. Unlike previous programs, which featured harmonized arrangements of indigenous song, Gaultier altered the usual routine by playing the Eskimo drum as an accompaniment to her singing (Slominska 2009: Ch. 2, p. 10-13). Proud of her efforts to impart what she regarded as a greater degree of authenticity, Gaultier wrote the following to Barbeau:

> It will create quite a sensation this Eskimo music. It is really very beautiful to one who understands music and anthropology. Personally I am very taken with it all and just love being an Eskimo! ... I am afraid I shall be in every paper of New York after this. It is all too extraordinary. (Slominska 2009: Ch. 2, p. 10-11)

Gaultier's self-appropriation of the Eskimo identity is striking. Instead of writing that she loves *performing* Eskimo music, Gaultier advances a step closer to assuming Inuit-ness by claiming that she loves "being" an Eskimo. As a performer, one strives to become the character that one is portraying. From today's perspective, making the leap from cultural performer to indigenous representative based on limited personal experience is at once remarkably bold and naïve. Nevertheless, the performance was indeed a success and Gaultier received rave reviews from the *New York Times*, the *New York Sun*, *Town and Country*, the *Musical Digest*, and *The Gazette* (Slominska 2009: Ch. 2, 14, 43-44). One writer remarked that the recital "was one of the most interesting and original of the season" and that "Miss Gaultier sang the Eskimo songs of Northern Alaska, in native costume, with a background of totem poles and Aurora borealis. She has a tuneful voice and sings with much simplicity and charm. She accompanied herself on a light drum" (*NYT* 4/9/1927: 17). To be fair to Gaultier's presentation, the presence of totem poles may not have been directly linked to Gaultier's Eskimo performance but instead to the British Columbia Indian musical portion of the recital.

The Town Hall performance in New York, served as a springboard for Gaultier's subsequent folk-festival appearances in Canada, venues that continued until 1931. Programs of her recitals featured numerous Canadian folk songs of Inuit, Indian, and French Canadian origin and included detailed notes (Vérendrye 1927 and Keillor 1995: 193).[4] In Appendix 5 is a typical

[4] Some of the folk song festivals featured performances done by indigenous peoples. In late May 1927, during the final concerts held at the Chateau Frontenac in Quebec, a group of Huron Indians from Lorette

program of a recital held at Little Theatre, Ottawa on February 10, 1928 (see Appendix 5). The first part includes lyrics and notes based on the research of Jenness and Roberts. It is uncertain whether Gaultier presented harmonized arrangements of the indigenous songs or indigenous drum accompaniment.

According to the program and another from June 29, 1927 (Vérendrye 1927), Gaultier appeared to have regularly begun her recitals with Eskimo music, which suggests that she viewed the songs as attention-grabbing yet potentially accessible. The first four selections of northern Alaskan Eskimo songs – *Aksiatak Ai Yayanga, The Seal-Poke, Sparrow Song, Song of Asetsak* – correspond to those transcribed by Jenness in his 1922 paper *Eskimo Music in Northern Alaska.* Rounding out the remainder, pieces Nos. 5 through 12 are from the collection of Jenness's Copper Eskimo songs (see Appendix 5).

Some reviews went beyond praising the aesthetic qualities of the ethno-performances, pointing out the potential disassociation of having a non-native musician represent or attempt to represent native culture through song. Others saw such music as a potential area for compositional development (Slominska 2009: Ch. 2, p. 17). Composers like the preeminent Canadian figure Ernest MacMillan and American Marion Bauer arranged music for Gaultier's recitals based on Eskimo and other indigenous songs (Slominska 2009: Ch.2, p. 17-18, 20). Sponsors of her work regarded the performances as culturally important. In a letter addressed to a British official, Canadian Prime Minister Mackenzie King wrote glowingly about Gaultier's singing abilities and added: "She really deserves great credit for her skill in a field of artistic interpretation which is quite new, and which has both historic and scientific value" (Slominska 2009: Ch. 2, p. 23).

Through the 1920s and early 1930s, Gaultier continued to perform and conduct personal research on her source material. She traveled to Alaska on one occasion and tried at least one other time to visit the territory in order to "see some of the Eskimo life". Mechanical delays, however, prevented her from reaching her destination (Slominska 2009: Ch.2, pp. 19, 23).[5] Gaultier also expanded her ethnic-based recitals beyond North America to Europe where she received largely positive responses, particularly for the value she placed on authenticity and

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performed religious songs and Indian dances while Gaultier provided "Eskimo and North Alaskan folksongs" (*NYT* 5/23/1927: 21).

[5] Two reports of Gaultier spending time in Nome appear spurious (see Darrell 1930: 366 and Williams 1931: 74). Gaultier tended to exaggerate and even fabricate her stories to journalists in order to gain prestige and recognition for her work.

educating the public (Slominska 2009: Ch. 2, pp. 21-22). By 1930, however, the make-up of her listening audience began to shift from mature well educated art music aficionados to that of young children (*NYT* 4/27/1930: 29 and *NYT* 2/28/1931: 22). Her desire to educate the public and remove elements of exoticism, sensationalism, and shock value from her performances eventually brought to it an air of predictability. Presumably, her work with children took on a less sophisticated and more childlike character (Slominska 2009: Ch. 4, p. 32).

Gaultier began to devote more of her time to Canadian handicrafts by the mid-1930s, but still managed to present talks and performances of her folk music. Following her participation in the 1937 Paris World Exposition where she received "a gold medal in the category of art and rural handicraft", Gaultier toured around Europe for two years (Slominska 2009: Ch. 2, p. 26). Her recital lectures in Paris, London, Belgium, Switzerland, and Holland generated wide acclaim, but her career there as an ethno-performer was cut short by the breakout of World War II (Slominska 2009: Ch. 2, p. 27-28). Gaultier's musical work continued to subside during the 1940s. One of her last accomplishments in the field of indigenous music was the 1945 production of a series of recordings for the Library of Congress Folklife Center in Washington D.C. With the accompaniment of a harp and drum, Gaultier sang 23 Copper Eskimo, Kwakiutl, and French Acadian songs. Copies of these recordings are still extant and available for study at the Library of Congress Folklife Center and the Canadian Museum of Civilization Audio Archives.

Gaultier's work in ethno-performances is difficult to place in terms of representing the Other via music. Unlike those figures in the previous chapter who donned Eskimo or Eskimo-like clothing and performed musical theater and vaudeville acts, Gaultier sought to educate the public, not merely entertain them. She saw herself not merely a performing artist, but also a kind of scientific scholar, who was contributing knowledge to the field of anthropology. Of course, from a present-day perspective, her romanticized notions of indigenous peoples and claims to authenticity in representing their musical culture were simply unrealistic and self-serving, both as a career-minded performer and as a Westerner appropriator of native culture. Gaultier had no training even closely resembling that of anthropology or ethnomusicology. Her 'fieldwork' seems to have been limited to spending some time among French Acadians and First Nations

peoples, collecting and arranging their folk-song repertory. There is no conclusive evidence to suggest she actually worked with Inuit people.[6]

Fairly or unfairly, Gaultier's efforts to educate the public were done not necessarily to maintain native musical culture, but to preserve a memory of its dying state. Operating within the context of salvage ethnography, her work, both as a self-perceived folklorist and a professional singer, contributed to essentializing the indigenous Others she sought to promote. According to Susan Hiller, anthropology and art, in this particular case ethno-performance, share common motives:

> While anthropology tries to turn the peoples who are its subject matters into objects, and these 'objects' into 'theory,' art tries to turn the objects made by the people into subject-matter, and, eventually, into 'style.' Both practices maintain, intact, the basic European picture of the world as hierarchy with 'ourselves' at the top. (Burt 1998: 163)

As shown in the previous chapter, as well as this section on Gaultier, the southern use of music in representing the "Eskimo" during the late 19th and early 20th century largely framed itself around this Western/Other structured dichotomy based on dominance and exploitation. Gaultier, perhaps unaware of her role in essentializing the Eskimo, determined the representation of indigenous musical culture for her largely Western audiences. Remarkably, she may have seen herself in a different light – as one combating the stereotypes of the more popular Eskimo-themed music. One telling note written by Gaultier to a journalist shows that she thought it important for indigenous people to represent their musical culture themselves:

> My greatest interest today is to hear reproduced the songs of our North American aboriginal races, sung either by the natives themselves, or at least when sung by white people they should be preserved in their natural form and the songs sung or harmonized to native instruments only. (Darrell 1930: 366)

Again, Gaultier emphasizes the point that non-native performances of indigenous music should aim for authenticity. Despite her sensitivity to native perspective, however, there is no evidence to suggest that she actually received any musical guidance from an Inuit. Furthermore, it is surprising that nothing in the literature mentions that dance itself was every included. Her

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[6] In a reply to a journalist, Gaultier wrote that "the Eskimos or Indians are more apt to sing for you if they hear you play or sing to them first" (Darrell 1930: 366), suggesting that she made contact with Inuit at their homes. Gaultier used the first instrument she learned to play as a child, a violin, as a tool for transcribing folk songs. She originally studied to become a professional violinist (Darrell 1930: 365, 366).

understanding of Eskimo music seems to have been almost exclusively derived from Western sources.

Nevertheless, Gaultier's work brought Eskimo music and that of other native groups to the public, music of course altered from its original form, but much less sensationalized than that of other performers. Stirring interest perhaps more so for its strangeness than as an educational topic, it generated discussion and perhaps even debate. In a letter written by Stefansson to Gaultier, the explorer pointed out the potential of promoting Eskimo music:

> The French songs are beautiful, but the Eskimo songs surprise people more and therefore make a stronger impression—with equal delight in the singing itself, your audiences would talk ten times as much about the Eskimo music and that would be publicity that translates into box office returns which the management should appreciate. (Stefansson 1928)

The inference that French songs would surprise the public less than Eskimo songs suggests that they were too culturally familiar and not exotic enough. Describing one of Gaultier's performances, the writer Stephen Graham drew the following descriptive distinction between the French Canadian and Eskimo songs:

> An unearthly keening, snow huts, little people fur-wrapped, reindeer, darkness dimly lighted by snow, explorers, an explorer's mind—A spell has been wrought. But what does it mean? Where am I? Whose galoshes have I put on by mistake? . . . Time, heartbeats, civilization, history? The wail of Eskimo music seems to remind us that it is not civilization. It says so much that is paradoxical, says that the West is East, that the New World is the Old World. Asia seems to expand in the night, Europe is an extension of Asia, America is an extension of Europe. In an occult sense Asia is the subconsciousness of everyone, Asia is the world . . . It was different when the Frenchwoman turned to Canadian-French folk-music. We were rendered more comfortable, were nearer together, more domestic. The centuries telescoped and gentle Europe consoled the spirit with its communicable hopes and loves. The old pots on the shelves, the country plates on the walls, were pleased. (Graham 1927: 79-80, 83)

Implicit in Graham's passage is a contemporary anthropological theory of Eskimo origins and ultimately human origins. From Graham's perspective, the shared Western heritage between French Canadian and other European Americans evoked familiarity and comfort in contrast to the ambiguous, exotic, and "primitive" world of the Eskimo. Despite these major differences pointed out by Graham, Gaultier's programming suggests that she placed French Canadian and First Nations songs on the same footing as representatives of Canadian musical culture.

In 1928, a permanent rift between Gaultier and Barbeau, one of her key supporters, occurred over performance aesthetic. Barbeau wanted Gaultier to sing her folk songs with piano accompaniment in order to distinguish her playing style from that of an amateur or an original source performer (Slominska 2009: Ch. 4, 38-40). Starting with a concert at Wellesley College on February 15, 1927, Gaultier began performing without a pianist. Because event organizers refused to pay for one, she opted instead for an autoharp, a relatively simple chordal string instrument, which she played on her own. Thereafter, Gaultier preferred to sing either a capella or with the accompaniment of an autoharp, a violin, a drum, and, particularly for her French-Canadian repertoire, a spinning wheel (Slominska 2009: Ch. 4, p. 35-36, 39-41). Her reasoning was, of course, to lend authenticity to her performance. Also, she seemed to have identified herself so completely as an "indigenous" performer that anything that took away from what she viewed as a genuine experience was dismissed.

From a present-day perspective, Gaultier's interpretation of authenticity is questionable. Her disregard for the appropriation of indigenous musical culture as a European Canadian is perhaps bewildering to the present-day reader. Slominska argues that Gaultier's performances lacked authenticity because they bore:

> ... no real connection between place and authentic experience or identity; rather identity is associated with costumes and a background of aurora borealis. In other words, there was a naïve equation between authentic identity and theatrical self-preservation. In her performances nothing registered as artifice; all was authentic. (Slominska 2009: Ch. 4, p. 27)

In full agreement with this statement, I still reserve judgment about stripping Gaultier's performances of any degree of authenticity, or even the essence of authenticity. From a musician's viewpoint, costuming and stage design would normally be considered secondary to the actual music. Such accoutrements can enhance a performance but the music is what ultimately determines an authentic rendering. From the perspective of a 1920s' audience, however, assessing Eskimo authenticity in a musical sense was a challenge since they probably had no basis to work from, that is, they did not have prior experience observing the Inuit performance of Inuit music. On the other hand, the audience was more likely aware of Inuit material culture, including dance clothing and drums. Consequently, removing the contextual surroundings of a musical event, especially with indigenous drum-dance singing, also removed elements of authenticity. The use of garments, scenery, and other props helped evoke the non-

musical elements of a performance. For instance, to one observer the use of indigenous regalia and instruments added a convincing layer of authenticity to Gaultier's performance:

> Sometimes, when the priceless, fur costume which Vilhjalmur Stefansson brought back from one of his Arctic expeditions, was supplemented by the sacred dance cap with the loon's peak said to exorcise evil spirits, and she beat rhythmically on a primitive drum made of deer skin stretched on a hoop, she seemed the very embodiment of a medicine woman of the Copper Eskimos. (Williams 1931: 72)

It is remarkable that singing is not mentioned as a mark of authenticity. Yet, to a musician, musical interpretation is an essential factor in assessing whether Gaultier succeeded or failed in presenting any substantial degree of authenticity to her audience. There are no known recordings of her recitals, but, fortunately, her singing of native songs is available on the records she made for the Library of Congress in 1945 and, possibly, those she made on the Victor label in the late 1920s, if any surface. I have yet to determine whether Gaultier listened to any of the original recordings made by Jenness. It is likely that she only consulted the transcriptions prepared by Helen Roberts for interpretation. Such an approach is consistent with the Western classical musical tradition, especially the practice of arranging non-Western music, where the notated score is given priority over that of original performance.

As noted earlier, Gaultier's rendition appeared to have been convincing enough for those who had long-term exposure to Eskimo music, individuals such as Stefansson, for instance. In response to a letter written by Jenness voicing doubts about the music's accessibility and Gaultier's adherence to authenticity (Jenness 1926), Stefansson wrote the following lines:

> As for fidelity to the Eskimo, I was astonished by it. Of course her voice with its training and fine natural quality is a great deal better than any Eskimo voice that we have heard singing the same songs. There is a certain impression of sophistication introduced, too, in some ways, especially by piano accompaniment. But when she sings without accompaniment or with only a drum, which she beats herself, you might well think you were listening to an Eskimo. (Stefansson 1926)

Stefansson's statement reinforces the notion of Western cultural dominance in the sense that Gaultier's ethno-performances, including her piano accompaniment, could enhance Eskimo music or, at least, recreate it in high fidelity. He appeared to prefer, however, a more realistic rendition of Eskimo music in which Gaultier sang without piano accompaniment and instead performed a cappella or with a drum. Voicing his approval of this "pure" approach to singing

Eskimo songs, he wrote a letter to Gaultier a few years later following a concert at Roerich Hall in New York. For Stefansson, listening to her sing:

> … was just like being among the North Alaska, Mackenzie River and Copper Eskimo again. For except for the quality of your beautiful and well-trained voice, you rendered the songs exactly as if the Eskimo themselves were singing. So far as I know this is the first time that Eskimo songs have been sung just as they are instead of being used merely as the basis or 'inspiration' for some sort of elaboration. (Williams 1931: 74)

The passage suggests that Gaultier intended to sing exactly as the Eskimo rather than incorporate Western stylistic touches such as elaborating the Eskimo melody with harmonic accompaniment. Stefansson's comments are all the more intriguing since he wrote so little about Eskimo music in his Arctic writings. An extremely prolific writer, his descriptions of Eskimo drumming and singing stand out for their lack of detail. On the other hand, as evidence of his supposed interest in Eskimo musical culture, Stefansson's wife Evelyn of two decades remarked that he "really liked primitive and folk music" (Stefansson 1964: 401).

Gaultier's aim towards authenticity in her performances merits examination. One explanation is that it established a unique musical niche for her as a performer. She faced very little competition, particularly in the area of Eskimo performance. It also furnished her with a noble goal to aspire to – educate the public about little known music – while at the same time contributing meaningfully to Canada's musicultural heritage. Thirdly, her artistic and intellectual pursuits may have developed as a response to modernity, as a way to create and express a Canadian identity in response to the expansion of American culture. Slominska draws a poignant connection between the two themes, writing:

> Juliette's emphasis on authenticity suggests antipathy towards modernization. The major flaw of her "authentic" interpretations is that they now appear to infringe on the cultural sovereignty of indigenous people. However, at the time they were seen as part of an agenda to maintain national and cultural sovereignty in the face of modernity. (Slominska 2009: 282-283)

Subscribing to a "salvage" ideology, Gaultier like anthropologists, folklorists, amateur collectors of her day, worked towards preserving the music and culture of native and other minority groups. Believing that the encroachment of Western culture and the forces of modernism and imperialism/colonialism were destroying the last vestiges of a moribund people, they strove to record 'objects' either via the pen, the photograph, film, and the phonograph. As a performing

artist, Gaultier went a step further. Looking beyond the scope of a museum setting, she extended the representation of other cultures to the recital hall, a venue embracing cultural expression according to the moment, not as a static entity but as an evolving process. In an important sense, her performances allowed her to breathe new life into dusty, aging recordings. Her rendition of the songs – music preserved on record a decade or two earlier by a people living thousands of miles away – served as an unusual means of disseminating musicultural expression to lands far beyond their origin. As a substitute to the more commonplace medium of phonographic recordings or sheet music, Gaultier's ethno-performances, based on original source material, and featuring various forms of accompaniment, costuming, scenery designs, educational films and lectures, went a long way towards presenting a Western interpretation of indigenous song. From our present-day perspective, cutting away the performance's visual props and focusing solely on the music, dance and some explanation would seem to have presented more authentic results. Of course, the essential element of dance, of which surprisingly enough, no mention is made in any of the material pertaining to Gaultier, failed to be included in the ethno-performances. The acquisition of such special knowledge would have required Gaultier to spend an extensive period of time among the indigenous peoples, a glaring omission in her attempts to bring authenticity to her recitals.

Finally, it is important to point out that it took a southern performer to generate Western public interest in northern indigenous music. Musical intermediaries establish bridges and are instrumental in negotiating cultural differences. Over the course of this dissertation, I have pointed out several of them, many of whom were children brought up in native and non-native environments. Gaultier, of course, had no such upbringing. Nor did she have any significant exposure to northern indigenous ways. She took steps, however, to place indigenous music on the same legitimate footing as that of Western forms. In contrast, many of the performers and composers discussed in the previous chapter represented Eskimo imagery in a largely distorted and unrealistic manner. Predictably, their output revealed more about biased southern perceptions of the Arctic's indigenous population than about the actual people themselves.

Referring once more to the semiotic classification applied above, Gaultier's Eskimo dance performances best fit into the incorporative category but at a lower level than that of the Eskimo dances performed by the non-native children raised in the Arctic. Her experiential knowledge based on written transcriptions was less authentic than the actual experience of performers who had lived among Eskimo people and learned their dances. Vaudeville

performers, on the other hand, normally represented Eskimo musical culture in a stereotypical manner that matches an indicative or imaginative level. Of course, their intention was merely to provide entertainment and not necessarily be authentic. Musicultural devices such as the wearing of Eskimo costumes and the playing of Eskimo drums suggested a link to Eskimo music but one largely based on its entertainment value. Other performances, such as those from early musicals based on fantastic plots, had no real connection to Eskimo music whatsoever and so their representation best fit into the imaginative category.

Gaultier's work, despite its faults, introduced the public to at least some original Alaskan and Canadian Eskimo source material. Her shaping of the music, her glocalized imprint if you will, translated the music of a foreign people in terms that southerners could relate to and understand. Bearing in mind the cultural zeitgeist of her time, Gaultier translated the songs in a patronizing and overly romanticized fashion. Yet, her ethno-performances brought the music of indigenous peoples to the globalized table where a serious open dialogue concerning authenticity, aesthetics, musicultural relativism, and other important themes could finally emerge.

Jenness's *Songs of the Copper Eskimo* collection had an enormous impact on the history of native-inspired Canadian music (Keillor 1995: 192). As we have seen, it spurred the interest of performing artists as well as a long list of Canadian and American composers starting with Ernest MacMillan, Marion Bauer Léo-Pol Morin, John Weinzweig, and Derrick Norman Lehmer (Slominska 2009: Ch. 2, p. 20 and Keillor 1995: 192, 194).[7] Despite the interest it generated in composers and musically-oriented anthropologists, *Songs of the Copper Eskimo* received sharp criticism in certain academic circles. One influential critic was George Herzog, a student of Boas who subscribed to cultural relativism and argued that to properly understand another musical culture, one must view it on its own terms. According to Herzog, Roberts and Jenness's use of Western elements in the compositions of an alien culture gave a distorted interpretation of the indigenous music under study (Herzog 1926: 218-219).

Herzog found one particular area problematic in the collection, its ethnocentric conception of scale. In opposition to Roberts, Herzog argued that Eskimo melodies do not conform to a fixed Western tonality. Instead, since a system based on "major and minor are just

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[7] Derrick Norman Lehmer is most widely known as a Berkeley mathematician who worked on prime number theory. He also pursued his interests in music and poetry. Native American themes appear to have been an important theme in his compositions. In addition to *Songs from the Tundras* (1932) inspired by the Jenness recordings, he wrote numerous other sets of vocal pieces as well as an opera based on the American Indian (Archive of California n.d.).

two of many possible ways of arranging tones in the frame of the octave," non-Western forms of music may function differently (Herzog 1926: 218). Critical of the European tendency to project harmony into monophonic music, he warned that "without consciously setting aside these qualities, primitive music will always be misinterpreted" (Herzog 1926: 219). Instead of operating according to fixed pitches as found in much of Western music, the melodies in the Jenness collection, with the possible exception of the Russian-influenced examples sung by Siberia Mike, are flexible and vary according to emotional or musical expression.

From a more contemporary standpoint, a second major criticism towards the publication is the omission of the performer/audience relationship. The audience's familiarity (or lack thereof) with the song texts and its ability to fill contextual meaning into the performance is vitally important. Appreciating the holistic relationship between the performer and audience, especially among indigenous musical cultures is crucial to providing an "authentic" representation. To Gaultier's credit, she added English translations of the song texts and other notes to her program, steps that would have generated some familiarity with the Inuit musical culture. Nevertheless, the performances still lacked two important features. First, its authenticity was limited by the recital hall setting. Second, the subtleties of textual meaning together with their associated dance motions were presumably lost to both performer and audience.

The Recordings and Their Performances: Now and Beyond

In this final brief section about the Jenness recordings is a story yet to unfold. It concerns a group of Inuvialuit songs and the people who recorded them. It demonstrates the power of music and its need to connect and reconnect people from different temporal and spatial domains. It is about recollecting the past and repatriating long-lost cultural artifacts in the form of songs back to a community and to its families. The collection of some dozen songs representing Inuvialuit musical culture features one Siberian Yupik and four Mackenzie Inuit singers: Siberia Mike, Unalina, Palaiyak, Cukaiyaq, and Manilena. All five individuals worked for the Canadian Arctic Expedition as interpreters, guides, hunters, seamstresses, and cultural informants. I have already presented some information about Siberia Mike. Unalina and Palaiyak were siblings and are referenced numerous times in the ethnographic literature. Unalina had a child named Annie with the Royal Northwest Mounted Police sergeant F. J. Fitzgerald. After Fitzgerald's death in 1911, she married Ambrose Agnavigak. Her brother Palaiyak worked closely with Stefansson

and Rudolph Anderson during their 1908-1912 Arctic expedition, and later with Jenness and other members of the C.A.E. He also played an important role in translating a number of the songs from Jenness's collection into English. At this point, very little is known about Manilena, except that Stefansson employed him at Herschel Island in August 1915 to work for the southern party of the C.A.E. He worked with Palaiyak, Mike and the Iñupiat Anutsiak. So far, I have found nothing about Cukaiyak (Jenness 1991: 611, 617, 619, 648, 651, 657, 707; Sammy Lennie, in discussion with the author, May 7, 2009).

In the spring of 2009, I met by coincidence Sammy Lennie, an Inuvialuit man at the University of Alaska Fairbanks. After sharing stories about the Mackenzie Delta where I had conducted my fieldwork, we found ourselves deep in discussion about the Diamond Jenness recordings. Sammie was related to two of the singers – Unalina and her brother Palaiyak were his great-grandmother and great uncle. Sammy had a deep understanding of Inuvialuit culture, history, and the drum dance tradition. He leads drum teams and has aspirations of establishing an Inuvialuit college in Inuvik modeled after the University of Fairbanks.

Sammie provided me with information about Unalina, Palaiyak, and other singers that enriched my understanding of the songs.[8] In particular, I learned to appreciate the importance of the songs to the families and their histories. In exchange, I gave Sammie the opportunity to listen to the recordings of his long-lost relatives. He had never before heard the songs. As we talked more about his mother and her knowledge of the singers and her enthusiasm for the Jenness collection, I sensed what the return of the century-old songs to their original performers/composers' community and descendants would mean. Documenting the results of this repatriation is a future project that will complement my dissertation research.

The Jenness collection continues to inspire people whether they are of native or non-native origin. By introducing or better yet, reintroducing traditional songs to the Inuvialuit community, the people will gain a priceless link to their past. Not only will the songs revive a community's dormant music and dance traditions, they will also reawaken the people's imagination of the past, help reenact drum dance songs for the present-day, and motivate them in the future to recreate older traditions in newer ways. Most significantly, the Jenness recordings will forge a deeper musical connection between the past, present, and future, as well as between the Western Arctic and the outside world.

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[8] Regarding the other singers, I later found out that a relative of Siberia Mike is living in the Delta region.

CHAPTER 10:
PRESENT-DAY MUSIC IN THE WESTERN ARCTIC AND OTHER CONCLUSIONS

The Mackenzie Delta

The Western Arctic continues to be an important meeting ground for musical contact as a result of dynamic cultural change. Musical styles have included Iñupiaq, Inuvialuit, Inuinnait, and Siberian Yupik drum dance and song, Dene song, fiddling/jigging and "square" dancing, whaling songs, country & western, rock 'n' roll, contemporary rock, rap and hip hop, and church music. Starting in the late 18th century and with ever greater intensity during the 19th and 20th centuries, trade across the Western Arctic has fostered the transmission of traditional drum dance songs among Indigenous Canadian, Alaskan, and Chukotkan people on a global scale. There, American, European, African, Asian, Oceanic and indigenous peoples from all over the world have introduced their music and musical instruments to the local populations.

The music of the explorers, whalers, traders, and missionaries introduced during this time period can still be found though in a transformed state. Fiddle-accompanied square dancing and jigging thrives in the Mackenzie Delta region, around Kitikmeot, and interior Alaska. In the 1840s, Métis and European Canadian traders from the Hudson's Bay Company introduced a large part of what became the traditional repertoire. Whalers and later waves of traders transmitted more songs and instrumentals. Particularly in the Mackenzie Delta, such traditions thrive to the present day. Contemporary musicians such as Frank Cockney, an Inuvialuit from the Tuktoyaktuk east of the Mackenzie Delta who died in 2005, played the fiddle and recorded the traditional tunes "Fisher's Hornpipe", "Little Brown Jug", and many others. Also, a small group of musicians from the community of Tuktoyaktuk, all descended from non-native whalers, claim that they sometimes sing whaling songs (Tommy Thrasher, in discussion with the author, August 7, 2008).

Missionaries, whalers, traders, and Iñupiaq settlers have greatly impacted the local Inuvialuit and Gwich'in peoples. Today, in response to the encroachment of outside influences, local populations are revitalizing their indigenous traditions. For example, leaders in Tuktoyaktuk and other Arctic Coast communities are forming Sigil Inuvialuit free form dance teams rather than western Iñupiaq symmetrical motion dances.

Fiddle-accompanied square dancing and jigging have remained a vibrant component of musical life for both the Inuvialuit and Gwich'in of the Mackenzie Delta. Some elders claim, however, that the younger generation is performing the old jig dance steps less frequently and that fewer of them are learning to play the fiddle. Mackenzie Delta fiddling and jigging have much in common with the old-time Athabascan fiddling and dance tradition practiced in interior Alaska. Fewer of the original fiddle tunes and accompanying dance steps are performed in Alaska, however, while in the Mackenzie Delta many traditional dances like the rabbit dance, duck dance, reel of eight, and the Red River jig persist. Below is an image of a Red River jig performance from the early part of the 20th century (Figure 10.1).

Figure 10.1: Bob Forrest and Eileen Firth dancing Red River jig in Mr. John Firth's house, Fort McPherson, Northwest Territories (NWT), circa winter of 1908-1909, Glenbow Archives NA-513-20

According to Crowe, some Inuvialuit even regard these dances as an Inuit dance form (Crowe 1976: 56), despite their older connections to the Gwich'in Athasbascans, Métis, and Hudson's Bay Company traders.

The fiddle-and-guitar duo continues to play jig music, but lately, they have been joined by the bass guitar and, most recently, the drum set. This change of instrumentation is an example of how musical style has evolved in the Mackenzie Delta, where musicians have adapted to accommodate new tastes. Another is the adoption of old-style fiddling into country & western

music and some rock 'n' roll performances. On the surface, these might appear to be compartmentalized, but on a deeper level, it represents a fusion of elements and styles. One unique Mackenzie Delta example of musical synthesis is the combination of Inuvialuit drum dancing and jigging in performance (IRC n.d.).

The number of fiddlers who know the older tunes and styles is dwindling compared to those who perform country & western songs. To preserve the fiddling tradition, elders and educators have developed musical out-reach programs directed towards young people. "Strings Across the Sky", organized in the early 1990s has promoted fiddling among aboriginal children throughout the Canadian North. In Alaska similar programs such as "Fairbanks Junior Fiddlers" and "Dancing with Spirit", use methods based on learning-by-ear and reading musical notation. The ability to read music is bound to affect the generational transmission of standard tune repertoire. Just how is an open question. Perhaps as a way to keep the tradition alive, fiddlers have also turned to women and young girls, previously excluded as musical apprentices. During my research in the Mackenzie Delta, I noticed young girls fiddling and learning the old tunes.

Country & western music, whose appeal is intergenerational, is probably the most popular musical genre in the Mackenzie Delta. There are several explanations for its appeal: the genre's association with rural living, its lyrical expressions of nostalgia, sustained exposure to country music on radio stations located thousands of miles away in the southern United States, and interaction with outsiders who preferred it including DEW-line workers, Pentecostal preachers, and Iñupiaq settlers in the 1940s and 1950s.

Today in the Mackenzie Delta, middle-aged and younger people also listen to and play more contemporary forms of music such as rock, rap, and hip hop. The rebellious association of these musical styles with teenage defiance, social non-conformity and resistance, and political activism are well recognized. Rap and hip hop in particular provide an outlet especially for aboriginal youth to express their struggles to find a balance between the native and non-native worlds, tradition and modernity.

Iñupiaq settlers from Alaska have greatly influenced Inuvialuit drum dancing. Symmetrical Iñupiaq motion dances have supplanted traditional Inuvialuit free form especially in Aklavik and Inuvik; the old Siglit style, characterized by a free-form dance style, an all-male drumming ensemble numbering between 6 to 8 individuals, male and female dancing, and the wearing of white canvas clothing, boots, and gloves, may be found in Paulatuk, Sachs Harbor, and in Tuktoyaktuk, and is slowly regaining strength throughout the Delta.

The impact of Iñupiaq drumming stretches even farther East to the Inuinnait and even some Netsilik settlements of central Canada. The eastern solo drum dancing style, on the other had, reaches as far west as Paulatuk; either Iñupiaq symmetry motion style or Siglit free-style persist in the rest of the Mackenzie Delta. Clearly, musical change in the Mackenzie Delta has sustained not only influence from outside the Western Arctic but also from neighboring cultural groups.

Finally, the introduction of Anglican and Catholic church music, and later, country- and gospel-influenced evangelical songs and singspiration hymns[1] has replaced traditional shamanic chants and incantations. Christian music attracted the native population to religious services, and missionaries even today, consider it an essential strategizing tool for church membership. For instance, some Anglican Church leaders in Inuvik have recently focused on presenting more contemporary, energetic styles of music to the service in order to stir interest.

The Western Arctic Squeeze Box Problem

> He was a loafer, but, being besides rather a clever fellow, he had managed to impress the other Eskimos with a modification of the Christian religion, and was now the promoter of the said religion and high priest as well, living high on the toil of the other natives, and resorting to menaces, such as condemnation to eternal punishment, if they did not fall in with his wishes. The white men were his greatest enemies, and one day during the spring he carefully explained to Dr. Howe and Ned Erie that they would go to hell while he would be sitting in heaven playing the accordion and gloating over their misery. (Mikkelsen 1909: 123)

The dearth of whaling- and trading-influenced squeezebox music, particularly among the native peoples of the northern Alaskan and northwest Canadian Arctic, is yet another facet of the complex musical history of the North. Because of its accessibility to amateur musicians and its ability to withstand the harsh climatic conditions (compared to that of the violin and guitar), the squeezebox, namely the button box and concertina, was equally widespread among indigenous peoples and the whalers. Aldrich assumed that the playing of the accordion was a typical component of whaling life. Reporting on Western Arctic whaling in 1887, he remarked "...of

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[1] Singspiration hymns of the Western Arctic are deeply emotional Gospel songs sung either as a group or individually to express devotion to God, build community spirit, or to honor a loved one. They may be performed live or recorded for later listening. The strident singing tends to sound slightly off-pitch to Western ears but is perhaps an intentional characteristic of the music. The stylistic country songs are normally accompanied by guitar (sometimes a keyboard) and feature occasional foot-stomping by the performers.

course, there was the man who did the tattooing, the accordion-jammer, the yarnspinner, and the rest of the famous sailor kind" (Aldrich 1889: 18). Trading ships operating in the region also carried sailors who could play the instrument. Nor was their squeezebox music confined to folk or popular music. On his 1865 voyage to Kamchatka from San Francisco aboard the Russian brig *Olga*, George Kennan heard its German-American captain squeezing out the Hungarian Rákóczi March from Berlioz' *The Damnation of Faust* as well as the *Russian National Anthem* (Kennan 1870: 5, 6, 13, 19).

As shown in the literature, the squeezebox was certainly one of the most popular musical instruments introduced to the northern indigenous peoples. Members of the Western Union Telegraph Expedition reported that in 1866, an accordion-accompanied rendition of the Civil War hit "Marching through Georgia", was the most popular song along the Eskimo coast (Ray 1992: 176). On his travels to the remote islands of the Bering Strait during the 1870s through the 1890s, Henry Wood Elliot observed the popular use of accordions and concertinas among the Unangan people[2] of the Aleutian Islands and the Alaska Peninsula (Elliot 1881: 23, Elliot 1886: 174-176). In the last decade of the 19th century, the surgeon and magnetician H.M.W. Edmonds collected ethnological data in the Saint Michael area and noted how the natives there were adept at learning to play the accordion (Edmonds 1966: 85). Upon reaching Point Barrow in August 1906, the explorer Mikkelsen commented on how the Iñupiat "not only buy necessities of life, but also accordions and phonographs, which at present sound from almost every tent" (Mikkelsen 1909: 73). During his 1913-1914 winter spent along the Arctic coast of northern Alaska, Jenness also remarked on their prominence:

> Many of the young men have cheap accordions bought from the traders with fox skins. They soon learn to squeak out a few missionary hymn tunes, and occasionally try to play some of their own native songs. The result in neither case would be very encouraging to

[2] Having had experienced continuous cultural contact with Westerners for over a century, the Unangan peoples adopted Russian and American musical instruments and dances well before other Alaskan indigenous groups. Ivan Petroff, who conducted a census of Alaska in 1880 noted that the local population danced the waltz and Russian quadrille to the accompaniment of an accordion or concertina, which was played most often by women. He added that "these people possess a keen appreciation of [music]; have a quick ear, and in many instance pleasant voices. A favorite song of the Aleutians was brought up there by soldiers, and strains of "John Brown", "Marching Through Georgia", and latterly whole strains of Pinafore, are hummed among the earthen barrabaras from Attoo [sic] clear to the eastward" (Petroff 1881: 15). Borrowing from Petroff's report, the educator Sheldon Jackson wrote that "nearly every [Unangan] home possesses an accordion, a hand-organ, or music-box, some of the latter costing as high as $200" (Jackson 1886: 14).

> us, although the musicians themselves appear to derive a good deal of pleasure from it. (Jenness 1922a: 383)

The barter exchange between accordions[3] and fox skins in 1913-1914 is difficult to assess. The price that traders and natives placed on furs was relative to the individual, the local area and the global market value, which fluctuated. For instance, according to Bernard, fox skins were worth $60 each in 1912 while in 1914, due to the onset of World War I and the development of modern-day fox farming and fur dyeing, they plummeted to $4 each (Bernard 1958: 9). Bodfish listed his accordions for only $2.43 each during the 1911 season. Therefore, the profit gained in the accordion-fox skin transaction was likely high for the trader. Of course, the procurement of an individual fox skin was not labor intensive, and they usually sold well.

The aesthetic quality of native instrumental playing is hard to assess, though Jenness wrote positively in his journal about one young Iñupiaq man accompanying a native singer on the accordion (Jenness 1991: 77, 90).[4] Unfortunately, he did not provide any detailed description of the performance or the particular song. The reference does show, however, that the Iñupiat played their own music on foreign instruments and that musical transmission was culturally reciprocal.[5]

Americans living in the North like the trader Charles Brower of Point Barrow owned squeeze boxes (Jenness 2004: 35), but it was Europeans who tended to play them and expose

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[3] Writing in the early 1900s, the explorer/adventurer David Hanbury inferred that accordions were rather expensive in the Hudson Bay region of the eastern Arctic citing that "if a Husky [Eskimo] is rich enough to purchase an accordion, his happiness is complete" (Hanbury 1904: 67). Late 19th-century mass production of the accordion, largely through the efforts of the German Hohner Company, made cheap instruments available to the public on a global scale.

[4] The young man was an inland Iñupiat named Itarklik later known as Arctic John Etalook. According to his daughter Louisa Riley, Etalook taught himself many things musically; in addition to playing Western musical instruments, he composed, sang and danced to Nunamiut Iñupiaq songs. She described his father, who was born in the 1890s, as someone who could successfully navigate the crosscurrents of Iñupiaq and Western cultures; he appropriated whatever foreign influences he thought were useful and at the same time maintained his Iñupiaq identity, which included singing and dancing (Louisa Riley, in discussion with the author, October 8, 2009).

[5] In the Eastern Arctic, the Inuit practice of learning to play the accordion did not necessarily imply the performance of Western music. Conversely, the whalers played Inuit songs in addition to their own. One Inuit elder remarked "If I had an accordion now, I would play it still. I learnt on the ship, but in camp I played with my own accordion. I don't know the whalers' music, but I know the old Eskimo music. Sometimes the whalers played their own songs and sometimes they played the music from here" (Eber 1989: 92).

them to the indigenous people of the Western Arctic. As noted earlier, the German Bernhardt taught his Iñupiaq sons to play the accordion and perform for the community of Teller during the 1910s, 1920s, and beyond (Pinson 2004: 78, 111). The Norwegian trader and explorer Ole Andreasen received, among an assortment of music-related items, two accordions on Herschel Island in August of 1925 (Pedersen n.d.: N.W.T.C Invoices, 1925). Having raised an Iñupiaq family himself, he likely introduced them to the instrument. Andreasen's musical supplies certainly must have circulated among the indigenous population. As late as 1934, the Estonian August Masik frequently played his button-box accordion and sang Estonian dance songs and contemporary tunes such as the 1923 hit *When It's Springtime in the Rockies I am coming Back to You* at his trading post cabin near Martin Point in northern Alaska (Masik and Hutchinson 1935: xiii, 226, and frontispiece). In Masik's case, it is impossible to prove musical influence on the indigenous population, but his attachment to the accordion coupled with his occupation as a trader must have generated interest in the instrument and even the wish to acquire one in trade.

Today, the squeezebox is seldom played in the Western Arctic. Crowe explains:

> Up to the 1960s almost every Inuit family had an accordion and several players. The small button accordion gave way to the piano accordion, especially at public dances, and in turn the piano accordion is giving way to the electric guitar and the "canned" music of radio and records. (Crowe 1976: 56)

In the past, the squeezebox was a very common feature in musical performance throughout the Mackenzie Delta, but when I conducted my fieldwork there during the summer of 2008, I never once saw one played in public. I only met one aboriginal musician who actively performs on a piano accordion – Tommy Thrasher, grandson of a Cape Verde Islander whaler (Tommy Thrasher, in discussion with the author, August 7, 2008). Thrasher learned to play the button box in his youth just like Tuktoyaktuk resident Jasper Andreasen (Jasper Andreasen, in discussion with the author, July 22, 2008), related by adoption to the trader and explorer Ole Andreasen who himself collected and presumably played accordions. Numerous other aboriginal inhabitants of the Mackenzie Delta region whom I interviewed also learned or knew of people who learned to play to the instrument.

Besides the advent of the electric guitar and rock 'n' roll, several other reasons could account for the striking loss of interest in accordions and related whaling music in the Beaufort Sea region. Based on my fieldwork and archival research, I would hypothesize the following factors to explain the absence of such a musical tradition.

1. Relatively brief period of sustained commercial whaling activity (circa 1890-1910).
2. Relatively few safe wintering places along the Beaufort Sea coastline: Herschel Island, Baillie Island, Langdon Bay and Balaena Bay,
3. Fewer overwintering whalers.
4. Limited musical interaction between whalers and natives.
5. Discouragement by missionaries.
6. Pre-existing fiddle-music tradition among the Gwich'in.
7. Strong Iñupiaq drum-dance tradition.
8. Over-saturation of musical cultures.
9. Influence of radio and introduction of country music.
10. New forms of technology and changing attitudes about music aboard marine vessels.
11. American disdain for the accordion.
12. Commonly played by women in church.

Regarding Factor #1, the brief period of commercial whaling in the Beaufort Sea posed a challenge to the development of a musical tradition. Twenty years, which amounts to at best a generation in cultural knowledge transference, was too short a time to maintain whaling music. Some children born around the end of the whaling period, circa 1910, learned to play the squeezebox but by the time they reached adulthood, other types of music occupied their interest. In Cumberland Sound on Baffin Island where an accordion tradition did take root, conditions were quite different. There, the whaling presence lasted longer, almost a century between the 1840s and 1930s. Overwintering began in the 1850s and led to at least four decades of cross-cultural contact. Moreover, the establishment of year-round whaling stations in the area helped sustain sociocultural connections well into the 1930s (Lutz 1978: 61-64). During the whaling period, "Eskimo" dancing, originally a Western form of dance music derived from Scottish (also Irish-, French-Canadian-, and American-influenced) jigs, reels, square and country dancing, eventually replaced traditional Inuit drum dance music.

Factor #2, the limited number of safe wintering places, played a small role in hindering widespread distribution of whaling music in the region. Fewer meeting places meant fewer

opportunities for musical borrowing to occur. On the other hand, since the Beaufort Sea coastline offered few safe wintering places, musicultual interaction intensified at places such as Herschel Island and Baillie Island. In Cumberland Sound, the geography and warmer ocean currents allowed for a greater range overwintering locations.

Factor #3, the small number of overwintering whalers, is important to consider. The 70 or more vessels that stayed the winter at Herschel Island between 1890 and 1910 alone is remarkable (Bockstoce and Batchelder 1977: 111-120), although that number dwindles in comparison to the approximately 300 ships that overwintered in Cumberland Sound between 1851 to 1890 (Ross 1974: 75, 77-79 in Lutz 1978: 63). This data reveals that there were fewer whalers at Herschel Island to intermix with the natives and less opportunity for musical exchange between them. Therefore, Factor #3 influenced the dearth of a whaling music in the area. As noted in earlier chapters, however, numerous intimate encounters took place between foreign whalers and traders and indigenous women, (only some resulting in long-term relationships), and this, in turn, led to hundreds of ethnically mixed offspring and greater population diversity. Possibly, native disassociation from the whaling music resulted from their negative memories of whalers as absent foreign fathers. If that were the case, however, similar negative attitudes also should have arisen in places where whaling music thrives.

With regard to Factor #4, my research demonstrates ample evidence of whalers and natives interacting musically. Not only did foreigners and locals socialize with one another in settings where music and dance-related activities took place, intimate relationships also developed, which helped facilitate the transmission of song. For these reasons, Factor #4 does not explain the absence of whaling music in the region.

Addressing Factor #5, I demonstrated in the two chapters focusing on missionization that some missionaries successfully discouraged secular forms of dance music due to its association with alcohol and other "sinful" elements. This was not necessarily the case in the Beaufort Sea region where initially Anglicans and Catholics battled one another for the allegiance of the indigenous people. I did not find any evidence of Mackenzie Delta missionaries trying to dissuade natives from participating in secular dances as a general rule. In places like Cumberland Sound, intensive missionization happened later than in northwestern Canada. There the Anglican Church established a mission in 1894. While opposing the native dance traditions (Lutz 1978: 95-98), the church permitted Western-derived "Eskimo" dancing. Eventually this form would

become the "traditional" music of the Cumberland Inuit (Lutz 1978: 116, 119). Therefore, Factor #5 had little impact on the state of whaling music.

One of the most important factors to consider is #6: a prior presence of a thriving Gwich'in fiddling music tradition, originally introduced by Métis and Hudson Bay Company traders in the first half of the 19th century. Inuit proximity to such music, beginning in the 1850s, if not earlier, left little room for whaling music and squeezebox playing to flourish. Over time, the songs introduced by whalers were either absorbed into the fiddling repertory or disappeared. With regard to the squeezebox, Mishler points out that Gwich'in use of accordions was greater in the past, as evidenced by the coining of an Athabascan word for the instrument – *dehtl'yaa ch'idlii*, literally meaning 'the paper that sings' (Mishler 1993: 60). There are reports of the accordion among the Koyukon Athabascans of lower Yukon. For example, in Nulato in 1936-1937, Robert Sullivan noted its use together with a violin and banjo as accompaniment to square, round, and broom dances (Sullivan 1942: 51-52). In 1973, Mishler recorded a number of tunes by the Galena fiddler and accordion player, Arthur Kennedy, who was of Athabascan and Irish descent (Mishler 1993: 150). The prevalence of the accordion for Irish music, makes the Athabascan connection to the instrument more straightforward. In conclusion, Athabascan musicians are known to have had the squeezebox, but it could not compete in popularity with the fiddle.

Factor #7, referring to Iñupiaq drum-dance vibrancy, is a persuasive explanation of the absence of squeeze boxes in the Alaskan and northwest Canadian Arctic. The prevalence of a strong Iñupiaq drum dance tradition, sophisticated ceremonial style and large drumming ensemble served as an indigenous substitute for any non-native-derived dance form. This, of course, is contrary to the situation in the eastern Arctic, with its long tradition of accordion-based "Eskimo" dancing. About 1900, after the demise of a large proportion of the original Inuvialuit population due to starvation and disease, the eastward Iñupiat migration to the Mackenzie Delta filled an indigenous cultural void. Iñupiaq drum dance songs and the Mackenzie Delta's vibrant fiddling tradition furnished a viable musical expression. Consequently, accordion-influenced styles similar to those found in the Eastern Arctic lacked the traction to generate much appeal in the Delta..

Concerning Factor #8, the replete amount of musical culture in the area, many styles of music developed in the Mackenzie Delta over the course of the last two centuries, including Inuvialuit, Iñupiaq drum dance and song, Dene song, fiddling/jigging and "square" dancing,

whaling songs, country & western, rock 'n' roll, contemporary rock, rap and hip hop, and church music. This musical richness may have become a problem of over-saturation in musical cultures. As a community expends limited energy to maintain musical traditions, some styles naturally give way to others. With regard to the contemporary interest in revitalizing the past and maintaining a uniform cultural identity, reviving the drum dance has naturally outweighed that of whaling music.

Factor #9, the impact of radio and introduction of country music, relates to the previous one. The advent of radio brought outside musical influences to the Mackenzie Delta, particularly its remote areas, much more quickly than in the past. Powerful radio transmitters in the United States broadcast popular country music programs to the North. The popularity of the music also spread throughout the region via the arrival of blue-collar workers and evangelical missionaries from the southern United States, northern Alaska, and elsewhere. Under these circumstances, whaling music could not attract enough followers for it to become a viable tradition.

New technology and musical tastes aboard marine vessels also contributed to the absence of a whaling music tradition. According to Factor #10, by the 1920s, the gradual disappearance of squeeze boxes and other traditional instruments on board ships came as a result of the introduction of recorded and broadcasted music. Increased loudness from the use of steam engines and the shoveling of coal as well as the shortening of trips produced less of a need for musical performance, including the singing of shanties and impromptu singing. Also, professionalization of such music and demand for more chromaticism in newer musical styles such as tin-pan alley, ragtime, and jazz proved a challenge especially for diatonic button-boxes and concertinas, the most prominent squeeze boxes introduced into the region (see Worrall 2008, especially p. 41).

One of most remarkable aspects of the history of the squeezebox in the Arctic region is the absence of such a musical tradition in northern Alaska and northwestern Canada. The instrument is popular among the indigenous peoples of the eastern Arctic and Siberia, but no comparable attraction is found in the territory in between. Factor #11 points to the general American disdain for the instrument possibly due to Old-World and old-fashioned associations.[6] The severing of such musicultural traditions – ties to Old Europe – in exchange for "pure" American musical styles may have influenced native people's attitudes toward the accordion. It

[6] Anti-German sentiment from the two world wars and the instrument's symbolic connection to the worker's party in Communist countries such as China also hurt the accordion's image in the United States.

is important to note that squeeze boxes were popular instruments in the United States during the first half of the 20th century, thanks in part to the influx of accordion-friendly immigrants from the eastern and southern parts of Europe. The advent of rock 'n' roll in the 1950s and the growing interest in the electric guitar, however, contributed to a decline of the accordion's popularity. Its inability to adapt to changing musical tastes, despite attempts at electrification and newer pedagogical styles, diminished its appeal to the younger population.

Finally, Factor #12 is another musical phenomenon found across the Arctic – the close link of the squeezebox to female musicians and to church instruments such as the organ and harmonium. Numerous ethnographic references and photographs from the 20th century show that Eskimo women played the button-box accordion and concertina. Several images below from the 1950s and 1960s depict Inuit women from the central and eastern Canadian Arctic with their instruments (Figures 10.2, 10.3, and 10.4).

Figure 10.2: Edith Patsauq playing the concertina at Resolute Bay, N.W.T., March 1956, photograph by Gar Lunney, Library and Archives Canada, Acc. #: 1971-271 NPC, PA-179001

Figure 10.3: Edith Patsauq playing the concertina for a group of boy dancers at Resolute Bay (Qausuittuq), N.W.T. (now Nunavut), Canada, March, 1956, photograph by Gar Lunney, Library and Archives Canada, Acc.#: 1971-271 NPC, PA-179002

Figure 10.4: Kuyu playing a button-box accordion during one of the dances held regularly in Cape Dorset, N.W.T. (now Nunavut), Canada, August 1961, photograph by B. Korda , Library and Archives Canada, Acc. #1971-271 NPC

These particular images are from Resolute Bay and Cape Dorset in the northeastern Canadian Arctic. Other photographs contained in the Library and Archives Canada show female Inuit squeezebox players from Chesterfield Inlet, Igloolik, Igalaalik, and elsewhere (Library and Archives Canada n.d.).

In Pangnirtung during the 1970s, Lutz observed that Inuit women more often than men played the accordion. More recently, during my fieldwork in the Mackenzie Delta, I heard about

a number of women who played the button-box and piano accordion. Whether secular music was dominant in their repertory is unknown, but one person informed me that her mother played mainly church songs. Ethnographic literature shows that male fiddlers and callers led imported dance music of an earlier date. At least in the Western Arctic, traditional indigenous gender barriers may account for the historical absence of female musicians performing music for square dances and jigs.

Missionary pressure and the viable outlet for females to play church-related music may be another reason. As shown in my chapter about missionization, northern indigenous women and young girls often provided musical accompaniment for hymn singing. This observation holds true in Yup'ik country as well. I was told about several Yup'ik women from southwest Alaska who performed on the piano accordion in church. The harmonic connection to church-related keyboard instruments such as the organ, harmonium, and piano partially explains the presence of the squeezebox in religious settings. The missionary John Driggs, writing around the turn of the 20th century, addresses this link when he wrote that "Some one had informed Billy [a young Point Hope native] that far away in the States, the singing on Sundays was accompanied by an organ, so on the following Sunday Billy brought his small accordion to church and tried to accompany the singers" (Driggs 1905: 157). The observation that there were more women than men who became church musicians may be due to influences from the South, where girls and young women received thorough keyboard instruction as part of their education. As discussed in earlier chapters, many of the female missionaries who arrived in the North could play a keyboard. Gender-based work duties at home and in church makes it reasonable to assume that musical education was largely a female preserve.

As shown in earlier chapters, missionaries who worked with Eskimo peoples, particularly those in Canada, often used the squeezebox to accompany hymn singing. Non-missionaries did the same. For instance, the whaling captain John Cook's wife Viola played the accordion at native services. Referring to her winter experiences at Herschel Island between 1893 and 1895, a journalist wrote:

> To the accompaniment of rude music on an accordion Mrs. Cook led her yellow skinned friends in the singing of hymns which she had translated into Eskimo dialect, and so heartily did the natives enjoy the simple ceremony that they often gathered in the middle of the week and demanded that a meeting be held. They saw no reason why Sunday should be set apart for such affairs. (*WP* 11/12/1911: MS6)

Through the middle part of the 20th century, some still considered the squeezebox an important musical instrument, even in the Alaskan Arctic. In 1959, for instance, the Friends High School in Kotzebue, which continued to offer religious courses as part of its curriculum, received among several gifts an accordion and a portable electric organ from the California Yearly Meeting headquarters (Roberts 1978: 355-356). The harmonic capabilities of the accordion like that of the organ made it a useful instrument for teaching and learning Western music, both religious and secular.

A comprehensive consideration of these 12 possible factors and further investigation into the whaling music problem would require a broader and deeper examination of the archival record as well as interviews with elders from communities located outside the Mackenzie Delta – Paulatuk, Sachs Harbor, and Ulukaktok (Holman) where commercial whalers and traders also left their mark. Richard Condon, for instance, who conducted anthropological research in the community of Ulukaktok between 1978 and 1980, noted the prominence of southern musical instruments such as "guitars, fiddles, and hand organs" in the local entertainment (Condon 1983: 44). What Condon meant exactly by "hand organs" is difficult to ascertain – possibly accordions or harmonicas but probably not hand-cranked barrel organs as the term is generally defined. He correctly surmised, though, that the community's square dancing and jigging tradition, closely linked to such instruments, was "most likely introduced by early whalers via the Western Arctic" (Condon 1983: 44).

The Persistence of Drum Dancing and the Absence of a Vibrant Iñupiaq Fiddling/Jigging and "Square Dancing" Tradition

Thomas Johnston in his review of Maija Lutz' 1978 dissertation raised the following question: if commercial whaling and missionary conditions were similar in both regions, why did the traditional "Eskimo" music of Cumberland Sound in the eastern Arctic acculturate and not the Alaskan "Eskimo" music (Johnston 1980: 480)? Just as remarkable is the question why no fiddling- or other folk instrument-accompanied jigging and square dancing tradition developed among the Iñupiat in contrast to neighboring "Eskimo" groups, particularly the Inuvialuit of the Mackenzie Delta and the Central Yupiit of southwestern Alaska.[7] The following section is a brief

[7] Craig Mishler noted that central Yup'ik communities in the Yukon River delta were reviving their fiddling tradition (Mishler 1993: 150). The early adoption of old-style fiddling by the Inuit of the

sketch of Iñupiaq history and music followed by a discussion of various factors that may explain why foreign dances did not traditionalize.

The Iñupiat were one of the last of Alaska's indigenous groups to make significant contact with Westerners. The presence of commercial whalers, traders, explorers, missionaries, as well as gold miners, teachers, and government officials had a profound impact on Iñupiaq culture during the latter half of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. In bringing the bowhead whale almost to the brink of extinction through over-hunting, for example, the whaling industry completely disrupted the subsistence lifestyle of the local population (Williams 1996: 97-98). As Iñupiaq dependence on Western goods increased, the indigenous ties to the land began to erode. Western foods slowly began to either supplement or replace the local diet, sometimes with fatal consequences. In addition, the arrival of Westerners also brought about the unintended introduction of influenza, tuberculosis, and syphilis, new diseases that decimated the coastal populations of the Arctic (Burch 1984: 316-317 and Spencer 1984: 335-336). Despite the enormous impact of Western contact, the Iñupiat peoples, with the exception of those living in the Kobuk area,[8] have managed to retain a remarkable amount of their culture, including music and dance (Johnston 1976a: 43).

Several factors may explain the relatively healthy state of traditional Iñupiaq music and dance: 1) lateness of sustained contact; 2) larger, more sedentary and communalistic population; 3) longer preservation of the *qargi* or ceremonial house and its elaborate communal ceremonial associations; 4) less stringent performance taboos; and 5) more tolerant and less divisive missionization. Some of these factors may also partially explain why foreign musical styles did not become traditional throughout northern Alaska.

Mackenzie Delta has already been discussed. Mishler also comments several times about its presence among the Inuvialuit (Mishler 1993: 1, 10, 140) and Inuinnait (Mishler 1993: 140).

[8] Beginning in the 1890s, traditional Iñupiaq musical culture along the Kobuk and Noatak rivers of northwestern Alaska went into considerable decline largely because of religious suppression brought upon by the evangelical Friends' Church. Its population was much smaller and poorer compared to other areas, therefore facilitating conversion. The social structure was more loosely organized, individualistic, and more nomadic partially due to its dependence on river fishing and caribou hunting with a rifle. Two of the communities whose traditional dance music was most severely affected by these factors were Shungnak and Kobuk (Johnston 1976a: 77). Interestingly enough, these two villages boast the strongest retention of the Iñupiaq language in the entire region (Andrews and Creed 2008). The Gwich'in Athabascan also share this strong language/weak dance music dichotomy, a phenomenon that lends itself to a multidisciplinary investigation combining ethnomusicology and linguistics.

The Iñupiat of northern Alaska did not experience direct and continuous contact with foreigners until the 1850s when explorers and whalers entered the waters off northern Alaska. Especially in those communities situated along the Arctic coast – Point Barrow, Kaktovik, Wainwright, and Point Hope – Iñupiaq music and dance traditions persisted long before the 1971 passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act and its subsequent cultural revitalization movement.[9] During the summer of 1946, for instance, ethnomusicologist Laura Boulton traveled to Point Barrow to collect field recordings of Iñupiaq music. She commented that "in spite of the fact that missionary hymns and popular songs picked up from traders, soldiers, and government men have been brought in from the outside, these northern people had preserved much of their own music" (Boulton 1969: 390).

As far as the musical distribution of the Eskimo/Inuit cultural area is concerned, the further east of Alaska and the Mackenzie Delta one travels, the less group-oriented and structured the musical performance becomes. Johnston attributed this East/West musical dichotomy to the phenomenon of the permanent ceremonial house, a cultural trait historically shared by Eskimo groups living in Alaska, the Mackenzie Delta, and eastern Siberia (Johnston 1976a: 166). During the long winter seasons, separate groups of dancers and drummers performed in these large dwellings. Among the men, women, and children who congregated there, many accompanied the performers in song and dance. Traditional Iñupiaq, Inuvialuit, Yup'ik, and Siberian Yupik music and dance is consequentially much more communal and, in order to accommodate greater numbers of people, is more compartmentalized. The drummers and dancers, in other words, usually stick to their prescribed roles during each song performance. Successful integration and a higher level of organization created social bonds durable enough to withstand potentially harmful outside influences, at least initially.

This complex configuration of musical performance is lacking in the eastern Inuit regions. In those populations that were generally more nomadic and traveled in groups usually no larger than two or three nuclear families, a more soloistic and simpler musical style developed.

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[9] Following the passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) in 1971, a rebirth of interest in indigenous traditions occurred. One of the by-products of the movement was the establishment of the Festival of Native Arts first held on the University of Alaska Fairbanks campus in late winter 1974. Musicians, dancers, and artisans representing the primary Alaskan Native groups as well as some non-Alaskan indigenous peoples have gathered annually to share their cultural heritage in a public multi-day event. Similar cultural events sprang up around the state. See Marie Williams's dissertation entitled *Alaska Native Music and Dance: The Spirit of Survival*, which closely examines the relationship between ANSCA and the subsequent revitalization of Alaska Native arts, crafts, music and dance (Williams 1996).

From the Inuinnait region in Canada all the way east into Greenland, such a style, characterized by one performer who simultaneously drums, dances and even sings, became the norm. Only on certain occasions did the audience or a partner assist the soloist with singing and even more rarely with drumming.

Differing attitudes toward outdoor singing and dancing are another musicultural dichotomy between the western and eastern Eskimo/Inuit peoples. While regularly attending trade fairs during the summer months, the Iñupiat of Alaska, frequently engaged in outdoor musical exchanges. In contrast, many Canadian, Siberian, and some Greenlandic cultural groups followed taboos that strictly forbid them to perform out of their homes.[10] Such a cultural restriction limited a group's repertory of songs and dances. Jenness claimed that the Inuinnait only had drum dance songs and a few weather incantations (Roberts and Jenness 1925: 9). According to Johnston, the eastern Inuit groups performed fewer songs and dances than the Iñupiat and none of their rich communal story dances (Johnston 1976a: 1). For the Iñupiat, greater flexibility in performance setting preferences provided more opportunity for musical traditions to flourish.

Largely because of its denominational make-up, the early phase of the missionization movement in northern Alaska was more tolerant of indigenous practices than elsewhere in the Western Arctic.[11] Beginning in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the Presbyterian and Episcopalian churches partitioned the region such that each village had one established church – the Episcopalians presided over Point Hope and Point Lay while the Presbyterians concentrated on Point Barrow, Wainwright, Kaktovik, and eventually the remaining communities of the North Slope. Because these two religious sects generally condoned non-shamanistic performances of Iñupiaq music and dance, particularly those aspects that did not conflict with mainstream

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[10] The Ammassalik people of East Greenland, are a clear exception to this custom, although they did perform a significant number of their song repertoire inside dwellings (Hauser 1992: 14-28).

[11] As discussed in Chapter 5, missionization in Alaska's North took a different form compared to that of other regions in the North American Arctic. Under the leadership of the influential missionary Sheldon Jackson, whose 1885 appointment to the position of General Agent of Education for Alaska granted him enormous political clout, the federal government divided up the territory to several Protestant denominations and gave them each educational and religious jurisdiction over their respective districts. By the late 1890s, the Covenant, Congregational, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Friends' Church missions opened at Unalakleet, Wales, Point Hope, Point Barrow, and Kotzebue respectively. The Congregational, Episcopalian and Presbyterian churches were far more tolerant of indigenous dance and music than that of Congregational and Friends Church, resulting in a healthier state of such forms among the former.

Christian tenets, communities along the Arctic coast were better able to maintain their musicultural tradition, and do so in a more open manner, relatively speaking.

It is important to remember from earlier chapters that together with the schools, the two churches, as tolerant as they were, had restricted some native dancing during the turn of the 20th century and beyond. Members of northern communities, however, particularly in Point Hope and Barrow, resisted such missionary and educator opposition. For instance, in situations where outside institutional practices replaced traditional indigenous ones, such as the substitution of reindeer fairs for trading festivals, the Iñupiat persisted in framing the celebrations according to their own customs (Fair 2000: 483). Sustained resistance to outside influences and more tolerant governmental and church-related policies contributed to the maintenance of northern dance traditions along the Arctic coast. Barbara Bodenhorn, who conducted anthropological research in Barrow during the 1980s remarked that "dancing had reappeared in the 1930s" following an apparent loosening of restrictions under the Presbyterian Church (Bodenhorn 1993: 198).[12] Arriving in Point Barrow in 1937, the physician Otto George believed that the missionary-doctor Henry Greist had strongly opposed native dancing during his long stay in Barrow:[13]

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[12] If Bodenhorn's conclusion is correct, any change in the Presbyterian church's attitude towards native dancing would have more likely occurred during Dr. Albert W. Newhall's four–year residency at Barrow between 1925 and his untimely death in 1929. Newhall was a Methodist layman and worked for many years at the Jesse Lee Home in Unalaska. He inspired one of the institution's orphans, Nutchuk also known as Simone Oliver, to become a musician, one who led a successful career as a concert pianist (Nutchuk 1941). Newhall also taught the Barrow Iñupiat Rex Floyd Ahvakana to play the organ (Ahvakana 1994 and Greist 2002: 30).

[13] Between the years 1920 and 1937, Henry Greist, his wife Mollie and their son David lived in several communities throughout Alaska. They spent one year in Wales (1920-1921) and well over a decade in Barrow (1921-1925) and (1929-1936). Like other missionaries, Dr. Greist condemned shamanistic practices, referring to them as "witchcraft" or "polydaemonism in action". Only once in his plus three-hundred page unpublished account "Seventeen Years with the Eskimo", does he write about witnessing a ceremonial dance in a qargi. This occurred during his first year at Wales (Greist n.d.: 266-271). The following description made by Greist reflects his perceived link between shamanistic ways and the occult: "Saving only under peculiar conditions did the medicine man ever engage in mystic rites in the open, preferring darkness. If within the igloo, the seal or whale-oil lamps of stone, half-moon shaped affairs some eighteen inches long, shallow, hollowed out, with lichens places along the curved front edge to serve as wicks for the seal oil, giving both heat and light even these were effectually shaded else extinguished, lest the wizard be too closely watched. Marked hideously, and fantastically dressed in full regalia, with rattles or other noise making paraphernalia, he sang, shouted, howled, danced, after which the noise, slowly growing less and less, silence prevailed for a bit. Then, from seemingly a far distance the shouting and dancing were again faintly heard, gradually increasing in tempo, and finally his presence within the room was announced by loud shouts of glee, and dancing the while, he would announce his victory over the devil responsible allegedly for the calamitous event, claiming that he had driven him and his damning influence out and far away, had even carried him to the underworld on the wings of a raven, to no longer torment the sick man who, very likely, had been carried into the presence of the exorcist earlier, and laid on the floor in

> He had ministered to the natives' illnesses and looked to their spiritual welfare. He had likewise so succeeded in suppressing their old beliefs that only a few of the older people knew the native dances, and all the old native dance houses had been done away with. (George 1979: 122)

Since the qargi had already disappeared by the early 1900s, Greist could not have been responsible for its demise. His opposition to native dancing, however, likely forced it underground. Greist's son David wrote that his father "was against their dancing and was kind of adamant about that. I didn't see anything wrong with their Eskimo dances, but he thought there was something too pagan about them. He was strict about that and ended up writing some disparaging things about the dances (Greist 2002: 11). Since Greist himself claimed that he had "never danced a step in [his] life" (Greist n.d.: 123), he was likely adverse to all forms of dance. Besides bearing personal and religious qualms about native dance, he also gave a more "practical" reason for opposing the practice. According to *The Northern Cross*, a newspaper that he wrote periodically for public consumption, the missionary doctor explained that the many long evenings of dance limited the capacity of the villagers to participate in the indispensable hunt (Greist 2002: 79, 115-116). Nonetheless, Greist's opposition to dancing was more deeply rooted.[14]

In other issues from his newspaper, he argued most fervently against the practice. The quotation below refers to the Christmas and New Year's holiday season, a time of year that coincided with traditional Iñupiaq celebrations such as Kivgiq or the Messenger Feast:

> Ordinarily, the week is given over to feasting and to dancing by the natives, which has invariably had a depressing effect, spiritually, if not physically. It was hoped to counteract this in large measure if not entirely, especially because with the exception of not more than three or four, every adult in Barrow is a member of the church. But unfortunately, the assembly room of the Government school has been invitingly lighted and warmed each night with the evident purpose of inducing the Eskimo to repeat the ancient program, dancing, etc. Several yielded to the temptation thus thrust at them, and have consistently absented themselves from the special services. We have however rejoiced in that others went to the school house after church, sang hymns, played innocent games, and thus enjoyed fellowship until a late hour. This, as of Monday and Tuesday

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front of him. Occasionally only did the shaman consent to serve a given situation in the open, and then usually hid under a blanket of sewed-together skins of the wolf or caribou, and in trance announce his decision or solution as given him by his control" (Greist n.d.: 268-269).

[14] Greist's opposition to dancing was so intense that he wrote disapprovingly of the use of dance illustrations in a school children's paper, because it was "inconsistent with a Christian people lately come from out heathenism. The pagan matters should be allowed to be forgotten" (Greist 1936b: 8).

> nights. But on Wednesday night, our regular prayer meeting night, a special effort seems to have been made by some one assuming to be in authority or leadership to induce the people to engage in their old pagan dance to the rhythm of the tom-toms, the wild, weird outcries of the dancers, the inhuman wails or cries of the 'drummers', etc. Dr. Greist had graphically related the incidents of the 32 Chapter of Exodus, and had preached particularly from the 26th verse, reviewing the many dramatic incidents since Israel had first seen Moses on his return from Midian, evidently but a few months previously. And yet, the flesh is weak, and some wandered into the dance later on. Did not the Lord say something as to offenses and also something as to him by whom offenses come? – Luke 17:1. For long we urged temperance, discretionary judgment as to when and how often, and in a measure we succeeded in limiting the pernicious thing. We exercised great patience, forbearance, the Christian spirit, and by line upon line and precept upon precept taught to the end that a conscience might be developed, tastes above and beyond secured, believing or hoping rather, that in the end the heritage from an unholy past would be relegated to the discard. Many have responded, but the slightest encouragement of any white man will bring the evil thing to the fore. We have never denounced the dance as inherently evil, per se, but have condemned it as being a flood gate thought which all the evils of Pandora's box may afflict. And we believe we know, and from many years close to observation. So, we are drawing the line as to our members, and those who hold to the dance, who absent themselves from the means of grace to attend, and in particular those who drum or dance or otherwise actively encourage the nefarious thing, will be denied 'tokens' admitting to the Lord's table. Tokens, because some seemingly have no conscience, but in face of all warnings and persistent teachings doggedly take their 'cue' from fleshly desire, or from some white man who regards the church as of small consequence, and thus prove themselves as other than spiritual. We propose to hold the standard high henceforth, having failed not in our educational, or teaching efforts in the past. The dance is inconsistent with the Christ-like spirit, demoralizes the spiritual, makes for a low standard of morality, indeed debases and debauches the conscience and invites to an upper seat the demons of passion and godlessness. We are 'agin' it, and by the grace of God we will either stand or fall thereby. We have enlisted for the war as to all things pagan, white men, natives, or devils from hell to the contrary notwithstanding. Nor have we apologies to make. (Greist 1933a: 56-60)

Greist's main objection to dancing was that it corrupted the soul and made it easy to succumb to harmful temptations. It represented a "gateway" sin capable of sending the individual down the path to spiritual and physical ruin. Greist cited various results stemming from the dance, including "adulteries, fornications, license of every sort, neglect of children, neglect of home, neglect of church duty, and God only knows what else" (Greist 8/1936: 9-10). Others disagreed with missionary's view, most importantly, the Bureau of Education, an institution that had taken over the responsibility of "educating" the native population from the mission. I will discuss the conflict between church and the school a little later.

Greist also expressed his aversion to the presence of dance at Nalukataq, the mid-summer whaling celebration that Barrow Iñupiat had maintained since pre-contact times. As the

missionary pointed out, many non-natives disagreed with his position, presumably even his wife and son, who were known to participate in the event:[15]

> "Nalla-quo-tuk" [Nalukataq], the annual celebration and feast following successful whaling, was held by west-end-of-the-village men early in week, and today the East-enders hold forth, flags, flying, wind-breaks up, immense walrus hide skins sewed together and guyed with ropes until it is taut, ready for the jumping, or tossing high in air of the young folks. Ordinarily, an ancient dance, more or less ritualistic, was had at these celebrations, a believed essential part of the program. But consistently with the efforts of Presbyterian missionaries to primitive people everywhere, and to the Indians in South West states and those of Pacific Coast as well, and with various tribes in South East Alaska, we have earnestly opposed this dance as a thing pregnant of much evil, and slowly we are noting its relegation to the 'has beens', to the junk pile for discarded, flotsam and jetsam of other days, the relics of paganism. Quietly we sought to persuade the trial of a "Nalla-quo-tuk" without a dance, and two days since such an one was held to the amazement and regret of some old folk, and we rather believe the one 'on the boards' today will prove similar. In this opposition we have stood largely alone, not having the sympathy of some local whites, not that of some missionaries, but then – well, not all our missionaries have habitually attended prayer meeting, and not all have bee proof against the lure of "Bridge" and the dance at home. We can have no compromise with the works of darkness – we are here not to take orders from those not vitally interested in the spirituality of the natives. The Eskimo is too often exploited, and too many regard him as a soulless animal, to be enjoyed, used, looked at, but -- saved? Well, No. The eternal salvation of the native is too often the very last thing to be considered by such whites as come North. (Greist 1933c: 21)

Greist's medical successor was one "white" who held a completely different attitude towards native dancing and other aspects of Iñupiaq culture. Arriving in 1937, Otto George expressed a deep appreciation for native traditions and recognized the cultural value of dance.[16] During his one-year stay in Barrow, he suggested to the native population to "keep their old customs, dance, institutions, such as the kashga [qargi] or dance house" (George 1979: 146). As the following

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[15] David learned native dancing as early as four years old. He remembered that his mother Mollie danced as well as the teacher Peter Van der Steere (Greist 2002: 79, 173 fn37). Many non-natives took part in Nalukataq, the celebration of the post-whaling season held around June, which also featured a skin toss event known by the same name. Mrs. Greist recorded in her book that "once in a while, some of us whites would help to pull the skin for the jumpers or would try to do our dance on the skin, which always gave the Eskimo a big laugh" (Greist 1968: 108). Van der Steere affirmed Mrs. Greist's extensive participation in Iñupiaq social festivities, particularly that of Nalukataq (Van der Steere 1968: 3).

[16] It should be noted that George's writing were published in 1979, more than four decades after his stay in Barrow. It is uncertain whether they were originally written in 1937 or shortly thereafter. His uncommon sensitivity to native traditions and strong criticism of missionary influences may have been shaped over the years by changes in attitude regarding the history of native and non-native relations.

quotation reveals, George possessed a great amount of interest in the community's drum dancing traditions:

> I was awakened one night by a knock on the door and a small girl announced, "There is a dance." Hurriedly I drew on my clothing and followed. There were eight drums and the old people who still remembered were teaching the children to dance. How they loved their music and the dances! The old people rejoiced that the government was willing for them to revive the old customs. The drummers sat on the floor along one wall of the room and the dancers took the center of the floor. The chant began, the drums boomed rhythmically and the dancer started – combination muscle and stomp. Sometimes I felt my own muscles keeping time with the throbbing drums and dancing natives. Jerry, an old man from somewhere down the coast near Icy Cape, which the mission people did not yet supervise closely, outdid all the others. His dance was grotesque and comical, which pleased everyone. The dance continued long past midnight; at last I left them and I never knew how late they danced. (George 1979: 142-143)

According to George, native dance had only recently come back to the village proper. Later in his description, he recorded a powerful remark made by one of the younger men in the community:

> 'Seventeen years ago the Mission forbade us to dance. Then everyone wanted to dance all the time. Now the government permits us to dance and no one wants to.' For 17 years the old folk had put the dance aside and the younger men had never learned. When the ban was lifted the very young children danced at every opportunity, as did the older ones, but the young men and women were more hesitant. (George 1979: 143)

"Seventeen years" corresponds almost exactly to Dr. Greist's tenure in Barrow, which had started in 1920. The circumstances surrounding the government's alleged approval of such restrictions on native dance are unclear. In 1919, one year before Greist's arrival, Brower recorded a frustratingly brief diary entry about some "trouble between the mission and school" (Brower n.d.: 42). The "trouble" likely referred to the consideration of an appeal to establish a hospital in Barrow and to advance the Presbyterian Church's school mission (*Herald and Presbyter* 1919: 9). In his unpublished account of missionary-doctor life in Alaska, Greist himself alluded to the fragile relationship between churches and government-run schools (Greist n.d.: 92-94). One can assume that some of the tension concerned the federal government's wavering stance on the separation of church and state and the limits of missionization in the region.

Barrow teachers hired by the Bureau of Education had their own varying opinions about accommodating native dance traditions. As noted earlier, Van der Steere, who taught between

the years 1923 and 1925, appeared to tolerate and even participate in many Iñupiaq cultural activities. In 1932, on the other hand a teacher and superintendent suspended seven young students and expelled the 8th grader Rex Floyd Ahvakana, Greist's church organist, for allegedly reciting and discussing his newly translated Gospel hymn in the Iñupiaq language while on school grounds.[17] According to Greist, the Bureau of Education at the time had "ordered English alone to be used on school premises, within and without the buildings, in school hours and out" (Greist 1932: 24).

It is important to note that Greist supported the Bureau of Education's original English-only policy, stating that "the Eskimo language is not a written tongue, and, because of this people's limited number is not likely to be ever written, and because they have and can have no literature, they would wisely adopt English as the medium of common expression and allow the ancient and inadequate to die" (Greist 1932: 24). Greist criticized the Bureau's handling of the Floyd affair because he thought the punishment was too harsh. However, writing about the incident four years later, he also seemed to have opposed it on the ground that the government had suppressed Floyd's religious speech (Greist 1936a: 56).

During the early 1930s, the Bureau of Education, renamed the Office of Indian Affairs in 1931 (Barnhardt 1985),[18] rescinded its English-only policy and instead promoted a bilingual approach, requiring teachers to "encourage the native cultures, their folk lore, their social customs, their dances..." (Greist 1936a: 56).[19] Greist expressed utter disappointment in the new policy, believing it would allow the native people to return to their so-called pagan ways. He wrote:

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[17] In an issue of *The Northern Cross* almost four years later, Greist was eager to point out Ahvakana's good intentions, having "translated a standard church hymn from the English into the Eskimo, and, elated with his believed success both as to concept and meter, read the same to his companions while they were alone in the work shop during manual training hour at which time conversation was permitted in English only, and while at work they engaged in a critical discussion of his translation, suggesting various improvements, the substitution of terms believed better than Rex had used" (Greist 1936a: 56).

[18] In 1931, following a national survey of Indian social and economic conditions that resulted in the 1928 Merriam Report, the U.S. Congress transferred the responsibility for education of the Natives of Alaska from the Bureau of Education to the Office of Indian Affairs (later referred to as the Alaska Indian Service, the Alaska Native Service and finally as the Bureau of Indian Affairs), but still within the Department of the Interior. This transfer allowed all Native American education programs to be channeled through a single agency and was intended to bring Alaskan Native education objectives closer to those of Indian education in the United States.

[19] The reason for this about-face is unclear. Whether a change in political power, following Roosevelt's 1933 inauguration, played a role is an interesting question to investigate.

> ... that devilish dance has "come back", not once, but twice, first on the occasion of a "nellaquotuk", or celebration of a successful whaling, and, later, on the Fourth of July. A very large percentum of the members of Barrow Church were in attendance, if not as participants. Our friend, the local school teacher, a Christian gentleman, looked in on the dance for a few minutes (he has been among the Eskimo but two years), and later said to the editor, "Christ is not in that dance". No, He is not, and could our Christian friend have seen similar pagan dances as had down below, at villages where license is tolerated to a greater degree, where some missionary is more tolerant, or less adamant in his attitude, he would in all probability have added -- "but the devil is". What cares the average white man who comes to the arctic -- what cares he for the spirituality of the Eskimo? Not once in a hundred cases does he believe the Eskimo capable of spirituality, if nominal religion. Nor does he care. He exploits the native for what he can get from out him, and with that he has no further concern. Coming for this or that purpose, they have an idle curiosity to see that which the Dep't of the Interior is pleased to term the "Art" of the Eskimo dance. (Greist 8/1936: 9)

Such a change in governmental policy proved very beneficial in maintaining the indigenous drum dance tradition. In the late 1930s, Iñupiaq community members continued to revive their tradition. Not only intra-village dance celebrations occurred, but also inter-village ones as well. The medical physician George made the following remark:

> Once, during the absence of the teachers,[20] the gunnysack flew from the signal mast in the afternoon. This dance was for visitors from eastward. It seemed far more formal than any of the others I had attended. All the older persons sat together in a place of honor, directly behind the drummers. The singing was more enthusiastic and the dancing better, as there was dancing competition between the visitors and the home people. It made us feel good to see how happy the people were, especially the older ones. (George 1979: 143)

Despite the government's acceptance of traditional ways, Barrow Iñupiat continued to conceal their drum dancing from missionaries. The missionary who replaced Greist, Fred Klerekoper, appeared to have opposed dancing as well, but perhaps not as vehemently as his predecessor. George writes about the Nalukataq dance:

> At one in the morning I returned home for heavier clothing, resolved to see the dancing if I must stay all night. The missionaries left when I did. I dressed in parka and mukluks and returned. The skin was being torn down, the drums were being brought, and within a few minutes the songs were being rehearsed. Apparently the missionaries had disapproved, and so the dance could not begin until they left. The walrus skin was placed

[20] One particular teacher who worked with George in 1937 and 1938 "objected to the practice" of using the schoolhouse's signal mast to inform the community of an upcoming dance (George 1979: 142).

> before the semicircle on the sand, much like a stage, and the dance began. I believe it followed ancient rites far more closely than they were willing for a stranger to know. First the host danced, then his crew and their families; next, the other whaling crews and, last, those not included in the first groups. The motions were comical to watch and created much laughter among the spectators. Sometimes as many as a dozen danced at one time. It was not until 8:00 a.m., when the fog turned to rain, that the drums ceased to throb and Nullakatuk was over for another year. (George 1979: 183-184)

George, as mentioned earlier, assumed an open-minded and culturally sensitive attitude towards Iñupiaq traditions, one in sharp contrast to that of Greist. Commenting further on the dance event, George wrote:

> Nullakatuk was a ritual thanksgiving celebration. There is a side to the Eskimo which we did not understand. This was called his savagery or religion of his ancestors, as yet not altogether forgotten by the present generation. Although the mission had fought determinedly to abolish this "heathenry," ancient folk songs and dances were included in this ritual...Toward night, or rather as the sun turned to the north, the throb of ancient Eskimo drums was heard. I compared these to those heard in movie productions of African music, which they resembled closely; while weird, they were nonetheless musical. From our house a mile away I listened and was thrilled and, though Virginia was ill, I could not resist the temptation to steal away to hear and see better. There were seven drums, all in a row, all alike, held in the left hand and struck with a little switch on the backside, not on the drum head. There was a sudden pause in the music; then after a minute one man, probably the crew leader of the boat, began to hum. No words, just "High-ee-ho," and one by one the others took up the rhythm. Finally, the drums joined in beating time. (George 1979: 182)

In the above passages, George's enthusiasm for and sincere interest in Iñupiaq dancing come through strongly. Such positive accounts of indigenous ways, particularly the appreciation for maintaining them, are somewhat unusual in the region's ethnographic literature of the early 20th century. If the sentiment was truly written in 1937, it shows that individuals living in the community of Barrow shared very different, even opposing attitudes about Eskimo traditions.

Departing Point Barrow in 1936, the 68 year-old missionary doctor summarized his work in the last issue of *The Northern Cross*. He noted the "evils" of dance and his debates with school teachers regarding its nature and function. Greist also argued that his fervent opposition to dance was not based on a knee-jerk reaction, but on multiple years of study at various locations. Most poignantly, he emphasized the point that dance was the most pressing aspect to erase of the native people's culture:

> We found so many hang-overs from the heathen past which former missionaries had if at all attacked with timidity. The ritualistic dances were condemned as harking back to paganism, as tending all unconsciously to recall the past and with it the arts and devices of the devil-worship of fifty years since. These dances inevitably encourage immorality, open a veritable Pandora's box, and, while not necessarily evil per se, nevertheless unquestionably encourage fleshly lusts. The superficial observer, or one who sees but the "art" of the dance, is very apt to question the writer's findings, but – well, the devil is in the them. And so we attacked them and fiercely, but not until we had studied them for three or four years from Nome, North, and had satisfied ourselves that we were right. Resisted by school teachers oft times, (here for but one or two years, maybe three or four, then returning to the states), we found it not an easy road to travel. And in time we won out, but it was difficult. One school teacher sat up long hours of the night burning the Government oil while hunting texts from the Old Testament in support to the dance, citing Jeptha's daughter, King David, and others as authority why the dance ought be encouraged regardless of the morals of the young, and regardless of the differences between the dance as practiced by the religious Jews and the shamanistic Eskimo of past generations. True, the pagan and abominable thing may bob up again, and almost surely will, provided some timid missionary be off his guard, and some future liberally minded school teacher deem it as "art" and worthy encouragement, he caring not a fig for the morals of the young. But it is to be hoped otherwise. The dance was the devil's major hold on the people. Other matters were of less importance, relatively. (Greist 8/1936: 2-3)

Greist draws a sharp contrast between conservative missionaries and liberal educators, a battle that rages on to the present-day. In his mind, missionary work was successful in opposing native dancing but that one needed to be constantly vigilant of its return. Such concerns were evident in other communities and they continue to be to this day in light of efforts aimed towards revitalizing long-abandoned dance traditions.

The subject of dancing was also a source of great conflict between the missionaries and educators of the Kotzebue Sound area. During the late 1920s and 1930s,[21] the Friends Church and the Northwest District of the Bureau of Education fought over the practice of holding dances for schoolchildren and young people. The former argued that the teachers were encouraging people to sin since in their minds "dance was a feeder to adultery, which was increasing" and that "abstinence was the best way to remove the temptations" (Roberts 1978: 302). The education board, on the other hand, contended that the church was narrow-minded and dictatorial in its policies.

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[21] Over forty years later, during the 1970s, social dancing and its connection to drugs and alcohol resurfaced as a major issue in the community (Roberts 1978: 435).

In the midst of its controversy with educators, the Friends Church also faced competition from the Catholic Church, which had established itself in Kotzebue in 1929. Catholic priests observed the value of music in the Friends Church service. Father Paul O'Connor, for instance, arriving in 1941, remarked "the Quakers early saw the importance of singing and it is the one attraction in their otherwise rather drab services. Their well-drilled part chorus is something to be envied" (O'Connor 1947: 75). Father Frank Ménager who came to Kotzebue in 1933 and found the Iñupiat so "full of music" built on this foundation by organizing the Kotzebue Catholic Artists, "a musical society started to keep up interest and to furnish music on every occasion" (Renner 2005: 437). According to O'Connor, Ménager:

> ... at once set to work showing these people how to sing high Mass. They took to it as naturally as a duck to water. The Latin words were no impediment. In no time high Mass was a regular Sunday service. Many families had their own organs and spent hours mastering the more difficult parts. (O'Connor 1947: 75)

A versatile composer, Ménager also wrote minstrel shows that were popular with the community (Renner 2005: 437). O'Connor himself was perhaps influenced by the Friends Gospel singing when he "reconditioned an old organ and reserved it for popular songs" after the evening services (O'Connor 1947: 75). The musical impact of the Friends Church was also very strong in nearby communities. In Point Hope, for instance, the Episcopal Church adopted gospel singing to maintain its religious stronghold (Roberts 1978: 387).

The arrival of the newer non-denominational churches in northern Alaska brought a second and arguably more restrictive wave of religious suppression towards traditional dancing. According to later sources, drum dancing and singing in the villages of Point Hope, Wainwright, Barrow, and Kaktovik continued well into the mid-20th century (Von Elling 1965: 78, 87, 95, 101). Boulton, who visited Point Barrow in 1946, observed that game songs and dance songs concerning animals, nature, and everyday affairs were common whereas magic songs due to their "pagan" associations were rarely performed (Boulton 1969: 390).

By the early 1960s, two major cultural changes had greatly affected the state of traditional drum dancing as well as dance styles introduced from outside – the total disappearance of the qargi and the establishment of non-denominational churches, such as the Assembly of

God.[22] Hughes and Spencer argue that the loss of the qargi, due in part to the disruption of seasonal hunting and planning caused by native participation in World War II, led to the depletion of traditional ceremonial performances (Hughes 1963: 136 and Spencer 1959: 181-182). Recently, the church, school, recreational center, village store, village council, coffee house, and movie theater have emerged to replace the multi-functional qargi. This splintering of a one-time socially integrative institution into many disjointed ones has in turn altered the meaning and function of the Iñupiaq drum dance tradition.

The introduction of new churches in northern Alaska also brought about a further fracturing of Iñupiaq social ties. During his fieldwork experience in Barrow, Wainwright, and Kaktovik between the years 1958-1962, the anthropologist Norman Chance observed how the establishment of the Assembly of God, and its strict prohibition of all forms of dancing,[23] had created a fissure at community festivals along religious lines (Chance 1966: 55). Such restrictions on its members impacted not only drum dancing but also any foreign dance music that may have been cultivated at the time, such as fiddle-, accordion-, or guitar-accompanied "square dancing", jigging, or country dancing. One Wainwright Presbyterian elder expressed his dissatisfaction with the new religious situation: "We used to have good parties until the other church came. We played Eskimo games, danced, played guitars, and sang" (Chance 1966: 56). This remark clearly demonstrates that the performance of both Iñupiaq and non-Iñupiaq music occurred during those years when only one religion was practiced. The new division and subsequent competition for church allegiance, undoubtedly, strained social relationships within

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[22] The established Protestant churches of northern Alaska responded to the "excitingly" new Evangelical movement by adopting their practices, which included the singing of Gospel music. Turner writes: "At first, there was some resentment among the Episcopalians because some of their congregation left for the new church, which was a more democratically organized group. The Iñupiat also found that, in the Assemble of God church, one was allowed to testify and 'speak in tongues' if the spirit was within one; seemingly, the spirit was waiting for this. The already rich emotional life of the village found further expression; Gospel-singing hymns took over the souls of the people and ran over in their eyes. Here the Iñupiaq propensity for connectedness, always seen in their kinship system, came to the fore. Connectedness triumphed over competition, for virtually all the Assembly of God features began to be welcome in the Episcopal church itself and found their way into the services. Along with the Anglican lines 'Take out our sin and enter in,' these features promoted an active view of salvation as a cure, just as the Eskimo healer takes out the bad disease and adds energy to the body" (Turner 1994: 155).

[23] According to the General Council of the Assemblies of God website: "The best way to avoid evil is to avoid those temptations that can easily lead to the evil. Some have claimed that public social dancing is a better alternative than couples isolating themselves and engaging in petting and other intimacies. But rather than discouraging sexual intimacies, social dancing makes physical intimacies more attractive and inviting. The Assemblies of God has historically opposed social dancing because it can potentially lead innocent people into temptation and sin" (*Assemblies of God USA* n.d.).

each community. Johnston summarizes the musical consequences of this religious rivalry in the following lines:

> While the missionization was restricted to one denomination within each region, community solidarity and social cohesion helped to ensure that group dancing and other important social and musical activities continued. Now that community loyalties have been divided by the no-restriction policy, factionalism has broken up ancient partnerships and associations, and communal dancing has waned. (Johnston 1976a: 43-44)

Another factor that explains why no foreign dance tradition took root in Alaskan Eskimo culture is that some village councils proactively discouraged, or even banned, such performances. Hughes, who conducted his anthropological fieldwork in 1954-1955, records an insightful case of how the Gambell village council on St. Lawrence Island prohibited ballroom dancing or "Stateside dancing", a style that some of the community's young people had learned at high school on the Alaska mainland, at military camps, and civil aeronautics administration (CAA) parties. Not all foreign musical forms were banned since the council allowed the performance of guitar music and cowboy songs ("western" and "hillbilly"). Citing their concerns over dance – 1) the potential for early physical intimacy between young female natives and members of the opposite sex, especially transient military men and CAA personnel; and 2) the loss of interest in traditional drum dancing and other traditions – the village council periodically restricted Stateside dancing from at least the 1940s. The performance of native dancing and singing continued through the years, but by 1954-1955, Hughes reported that it had begun to wane for reasons unmentioned (Hughes 1960: 296, 303-309, 331-333, 365).

If Hughes assessed the state of native music accurately, one possible reason for its decline may have been the establishment of a rival church in the community. During the 1940s, members of the Seventh Day Adventist's denomination, known for its disapproval of dancing, arrived in Gambell and converted a small minority of the native population (Jolles 1989: 21). Similar to other villages in northern Alaska, the introduction of a second church created divisions that may have helped to erode the health of native music.

Not all communities along the Alaskan Arctic coast shared the same musicultural experiences, however. James VanStone in his 1955-1956 anthropological study of village life in Point Hope (Tigara) observed an ample amount of both drum dancing and foreign-derived dancing, namely country & western. Recognized as a closely-knit community with a healthy drum dance tradition, Point Hope was religiously homogenous from the late 1890s through the

first half of the 20th century. Just as significantly, the village managed to maintain two of its original six ceremonial houses, which was vital to keeping the old drum dances and songs alive (Johnston 1991: 51). With a relatively tolerant Episcopal heritage, the village managed to maintain its traditional drum dances while at the same time adopt various other musical styles. By the time VanStone was conducting his fieldwork in the mid-1950s, however, it appeared that Iñupiaq drum dancing was going somewhat into decline. The anthropologist wrote that the "dances are held sporadically throughout the year and, while they are well-attended, there doesn't seem to be enough interest to warrant having more than three or four a year, exclusive of Thanksgiving and Christmas" (VanStone 1961: 117). According to VanStone's account, a limited number of the elders were passing their music and dance onto the young generation, and even though a few youths showed an interest in the old forms, none of them seemed skilled enough to perform them properly (VanStone 1961: 17).

Outside influence mainly from the Friends Church and others sect churches in nearby Kotzebue, may have partially contributed to the wane of interest in drum dancing. However, VanStone reported that despite the six-decade-long exposure of Point Hope Iñupiat to strict evangelical Protestant teachings, both Iñupiaq and Western dancing had persisted in the community and were therefore unlikely to disappear completely (VanStone 1961: 149-153). Another more plausible reason for the apparent lackadaisical attitude toward drum dancing at the time was the popularity of other forms of entertainment, such as card playing, sports and especially movies, which happened to attract people of all ages, something that the Western-style dance could not do (VanStone 1961: 117).

Opportunities to attend Western-style dances, however, were quite common during VanStone's stay at Point Hope. He wrote:

> Generally once a week, on Friday or Saturday night, there is an American dance held at the schoolhouse. These dances are always well-attended. People between the ages of 20 to 40 years take the most active part in these dances and practically no one over that age attends. A phonograph which belongs to the school is borrowed and various individuals bring their records. The most popular records are of hillbilly and western music, and the dancers are noticeably indifferent to slow pieces and ballads. Various kinds of specialty dances, such as the schottische and Virginia Reel are popular. The dances usually last until midnight, but must end at the discretion of the schoolteacher. The mission has a dance for young people every Wednesday night after the evening services. (VanStone 1961: 17).

As the passage shows, the younger population of Point Hope participated in a wide variety of Western-style dances. Below is a visual example of such dancing captured around the time VanStone was conducting his fieldwork (Figure 10.5).

Figure 10.5: "Adolescents dancing in schoolhouse," Pt. Hope, Alaska, circa 1953-58, Alaska & Polar Regions Archives, Rasmuson Library Identifier (UAF-2001-129-113) Mary Cox

The six formal drum dances held at Point Hope during the year of VanStone's visit, pale in comparison to the regular twice-a-week Western dances and more formally organized holiday dance gatherings offered by the community. Of course, it was much easier to organize the Western dances since live music was not required to accompany such venues. VanStone does mention observing a band called the "Tigara Playboys" perform music during the Christmas week so, presumably, live musical accompaniment was available for some of the dances.

VanStone thought that the Point Hope Iñupiaq knew little about the outside world. Many of the people owned radios but according to him, they listened mainly to music and variety shows (VanStone 1961: 106). Perhaps revealing a bias against music as a low form of entertainment, VanStone clearly did not view the community's keen awareness of globalized musical sounds and dance steps as important knowledge.

Pinson remarked that when the first radio sets arrived in Teller in the mid-1920s, her family, with the exception of her Iñupiaq mother, would listen attentively to the featured

programs, particularly the National Barn Dance broadcasting from the KNX radio station in Los Angeles (Pinson 2004: 118). Countering the notion that she and other inhabitants of her community were too provincial, Pinson seemed to equate worldly knowledge with the learning of foreign songs and dances:

> Just because we lived far off the beaten track didn't mean we were out of touch with the rest of the world. In the summertime we were almost constantly in contact with the crews of ships that just ten days or two weeks earlier had been in such ports as Vancouver, B.C.; Seattle; or San Francisco. We learned the latest songs from the sailors and picked up all the new expressions that they used...My sisters were taught to dance the Charleston, which was a dance craze at the time. Our parents liked to see us have a good time, so when the sailors were ashore, the big room in the main house would be cleared, and Papa would get out his accordion and play the music that my sisters and the sailors danced to. (Pinson 2004: 119-120)

In the even more remote community of Wiseman, residents attending the Election Day dance in the fall of 1930 called upon individuals to demonstrate their talent through song and dance. Perhaps as a way to show off her knowledge of recent exciting dance fashions coming from the outside, the 14-year-old Iñupiaq girl Jennie Suckik performed the Charleston (Marshall 1991: 76). Either consciously or unconsciously, individuals like Jennie Suckik, Elizabeth Bernhardt Pinson, and the community members of Point Hope imparted their passive and active "knowledge" of music and dance as a sign of universal knowledge, as a way to connect with a world outside their immediate surroundings, as a means to join others in a shared globalized reality, a global village.

Remoteness, therefore, should not imply a lack of interconnectedness or exposure to the outside. The Iñupiat residing in and around Wiseman during the early 1930s, apparently experienced greater exposure to Western ways than those living in the larger village of Barrow. This is largely because the ratio of non-natives to natives in the Koyukuk area was 2:1. It is also important to note that some aspects of Western culture were more prevalent in certain communities compared to others. For instance, Marshall reported that Itarklik's one-time wife Annie Kayak originally came from the Arctic coast and converted to Christianity there. Apparently, she had learned virtually none of the Western-style dances during her time spent in Point Barrow. Upon her arrival in Wiseman, however, she had to accustom herself to the foreign ways of the community including instruction in "couples" dancing, which she soon learned from an Iñupiaq girl in the area. Later, Annie Kayak asserted her knowledge of the Christian tenets by attempting to proselytize to a local Iñupiaq woman with atheistic leanings (Marshall 1991: 224,

356). The relative dearth of religiosity in Wiseman and vicinity directly corresponded to the limitations of secularized dancing in Point Barrow and its surroundings.

One final important factor responsible for determining the status of native drum dancing and imported music and dance styles in the Western Arctic is the nature of individual choice. Community members chose to either actively engage in native and non-native dance music or ignore it. The older generation made personal decisions to carry on their traditional drum dances, songs and knowledge of foreign music. VanStone recorded that a generation before his arrival to Point Hope, certain members of one of the community's ceremonial houses decided to maintain their dances by teaching them to younger people. Therefore, the dances he witnessed were traditional in the sense that the members had performed them for at least 20 years, some perhaps as long as 40 years (VanStone 1961: 115).

Marshall, in his detailed 1930-1931 ethnographic study of the remote Koyukuk community of Wiseman, observed that a number of the Iñupiaq residents continued to drum dance either during holiday celebrations held at the Pioneer Hall or in their private homes. One particular cabin owned by the respected leader Big Jim often served as a communal center for the Iñupiat. Marshall noted an informal drum dance that took place there late one evening following several hours of joke and story telling. After the adults put the children to bed, the group joined in exhilarating song. The participants, mainly elderly or middle-aged, included the circa 65-year-old Big Jim, who played on a Western-style bass drum ordered from Outside, his 61-year-old wife Nakuchluk, the circa 35-year-old Itarklik (the accordion player whom Jenness mentioned) and his adopted parents aged about 70, a mature adult woman named Kalhabuk, and Kupuk, a 26-year-old female (Marshall 1991: 83-87).

Young indigenous people were more open to learning the latest musical and dance styles arriving from the Outside. Age did not necessarily determine one's response to the recent musical fashions, however. Marshall wrote about an Election Day gathering where three elderly Eskimo women born in the 1860s and 1870s participated in a number of newer and older dances including the foxtrot, waltz, two-step march, polka, highland fling, square dance, schottische, and Virginia reel (Marshall 1991: 307, 310-311). The women were most likely Kobuk or Selawik Iñupiat from northwestern Alaska or Nunamiut from the Brooks Range and North Slope region. Whether on an intermittent or continuous basis, they interacted with Westerners for decades along the Arctic coast or Koyukuk river system.

Iñupiat people during the late 19th and early 20th centuries did not necessarily view traditional drum dancing and foreign couple dancing as mutually exclusive. As in the present day, many chose to mentally compartmentalize the two distinct dance forms and perform them at different times. For example,[24] later on during the 1930 Election Day dance, Marshall observed that some of the elderly and middle-aged Iñupiaq women, who had previously taken part in "Kabloona" dancing, suddenly changed into Iñupiaq attire and performed a Kobuk dance to a chorus of adult Iñupiaq men and Big Jim on his bass drum. The men, ranging in age between 40 and 70 followed with a vigorous dance of their own (Marshall 1991: 312-313). Like the women, the Iñupiaq men were from the Kobuk, Selawik, and Nunamiut territories of northern Alaska (Marshall 1991: 145, 352; Marshall 2005: 142; Jenness 1991: 15-16). Perhaps attracted to the isolation of northern interior Alaska, which served as a buffer to Western influences, and the more carefree attitude of the non-native population, the inland Iñupiat were able to adapt to outside pressures in a slower and more thoughtful way, thus standing a better chance of maintaining long-held traditions like drum dancing and singing.

Big Jim provided some insights into the role that individual choice historically played in the maintenance of native and non-native music and dance in the Western Arctic. Introduced to the strict Friends Church's Christian tenets in his native Selawik area during the 1890s,[25] Big Jim remarked that although he was a believer in the new religion, he objected to certain puritanical teachings laid out by its missionaries. In an interview with Marshall about religion, he stressed:

> Over where I come from too much God business. No dance, no sing, no smoke, no drink him black tea, no fun at all. My brother come from Selawik, tell me: 'That's bad you dance, you sing. You no go to heaven.' I tell him: 'You help him poor man, help him cheechawker, you be kind to every one, you go to heaven, no matter you smoke, dance.' (Marshall 1991: 355)

Described as a sincere follower of the Christianity who often preached informal sermons to the Iñupiat community in Wiseman (Marshall 1991: 354-355), Big Jim was one of many who negotiated the conflicting gap between secularism and religious fundamentalism within both the

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[24] As another example of musical compartmentalization, fellow hunter Walter Johnson claimed that during the 1940s in Wiseman, Itarklik a.k.a. Arctic John Etalook, after tiring of the folk and "square" dances, would bring out drums and lead Iñupiaq dances until dawn (Brown 2007: 165).

[25] Selawik along with Kobuk, Noorvik, Kivalina, and Shungnak were communities in northwestern Alaska where Friends Church missionaries severely suppressed native drum dancing (Johnston 1976a: 77). According to ethnomusicologist Thomas Johnston dancing in much of region was banned from 1926 to 1976 (Johnston 1978b: 1-7).

context of native and non-native belief systems. Concerns about the negative consequences associated with dance and song were not exclusive to Christian tenets. Presumably, from the time of early contact, northern indigenous people observed with some apprehension the close link between dance music and sexual bonding especially among young females and foreigners, who in most cases avoided long-term commitments. Western-styled couple dancing and its musical accompaniment initiated close physical contact not found in native dance traditions. Marshall in his study drew frequent connections between simple flirtation and potential sexual activity on one end and dancing and the engaging power of music on the other (Marshall 1991: 91, 96, 264-281). He also pointed out the frequent exposure of Iñupiaq children at dances to adult talks about sex, something that many a missionary would have frowned upon and possibly used as a moral imperative to oppose social dancing of any form (Marshall 1991: 238-239).

In his report, J. D. Ferguson offers provocative insights into the role of music in Tuktoyaktuk during the 1950s and the replacement of drum dancing by "square" dancing and country music as popular musical traditions. During his fieldwork summer of 1957, Ferguson surmised that drinking parties had replaced the drum dancing tradition and that the intoxicating effects of consuming alcohol may have substituted the euphoria generated by long and energetic evenings of song and dance (Ferguson 1961: 55-56). He observed that the youth at the time (those born in the late 1930s through the 1940s) liked to attend the "square" dance while their parents just came to watch (Ferguson 1961: 58-61). Presumably, most older adults and elders still actively participated in drum dancing or church hymn singing. Others like Emmanuel Felix, born in 1920 and regarded as a wealthy man for owning many European goods (Ferguson 1961: 25), was renowned as an excellent fiddler (Nagy 1994: 10) and led many of the "square" dances in his day.[26] His brother Norman "Shepherd" Felix, in turn, was a well-respected drum dance leader, who actively sought to maintain the Siglit drum dance tradition in Tuktoyaktuk.[27] Besides

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[26] Ferguson documented the use of the guitar and piano accordion in Tuktoyaktuk with photos depicting typical every-day log house living (Ferguson 1961: 18). He also recorded a number of songs and instrumentals during his 1957 fieldwork spent in Tuktoyaktuk and during research conducted the previous summer studying the impact of the D.E.W. line between the Mackenzie Delta and Kitikmeot region (Ferguson n.d. and Ferguson 1957).

[27] Before his death, Norman Felix released a CD entitled *Sapotaituk Aturuliqtunga (I Want to Sing)*. Reflecting its importance to indigenous culture, one of the songs from the CD was among the first ring tones made available on the *Four Host First Nations* (FHFN) website (*Four Host First Nations* n.d.). Various ringtone programs currently available are devoted to promoting the diversity of indigenous culture through music. Individuals may download aboriginal music to their cell phones at no charge. The

the Felixes, other families whose members tended to pursue different musical traditions in the Mackenzie Delta were the Nasogaluaks and the Gordons. In my fieldwork, the differentiation of musical interests based on individual choice within families was a recurring theme and one that reflected the diverse nature of musical styles there.

In conclusion, the interplay of four main factors – 1) the relative loss of ceremonial house, 2) the degree of religious strife, 3) the nature of village council decision-making, and 4) the role of personal choice – helped weaken or strengthen native dancing and singing throughout northern Alaska. At the same time, these factors either precluded an outside secular musical tradition from developing or helped to maintain, for a generation or two, the presence of foreign dance styles, beginning with jigging and old-time "square" dancing followed by country & western, rock 'n' roll, rock, and hip-hop in the present day. Social fragmentation in the communities manifested by the deterioration of every-day communal interaction and recreational activity, prevented the conditions for "square" dancing, jigging, and country dancing to flourish. A strong condemnation of foreign dancing, and in some cases dancing in general, by either village councils or religious sects, affected the nature of northern music-making for both indigenous and non-indigenous peoples alike.

Finally, my discussion in earlier sections has shown that ever since the 19th century, a variety of fresh musical styles has passed through the communities of Arctic Alaska, particularly in cosmopolitan centers like Point Barrow. Among many factors, the numerical size of a population places limitations on the ability of a given type of music to become traditional, however. When there is an over-saturation of musics, something has to give. Especially in today's sociopolitical and cultural climate, where neo-traditionalist movements and a reexamination of indigenous cultural identity have emerged to revive pre-contact drum dance traditions, there is less interest in reawakening any dormant styles of foreign-introduced dance music. Over the years, Iñupiaq drum dancing has successfully responded to ever-changing cultural mores and tastes. The appropriation of American pop-cultural symbols such as Homer Simpson and Elvis Presley into contemporary dance through mimicry is but one example in which the Iñupiat have negotiated the challenges of living and participating in a globalized society and economy where ideas and material goods transcend former cultural barriers.

Inuvialuit Regional Corporation has submitted several ringtones ranging from drum dancing to fiddle music to the FHFN website (IRC 2009: 22).

CHAPTER 11:
CONCLUSIONS

In this dissertation, I probed the nature of musical interaction in the Western Arctic during the late 18th, 19th, and early 20th centuries. I began with a detailed history of musical encounters between the indigenous peoples of the Western Arctic and outsiders, mainly explorers, whalers, traders, and missionaries. Next, I provided a summary of early Western Arctic Native musical experiences in the United States, particularly "Eskimo Village" performances at world expositions and fairs. I followed up with a focused analysis of southern perceptions of "Eskimo" culture and songs in several different musical formats. After that, I closely examined a collection of early Eskimo song recordings, showed its influence on southern composers and performers, and briefly addressed future repatriation of some songs. Finally, I concluded my research findings with an investigation of more recent musical interaction in the Arctic and the consequences of musicultural contact.

Processes of globalization interweave my historical study. As cross-cultural contact intensified in the Western Arctic, awareness about the world increased as well. Music and dance often served as initial agents of socialization. They worked effectively as modes of communication lacking a common language. The dissemination of songs and instrumentals, either live or recorded, also contributed to the expansion of cultural information. Globalization operated not only on the sociocultural and economic levels, but also a musical one. The exchange of musical trade goods in the form of songs, instruments, and performances, for example, helped develop cultural and economic connections. It was also effective in dissolving traditional boundaries determined by ethnicity, nationality, religion, language, gender, and others.

One of the central arguments of my thesis is that music and dance served as indispensable tools for communication during early contact situations in the Western Arctic. Especially where local and foreign populations lacked a common language, music and dance helped to foster positive social interaction, establish trading connections, attract people to and distract them from religious settings, and define cultural boundaries and identities. I have shown that music was an important tool to promote trade, build amicable relations and mutual understanding, and while away long winters and busy summer work schedules. Ethonohistorical sources have made clear that southern music was performed on board exploring, whaling, and trading ships during both the summer and winter months and that indigenous peoples participated in such occasions. Later,

as cultural contact increased, encounters between outsiders and natives became more frequent on land. Wintertime was the season when cross-cultural musical interaction was most extensive and when the potential for absorbing new musical systems was greatest. The performance of music and dance set up conditions for the development of cross-cultural interaction. The expression of such contacts often took the form of trade and socializing. Sexual intimacy between foreign and indigenous populations was another byproduct of these encounters, resulting in genetic and cultural mixing, further deepening the overall processes of globalization.

In early contact situations, explorers and natives engaged one another musically. Explorers introduced native populations to various types of music from the outside. In the grand scheme of things, the effects of the absorption of indigenous music and dance into Western culture were small. On an individual basis, however, visiting foreigners passed their cross-cultural experiences, including music, on to their families and friends at home.

It was the whalers and later traders who precipitated a more constant musical influence, however. Whaling crews were culturally and ethnically diverse and their music reflected it. Newly penned popular songs and traditional tunes from the United States, England, Pacific and Cape Verde Islands among others were introduced into the Western Arctic on an annual basis. As the foreign presence continued, imported music became more acceptable especially among the younger locals. The gradual increase in musicultural knowledge helped the indigenous people to build stronger trade relations. The influx of foreign technology and goods, however, coupled with overhunting and the introduction of disease from industrial cultures by commercial whalers, fostered a growing local dependency on outside assistance.

As whalers began to shift their focus to trading, music in the form of recorded songs, instruments, and machines began to present itself more and more as an important trade item. The acquisition of gramophones for some native individuals expressed an increase in social status and an accruement of wealth. For others, the new technology provoked curiosity and provided entertainment. Given the close connections between dance and music among indigenous cultures of the Western Arctic, foreign dance musical styles such as jigging, square and country dancing flourished there. Genuine appreciation for this imported dance music and the important social bonds that it created between and among locals and foreigners helped sustain such musical practices.

With the advancement of steam-power, shipping materials, and the discovery of a viable route through the Northwest Passage, an already extensive trading network furthered its reach

into the remote regions of the western and central Canadian Arctic. Distribution of musical items from the Western Arctic spread at least as far as Gjoa Haven in the central Arctic. Remarkably, the crossing of this zone into the Eastern Arctic is where accordion-accompanied square dancing and jigging emerged as a vibrant tradition. The historical presence of commercial whaling in nearby Hudson Bay and Davis Strait and the dissemination of musical ideas and instruments via well-established Inuit land trade routes contributed to this phenomenon. For various reasons, most importantly, the influence of neighboring indigenous musical cultures, the Western Arctic did not experience the development of a comparable tradition.

Missionaries across the Western Arctic used music as a strategizing tool to attract indigenous peoples to Christianity. In early religious contact settings, again where the absence of a common language was an obstacle to communication, the clergy resorted to singing and teaching hymns to the locals, often to children. The role of young natives, brought up under the influence of both religions – Christianity and shamanism – was a major factor in negotiating local and outside cultural differences. Evidence shows that the native population responded quickly and favorably to the music. At an early stage of missionization, native individuals also learned to play church-related instruments such as organs, harmoniums, and accordions. Though males took part in this activity, particularly in communities such as Kotzebue and Point Barrow, females tended to represent a larger proportion of church musicians, a gender-based phenomenon partly attributable to southern educational ideas.

Similar to the case of other musical styles, the musico-religious influence of neighboring indigenous peoples acting as intermediaries is important to acknowledge. Across northern Alaska and northwestern Canada, Christian-influenced Iñupiaq and Gwich'in peoples helped spread Christianity to the Inuvialuit, who in turn, disseminated their faith to the Inuinnait peoples and beyond. Expansion of such musico-religious ideas represents another expression of globalization.

The solidification of socio-cultural ties between whaler-traders and missionary-educators in the Western Arctic generated opportunities for native people to travel to the United States and other parts of the world. While the first general wave of visitors was affiliated with commercial whaling and trading activities, the second one had ties to residential boarding schools, normally secured by the sponsorship of missionary groups and the federal government. The most widespread cross-cultural exposure to the United States was probably the representation of northern indigenous performers at world's fairs, expositions, and smaller entertainment venues. For the first time, the American public, including composers, song writers, and musicians, could

experience Western Arctic music and dance performances. Common mixing of various northern indigenous groups at "Eskimo Villages" did not necessarily help to elucidate cultural differences, however. Moreover, proper understanding of the disparity in the health of dance music traditions among Western Arctic Eskimo and Labrador Inuit and the juxtaposition between theatrically-charged tourist attractions and traditional drum dances may not have reached audiences. "Eskimo Village" performances offered some of the earliest examples of northern indigenous musical commodification, a business shaped by both native entertainers and non-native organizers. At the same time, other forms of cultural commodities emerged with the southern representations of Eskimo imagery via various musical media.

At least some composers gained exposure to Eskimo dance music performance at American world's fairs. Written sources, however, revealed no direct link between such experiences and an actual composition based on "Eskimo" musical culture. On the other hand, representation of the "Eskimo" abounded in the repertory of popular and classical sheet music, recordings, advertising, musical theatre, and other live performance productions from the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The relationship between a musical creation and "Eskimo" musical culture varied according to three general compositional approaches or emphases referred simply here as the terms: imaginative, indicative, and incorporative. The three concepts, in the order given, cover the range of authenticity from least authentic to most authentic. Only a handful of works incorporated Eskimo musical elements (incorporative), but none actually seemed to adhere to the indigenous sound. Many of the examples indicate an attempt to loosely imitate Eskimo song with regard to melodic contour, phrasing, or rhythmic accompaniment, or at least resemble an "Oriental" sound through the means of conventional musical devices (indicative). Finally, a few other works suggest that they were merely inspired by Eskimo imagery (imaginative), an approach based solely on a word or description devoid of any musical connection. The absence of verisimilitude between the musical works and actual native music suggests that Eskimo performances in the United States had little direct impact on composers' creative output. Instead of turning to live performance or audio recordings, composers sought written notation for source material or, in most cases, standard musical constructions to achieve some superficial semblance of non-Western musical sounds to express "Eskimoness". Of course, the intention of the composer is also important to consider. Even those who were directly familiar with Eskimo

music may have intended, possibly for commercial reasons, to frame their compositions according to certain formulaic rules that diverged from the indigenous sound.

Cross-cultural musical representation is a two-way street. Alaskan Iñupiat actually heard foreign music first-hand and subsequently shaped it in ways that are amenable to the above notions of classification. While some songs under analysis simply revealed an inspired connection (imaginative), several others incorporated a strong use of Western musical material without drastically changing the original sound (incorporative). This indicates a deeper relationship between composer and compositional source, one based on the direct interpretation of the actual sound rather than written transcription.

Assessing the authenticity of performance and performative interpretation corresponds loosely to the semiotic concepts outlined above. Adherence to authentic Eskimo dance music, or lack of it, ran the spectrum from culturally unaware vaudeville entertainers performing Eskimo schtick at one end (imaginative) to northern-raised non-native children demonstrating Eskimo dancing at the other (incorporative). In between were foreigners who had actually observed or participated in Eskimo drum dances (incorporative and indicative) and ethno performers who had no experience with Arctic indigenous peoples but earnestly studied their music by way of musical transcriptions and written accounts that offered a modicum of cultural context (incorporative). As with composers, the intention of the performer is important since some entertainers who had been in the North may have deliberately expressed, for humorous effect, caricatures of Eskimo dance music. Yet, those who lacked proper experience but sought to educate by having their performances converge with a perceived sense of authenticity, are closer to an incorporative status than others. The various levels of experiential knowledge or degrees of familiarity with another musical culture cover the gamut from long-term, first-hand observational and participatory experience to "knowledge" based on exaggerated hear-say anecdotal stories. In between these extremes lie numerous variables such as the nature of experience (participatory vs. auditory vs. visual vs. written), and the length of experience (long-term vs. short-term). As globalization or awareness of other cultures increases, the musical and dance creations of composers and performers, and the views of audiences regarding authenticity, are expected to shift more toward incorporative representations.

Musical recordings constitute and facilitate cultural interchange. The impact of the 1925 Jenness Collection was far-reaching in that it inspired generations of southern musicians from Canada, the United States, and beyond. Not unlike earlier popular song writers, composers and

performers of the time still gravitated to the graphic representation of music rather than a sound recording. Reflecting another process of globalization, technology in the form of phonographic recordings and eventual radio contributed to further disseminating music from the Arctic to the outside world. Southerners generally shaped the indigenous songs to fit the Western musical system and sense of aesthetics. The examples presented in the recordings themselves also subsumed a translocal character. Some featured cross-cultural mixing, including a fusion of both native and non-native musical styles. Other songs showed popular native appeal and native circulation of such popular songs across vast distances.

Lastly, the Collection symbolizes a long-distance and long-time journey back to its origins. Repatriation of some of its songs to the Mackenzie Delta region points to new opportunities in the face of globalization – a subsequent revitalization of old drum dance song traditions and a contemporary native reinterpretation of traditional performance. Findings based on such events will require future research.

Across the Western Arctic, indigenous groups have been experiencing varying rates of musicultural change and persistence. Change, in all its various forms, has been taking place for thousands of years, long before Westerners and other foreigners arrived on the scene. Cultural gain and loss as a result of population fluctuation, migration, war, trade, disease, starvation, and technological innovation are not recent phenomena. During the past few centuries, however, peoples of the Western Arctic have witnessed musicultural change more rapidly and extensively than at any other time in history. Because indigenous groups encountered outsiders at different times and responded to their presence in different ways, the present state of music in the region is heterogeneous.

Around Bering Strait, Siberian Yupik peoples made contact with Russian, British, and American explorers and whaler-traders earlier than did mainland Alaskan natives. Because such contact was less intense, however, the indigenous population was able to respond more effectively to foreign influences. Therefore, their musical traditions are relatively intact. Some of the Iñupiat of northern Alaska, having avoided and resisted Westerner influence longer than other native groups, are still today performing much of their music from the past.

Finally, in northwestern and north central Canada, the Inuvialuit and Inuinnait peoples experienced varying degrees of cultural change as well. The two groups were neighbors, but their contact-traditional periods were different. The original Inuit living in the Mackenzie River Delta area felt both the direct and indirect effects of foreign and neighboring Gwich'in cultures almost a

full century sooner than their eastern counterparts. During the late 19th century and early 20th centuries, the presence of the American whaling industry and newly transplanted Alaskan Iñupiat profoundly affected on the local traditional culture and its dance music. By the second decade of the 20th century, the original Mackenzie Inuit population had merged with emigrating Iñupiat, and with it their old musical traditions. Conversely, the Inuinnait were only beginning to encounter sustained foreign influence, having made their first continuous contact with explorers and traders in 1910. In time, however, the influx of Inuvialuit, Iñupiat, and southern peoples influenced their own musical traditions, introducing both western Eskimo styles of drum dancing as well as fiddle-accompanied jigging and square dancing into the region.

The impact of foreigner-introduced music and dance styles differs across the Western Arctic as well. The absence of a vibrant fiddling/jigging and square dancing tradition among the Iñupiat contrasts sharply with neighboring Inuvialuit, Athabascan and other indigenous musical cultures. Furthermore, the lack of an accordion-based dance music tradition in northern Alaska and northwestern Canada stands out as an anomaly against the backdrop of accordion-backed "Eskimo dancing" in the eastern Arctic and the popularity of the instrument in Chukotka. The dominant explanation for the persistence of older drum dance traditions – maintenance of qargi-related musical and dance practices, tolerance towards dancing and lack of religious strife among missions, proactive decision-making by village councils, and tradition-minded individual choice – also help resolve the Arctic's musicultural differences. These factors and others have the effect of advancing or opposing traditional native and non-native musics.

In conclusion, music and dance created conditions that helped to expand transregional and global awareness and communication, promote trade, transform aspects or perceived aspects of indigenous music and dance into cultural commodities, establish sociocultural ties, contribute to cultural and ethnic mixing, express cultural identity, define and traverse sociocultural boundaries. Because of their multi-dimensional capability to both unite and divide along sociocultural, economic, and religious lines, music and dance serve as powerful tools to explain human behavior. Furthermore, their independence from language offers fruitful alternatives to better understanding human communication and interaction.

Lastly, my dissertation research and the final product are reflections of globalization. My six years of research and writing involved perusing old archival records and communicating with native and non-native people throughout the United States and Canada about early and recent musical interaction in the Western Arctic. The relationships that I have built and the insights I

have gained as a result of this occupation are a personal exercise in tapping the resources of globalized systems of communication and transportation. Regarding some of these insights, I was astonished to learn the extent of musical awareness early Arctic peoples shared about the outside world. Secondly, the cultural and musical interconnections between various historical figures of the Western Arctic, many of them mentioned in this dissertation, convinced me that processes of globalization occurred even in seemingly remote regions of the world at a much earlier time than is usually accepted.

For several centuries the indigenous peoples of the Western Arctic have confronted the challenge of preserving traditional values in the climate of southern cultural expansion. Today, having increasingly greater autonomy in political, economic and land claim rights, they are in a better position to decide to what extent they will admit southern influence, while at the same time retaining a satisfying cultural identity. Music as a cultural expression lends itself as an important tool in measuring the state of health of a particular culture. Processes of globalization will continue to impact the lives of northern indigenous peoples, but inevitably they will assume more control of their traditions and decide the future of their music as well.

APPENDIX 1:

Report of the Eskimo Friends Conference held at Kotzebue, Alaska, July 24-27, 1917 (Roberts 1978: 530-532)

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REPORT,OF,THE ESKIMO FRIENDS CONFERENCE,
held at Kotzebue, Alaska, July 24-27, 1917.

PROGRAM--

July 24-- 2 P.M. Devotional led by Maggie Adams
Roll call of delegates and ushers.
Appointment of clerks and interpreters.
Letter from California Yearly Meeting to Alaska Friends.
Reports from Monthly Meetings-
Noorvik - - - - -Florence Newlin
Selawik - - - - -Richard Jones
Song No. 133 in Pentecostal Hymns
Kotzebue - - - - John Wright
Noatak - - - - -Arthur Cox
Buckland - - - - John Washington
8 P.M. Evangelistic service led by Perry Hadley

Clerk - Whittier Williams
Interpreter- Queen Neal.

July 25-- 11 A.M. Devotional led by Ruth Egak.
Reports on Meetings for Worship
Selawik - - - - Ahlagavuk Russell
Buckland - - - -Kil-yuk
Shungnak - - - - Lillie Savak
Mrs. Sheldon
Song No. 189
Kotzebue - - - -Norman Cole
Noorvik - - - - Kitty Wells
Dowie Newlin
Song No. 271
Noatak - - - - -Edgar Foster
Kivalina - - - -Frank Booth

Clerk - Andrew Greene
Interpreter- Frank Booth.

3 P.M. - - Devotional led by John Washington
Reports on Sunday School Work.
Kotzebue - - - -Whittier Williams
Noatak - - - - Carl Luther
Buckland - - - -Iva Hadley
Song No. 100
Noorvik - - - - Queen Neal
Selawik - - - - Ella Young
Kivalina - - - - Mary Monroe
8 P.M.- - - Eskimo Service led by Lillie Savak
Devotional exercises
Shungnak - - - Texts by men and women
Translation work by Mrs. Samuel
Song in Eskimo

Clerk - Lillie Savak.
Interpreter. John Wright

Selawik - - - Men's texts
Women's texts
Song in Eskimo by the women
Kotzebue - - - Women's texts
Two songs in Eskimo
Noatak - - - Men's texts
Noorvik - Song in Eskimo — Women's texts
One Text — Song by members of Christian E.
Buckland - Song in Eskimo — ...ever

Clerk - Frances Wesley. Interpreter - Queen Neal.

July 26- II A.M. Devotional led by Queen Neal
Reports on Men's Work
Noorvik - - - - - Tek a nuk
Selawik - - - - -Kilyortuk Russell
Song No. 149
Buckland - - - - - John Washington
Noatak - - - - - Muneksuk Jones
Shungnak - - - - Mr. Sheldon
Reports on Women's work
Selawik - - - - - Lulu Young
Noatak - - - - - Prue Booth
Shungnak - - - - Mrs Sheldon
Song No. 160
Kotzebue - - - - Mary Wright
Buckland - - - - Mary Washington
Noorvik - - - - Mabel Coffin

Clerk - Frank Booth. Interpreter - Florence Newlin.

3 P.M. Devotional led by Frank Booth
Reports of life at Reindeer camps, sealing places, etc.
Noorvik - - - - Kitty Wells
Shungnak - - - Uncle Sampson
Kivalina - - Herd No2 -John Wright
Herd No 3-Chas. Wesley
Kotzebue- - - Herd No.1 Andrew Greene
Herd No.2-Thomas Weed
Herd No.3-Benjamin Arnold
At the sealing point-James Garfield
Song No. 1
Life in the villages
Noorvik - - - - Horace Field
Shungnak - - - - Mrs. Sheldon
Financial Reports
Noorvik - - - - -Samuel Morris
Noatak - - - - - Frances Wesley
Song No. 370
Selawik - - - - John Young
Kotzebue - - - - Henry Brown
Shungnak - - - - John Savak
Buckland - - - - John Washington
Report from Mr. White regarding the new bell
8 P.M.- Evangelistic service led by Perry Hadley.

Clerk - Whittier Williams. Interpreter - Frances Wesley.

July 27- II A.M. Devotional led by Lillie Savak
Reports on Children's Work
Selawik - - - - - May Young
Noatak - - - - - Maggie Allen
Noorvik - - - - - Jennie Outwater
Primary children repeat A.B.C. Texts
Shungnak - - - - Louise Sampson
Buckland - - - - Eva Washington
Intermediate children repeat A.B.C. Texts
Song by the young people

Reports on Young People's Work
Shungnak - - - - Molly Sheldon
Noatak - - - - Gordon Mitchell
Noorvik - - - - - Florence Newlin
Buckland - - - - -Clara Washington
Song No. 57
7 P.M.- Devotional ledby John Armstrong
Miscellaneous Reports.
Noorvik Bible Readers- -Kitty Wells
Shungnak Bible Study class -Mrs. Pen-i-kok
Selawik Active members meeting- Lena Sours
Buckland Bible Readers - Iva Hadley
Report of General Superintendent of Missions
8 P.M. -Evangelistic Service. led by Sylvester Chance

x : x : x : x : x : x : x

Delegates to the Conference-
Noorvik - OKOK THOMAS, GEORGE NOWIYAK, OOWIC NEWLIN, KITTY WELLS, FLORENCE NEWLIN, JOHN GREGG,
Alternates-Queen Neal, Samuel Morris, Mabel Coffin
Noatak- NORMAN JONES, EDGAR FOSTER, ARTHUR COX, PRUE BOOTH GORDON MITCHELL, MAGGIE ALLEN, JEREMIAH BOOTH, Carl Luther
Alternates- Frances Wesley.
Kotzebue- MARY WRIGHT, THOMAS WEED, BENJAMIN ARNOLD, JAMES GARFIELD, HENRY BROWN, NORMAN COLE, WHITTIER WILLIAMS, JOHN WRIGHT, ANDREW GREENE.
Selawik- ELLA YOUNG, LULU YOUNG, KILYORTUK RUSSELL, MAY YOUNG, AHLEGEVUK RUSSELL, JOHN YOUNG, RICHARD JONES MIDA JONES, RUTH EGAK.
Shungnak- LILLIE SAVAK, MRS. SHELDON, UNCLE SAMPSON, MOLLIE SHELDON, LOUISE SAMPSON, JOHN SAVAK, MRS. PONIKOK.
Buckland- JOHN WASHINGTON, MARY WASHINGTON, CLARA WASHINGTON, EVA WASHINGTON, IVA HADLEY, KILYUK.
Kivalina -GEORGIE MELTON, FRED WALTON, MATTHEW RICHARDSON, JENNIE RICHARDSON.

Ushers - Noorvik- HORACE FIELD, SAMUEL MORRIS, THOMAS SOKWEENA
Selawik- NUQUAKSOK RUSSELL, KOKALOOK MAIL, MUKLOOK CLAY
Kotzebue- WALTER SCOTT, JAMES GARFIELD, NORMAN COLE, WHITTIER WILLIAMS
Noatak - KAGAGLIK SHELDON, OKSEE ADAMS, KIPKEENA ASHBY KOKALEK WEBSTER.
Buckland- JOHN WASHINGTON
Shungnak -AMNAROK SHELDON
Kivalina- MATTHEW RICHARDSON

Interpreters and clerks-
Shungnak - LILLIE SAVAK
Kotzebue- JOHN WRIGHT, WHITTIER WILLIAMS, ANDREW GREEN
Noorvik - FLORENCE NEWLIN, QUEEN NEAL.
Noatak - FRANK BOOTH, FRANCES WESLEY.

APPENDIX 2:

Alaskan Native Students Enrolled at Carlisle 1879-1918

(*Mdewakanton Reference Site* n.d.)

ALASKAN/ALEUT

Esquiman, Alaskan
Anotosia Achwok, Alaskan
Pariscovia Alexander, Alaskan
Dora Allen, Alaskan
Edward Anyelook, Alaskan
Cecilia M. Baronovich Balenti, Alaskan
Cecilia M. Baronovich, Alaskan
Maggie Brown, Alaskan
Ida Bruie, Alaskan
Margaret Burgess, Alaskan
Sydney Burr, Alaskan
Katie Callsen, Alaskan
Katrina E. Callsen, Alaskan
Minnie J. Callsen, Alaskan
Flora Campbell, Alaskan
Michael Chabitoney, Alaskan
Marie M. Cloud, Alaskan
Annie Coodlalook, Alaskan
Cookinglook, Alaskan
George Cushing, Alaskan
Florence Welles Davis, Alaskan
Paul G. Dirks, Alaskan
Archie Dundas, Alaskan
Kathryne Dyakanoff, Alaskan
Catherine Dykanoff, Alaskan
Isabelle Espendez, Alaskan
Katie Callsen Fisher, Alaskan
Flora Campbell Fitzgerald, Alaskan
James D. Flannery, Alaskan
Charles Foster, Alaskan
William Foster, Alaskan
Helen Fratias, Alaskan
Pariscovia Friendoff, Alaskan
Eugene C. Geffee, Alaskan
Isaac R. Gould, Alaskan
David Guthrie, Alaskan
Clara Hall, Alaskan
Mary Kadashan Hall, Alaskan
Mrs Robert Hall, Alaskan
Thomas Hanbury, Alaskan
Fred Harris, Alaskan
Lottie Hilton, Alaskan
Peter Jackson, Alaskan
Samuel Jackson, Alaskan

William S. Jackson, Alaskan
Benson John, Alaskan
Mary Kadashan, Alaskan
James Keith, Alaskan
Paul S. Kendall, Alaskan
Katie Callsen Kisher, Alaskan
Kookliglook, Alaskan
Carl Lieder, Alaskan
Elwood Mathers, Alaskan
Maria McCloud, Alaskan
Max Mixsook, Alaskan
Mary Moon, Alaskan
Susie Moon, Alaskan
Oscar Naterook, Alaskan
George Nocochluke, Alaskan
Mary Moon Orsen, Alaskan
Alonzo Patton, Alaskan
Lonnie Patton, Alaskan
Kendall Paul, Alaskan
Louis F. Paul, Alaskan
Samuel K. Paul, Alaskan
William Paul, Alaskan
Henry Phillips, Alaskan
Anna Rankin, Alaskan
Dora Rankin, Alaskan
John Rankin, Alaskan
Dorothy Reinken, Alaskan
Olga Reinken, Alaskan
Dora Reinkin, Alaskan
Eudocia M. Sethingy, Alaskan
Katharyn Dyakanoff Sellers, Alaskan
Dora Reinkin Shanga, Alaskan
Joseph Sheehan, Alaskan
William Sheehan, Alaskan
Theodore Shelakoff, Alaskan
Dora Reinkin Shongo, Alaskan
Joseph Simpson, Alaskan
David Skuviuk, Alaskan
Elizabeth Snow, Alaskan
Walter Snyder, Alaskan
Lucy Spalding, Alaskan
Mabel Stock, Alaskan
Irene Suveroff, Alaskan
Sosipatra Suveroff, Alaskan
Sophia Tatoff, Alaskan
Polly Titikoff, Alaskan
Palageia Tulikoff, Alaskan
Polly Tutikoff, Alaskan
Patrick Verney, Alaskan
Ira Wagner, Alaskan
Vera Wagner, Alaskan
Elizabeth S. Walker, Alaskan
Elizabeth Walker-Nelson, Alaskan

Florence Welles, Alaskan
Florence L. Wells, Alaskan
Florence Davis Wells, Alaskan
Paul White, Alaskan
George Willard, Alaskan
Anna Vereskin, Aleut

APPENDIX 3:

Sheet Music Covers and Lyrics

COMPOSITION 1

Esquimaux Slumber Song
Words by Richard Henry Buck
Music by Adam Geibel
Published by Oliver Ditson Company, Boston, 1896

Verse 1:

Sleep little drowsy one, Over the ice floes,
Weary the setting sun, Sinks to its couch of snow,

Sinks to its couch of snows.

Soon will the polar bear, Creep from its chilly den,

Seeking to render and tear, All waking children then,

All waking children then.
Sleep, Sleep, little drowsy one, sleep.

Verse 2:

Sleep little curly locks, Now at our cabin door,
Drowsy the chieftain knocks, Waiting to take you o'er,
Waiting to take you o'er.

O'er the steep fields of ice Down to his cave of dreams,
Where the bright polar star, On his grand castle gleams,

On his grand castles gleams.
Sleep, Sleep, little drowsy one, sleep.

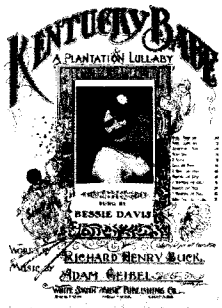
Verse 3:

There babes of Esquimaux, Fleet thro' the shadows steal,
Casting their spears of snow, Into the dreamland seal,
Into the dreamland seal.

Sleep then, my drowsy one, Sleep, till the morning dim,
Waking the Arctic sun, Calls you to follow him,
Calls you to follow him.

Sleep, Sleep, little drowsy one, sleep.

COMPOSITION 2



Kentucky Babe: A Plantation Lullaby
Words by Richard Henry Buck
Music by Adam Geibel
Published by White-Smith Music Publishing Co., Boston, 1896

Verse 1:

Skeeters am a hummin' on de honey suckle vine,
Sleep, Kentucky Babe!
Sandman am a comin' to dis little coon of mine,

Sleep, Kentucky babe!

Silv'ry moon am shin' in de heabens up above,
Bobolink am pinin' fo' his little lady love,
You is mighty lucky, Babe of old Kentucky,
Close yo' eyes in sleep.

Verse 2:

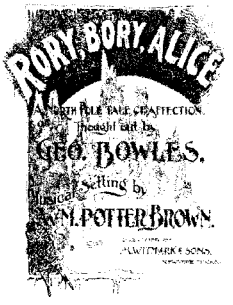
Daddy's in the canebrake wid his little dog and gun,
Sleep, Kentucky babe!
Possum, fo' yo' breakfast when yo' sleepin' time is done.
Sleep, Kentucky babe!

Bogie man'll ketch yo' sure unless yo' close yo eyes,
Waitin' jes' outside de doo' to take yo' by surprise,
Bes' be keepin' shady, Little colored lady,
Close yo' eyes in sleep.

Chorus:

Fly away, fly away Kentucky Babe, fly away to rest.
Fly away, Lay yo' kinky, wooly had on yo' mammy's breast.
Um, Um, close yo' eyes in sleep.

COMPOSITION 3



Rory, Bory, Alice
Words by George Bowles
Music by William Potter Brown
Published by M. Witmark & Sons, New York, 1898

Verse 1:

My sweetheart lives beside the frozen Yukon,
She's an esquimaux of glacial pedigree,
Her clothes are made of fur, and all you see of her,
Is a countenance that's homely as can be,
A missionary named the lady Alice,
And when the Northern Lights illume the sky,
I call her Rory Bory and I tell the ancient story
That my love for Rory Bory'll never die.

Chorus:

Oh Rory Bory Alice,
You never saw a palace,
And when you haven't got a boudoir to your name,

You jabber like a parrot,
But your gold is eighteen carat,
I love Rory Bory Alice just the same.

Verse 2:

They say my love is like a digger indian,
There's a copper on her beauty, I'll agree,
There may be women finer, but my Alice is a miner,
And the nuggets that she digs belong to me,
So when she weighs the dust out in the evening,
And when the Northern Lights illume the sky,
I call her Rory Bory and I tell the ancient story
That my love for Rory Bory'll never die.

Verse 3:

"Will you be my wife?" I asked her gently,
"If Ma is willing," sweetly she replied,
"Alaska," quick I said, and the next day we were wed,
And I put the Arctic Circle on my bride,
So now we have a flat in Dawson City,
And when the Northern Lights illume the sky,
I call her Rory Bory and I tell the ancient story
That my love for Rory Bory'll never die.

COMPOSITION 4

My Gal's An Esquimau
Words and Music by Raymond Teal
Published by Shapiro, Remick and Company, New York, 1904

Verse 1:

There was once a big coon sailor,
Who was first mate on a whaler,
Got shipwrecked in the ice and snow
He was starved and almost frozen,
Sore, because that life he'd chosen,
Until he met a pretty Esquimau

She was fancy, fat and daisy,
And with love the coon was crazy,
For she tried her best to drive the cold away,
And they say that she succeeded,
Gave him all the aid he needed,
So, each day the colored man to her would say.

Chorus:

My gal's an Esquimau,
born in the ice and snow
She is the sweetest, most divine,
I don't want them Indian maids,
Keep your Japs and Zulu babes,
I'll have an Esquimau for mine.

Some colored fellows bold,
Might say that she is cold
Acts as though she's twenty-two below o – o – o – o
That might be true for you,
But she loves me through and through
So I'll have an Esquimau.

Verse 2:

Now it seems he wrote a letter,
When he got a little better
To friends of his in Southern towns,
For the South he has a loathing,
Costs the girls to much for clothing,
While his wifey wears one dress the year around.

Now another thing that keepin',
Poor old Jasper is the sleepin',
The nights are six months long, it's dark at noon.
And he gets the finest treatin'
From the people he's a meetin'
It's so dark the folk can't tell that he's a coon.

COMPOSITION 5

Reindeer: Indian-Eskimo Song
Words and Music by Robert P. Skilling
Published by Victor Kremer Co., Chicago, 1906

Verse 1:

Up in Alaska mid the ice and snow,
Where the aurora sheds its nightly glow,
There lives a pretty little Eskimo,
Who loves an Indian chief.
He is so handsome and so brave and fleet,
She calls him "Reindeer" in a voice so sweet,
But Mister Reindeer beats a quick retreat,
And then she sings in grief:

Verse 2:

This Indian Chieftain really loves the maid,
But then he says he feels heap much afraid,
That 'round the campfire he will hear it said,
He is a squawman chief.
But still I think the trouble really lies,
In that he fears the light within her eyes,
And so he trembles when she softly sighs
And sings her song of grief:

Chorus:

Reindeer must I love you all in vain dear,
Reindeer can't you see I'm half insane, dear,
Reindeer now it's surely very plain dear,
How much you'd gain dear if my Reindeer you would be.

Note – Recently, in Alaska, an Indian chief names "Reindeer," after accomplishing almost incredible deeds of valor was "Hobsonized" by the maidens of his community; but he ran away and hid in a cave of a bear, thereby proving himself a very great coward in matters of the heart.

COMPOSITION 6

(cover sheet unavailable)

My Irish Eskimo
Words and Music by William J. McKenna
Published by Jerome H. Remick & Co., New York, 1907

Verse 1:

In the land of ice and snow
where the Yukon River flows,
There lived a maid an Arctic Belle,
And an Irish pale face came
hunting seal and other game,
He met the maid in love he fell.

At a picnic on an iceberg
way up near the sky,
As lovers oft times do
They sat apart and spooned,
He held her hand, he said "Be mine"
Her answer was a sigh,
Then to her this love song he softly crooned.

Chorus:

Eski Eski my Eskimo,
Marry an Irishman, yes or no,
Back to Ireland I'll never go,
If ski you'll ski be ski my ski Irish Eskimo.

Verse 2:

Said the maiden I am head
of the tribe so if wed,
A great big chieftain you will be,
But he answered I will take
any job our rent to make,
If you will only marry me.

While the midnight sun was softly
shining 'cross the floe,
The loving pair were wed
the feast was grand and gay,
The honey moon was spent within
a cozy flat of snow,
If often these words she would hear him say.

COMPOSITION 7

My Fairy Iceberg Queen
Words by Murray Wood
Music by Joseph F. Lamb
Published by Harry H. Sparks, Toronto, 1910

Verse 1:

Where the wintry breezes blow,
'Mid the icebergs and the snow,
There lives my girl Miss Esquimau-o,
And between just you and me,
She's not like most girls you see,
Has no peep show nor lingerie.
In the frigid zone where nightly moonbeams
My little love dreams 'mid northern light gleams.
To the north pole I will soon be sailing,
I will meet my little fairy Iceberg Queen.

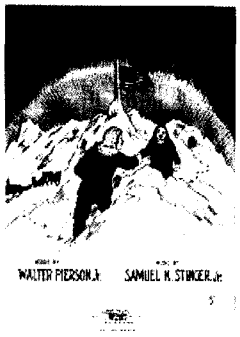
Chorus:

Meet me my little fairy Iceberg Queen,
You are the sweetest Sundae choc'late cream,
Come to your Nabob I'm no Jim Oshea,
But just plain Sandy Mackay.

Verse 2:

'Mid the icebergs and the snow,
In the land of Esquimau,
You'll see Sandy be big chief Dough-o,
I will teach her how to sing,
Do the sword and Highland fling,
Its grand all canned in real seal skin.
Six months ev'ry year we will be spooning,
Or honeymooning by day harpooning,
On a whaling boat I'll soon be sailing,
I will meet my little fairy Iceberg Queen.

COMPOSITION 8



Aurora Borie Alice
Words by Walter Peirson Jr.
Music by Samuel K. Stinger Jr.
Published by Welch and Wilsky, Philadelphia, 1909

Verse 1:

Little Eskimo, in your house of snow,
Way up by the Polar Sea;
Let me be your beau, the north wind may blow,
It can't chill my love for thee;
I will storm the lair of the polar bear,
I will slay the musk-ox too,
And the fields of ice will be paradise,
If you'll let me marry you.

Chorus:

Sweet Aurora Borie Alice,
In your snowy crystal palace,
There's no girl in all the world compares to you,
And although your skin is yellow,
Yet I want to be your fellow,
Underneath I know your heart is true.

Verse 2:

Yet there is no light the long Arctic night,
And I must soon go away
But my swift dog pack will bring me right back,
At the dawn of coming day,
Then I'll claim your hand and you understand,
I'll not take the answer no,
You must not decline I want you for mine,
My own little Eskimo.

COMPOSITION 9

The Eskimo Rag Song
Words by Jean Havez,
Music by George Botsford
Published by Jerome H. Remick & Co., New York, 1913
(Published originally by George Botsford, 1912)

Verse 1:

Tell me have you ever seen an Eskimo,
In the land of snow, At the pole you know?
Did you ever hear the music that they play up there?

It's a bear, it's a bear, it's a Polar bear!
Did you ever see them dancing on an icy floe?
They are frozen so, Just to get a glow.
Dancing in their bear skins,
Warming up their fair skins,
Wobbling the North Pole Todalo.
Oh! Oh! Oh! Miss Eskimo!
Leave your blubber and away we go.

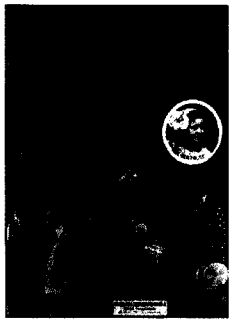
Verse 2:

Men and women dress alike up there and so,
Well you never know, Just who is your beau.
You may think you are a dancing with a man, it's great!
Guess again, guess again, it's your cousin Kate!
When the ice begins to form upon your face, it's soft,
And when e'er you cough, Why it all falls off,
That's against the custom,
People never bust 'em.
Ev'rybody there is frozen face.
Just hear this, cold storage Miss!
Crack your face, because I want a kiss!

Chorus:

Keep dancing! Keep prancing,
To the Eskimo ragtime;
It don't matter whether young or old,
Your teeth will chatter and your blood run cold, so
Keep playing! Keep swaying!
Jump from crag to crag,
Keep right on moving or you sure will freeze.
You are catching cold when you begin to sneeze,
It's a darn bad place for B.V.D's,
When you do that Eskimo, Forty two below,
Do that Eskimo Rag!

COMPOSITION 10



That International Rag
Words and Music by Irving Berlin
Published by Waterson, Berlin & Snyder, New York, 1913

Verse 1:

What did you do, America?
They're after you, America
You got excited and you started something
Nations jumping all around
You've got a lot to answer for
They lay the blame right at your door
The world is ragtime crazy from shore to shore

Verse 2:

In every land, America
Most every band, America
Has started everybody dancing daily
Prancing gaily all around
There's syncopation in the air
They've got the fever everywhere
Each happy, snappy chappy cries "It's a bear."

Chorus:

London dropped its dignity
So has France and Germany
All hands are dancing to a raggedy melody
Full of originality
The folks who live in sunny Spain
Dance to a strain
That they call the Spanish Tango
Dukes and Lords and Russian Czars
Men who own their motor cars
Throw up their shoulders to that raggedy melody
Full of originality
Italian opera singers have learned to snap their fingers
The world goes 'round to the sound of the International Rag

COMPOSITION 11

(no cover sheet)

Eskimo Slide
Words and Music by Joseph F. Lamb
Unpublished, circa 1905

Verse 1:

Way up North beyond the Arctic circle,
Where the people never done to do the "Grizzly Bear"
The Eskimo Dancey can't be quite so fancy, But umm,
Fussy little, mussy little Eskimo
Must have a dance that's more refined
They say the other kind is awful far behind.

Whenever there's a racket in the Frigid Zone,
They do a little dance that's all their own.

Verse 2:

When that loving glide the band begins to play,
They come from far away and dance till break of day.
Every one spooney and everyone lovey, And umm!
Haughty little, naughty little Eskimo
Go 'round and do just what they please
They think it's nice to tease and kiss and hug and squeeze.
And all the time there comes to them a joyful strain,
Which echoes all the way through "Lover's Lane".

Chorus:

It's called the Eskimo Glide
The loving Eskimo Glide,
They turn around twice and then they slide on the ice
'Cause that sensation is nice, So they say
Excitement never will lag,
While they are doing that rag.
The dance may be silly, but they never get chilly
While they're doing the Eskimo, Doing the Eskimo
Doing the Eskimo Glide.

COMPOSITION 12

The Shy Little Eskimo: An Alaskan Idyll
Words by Robert Goodman
Music by Theodore H. Northrup
Published by David and Goodman, San Francisco, 1914

Verse 1:

Little Chin Chin was a happy little Finn,
Who lived in the great Polar Land.
She was dressed in seals, who were also her meals,
And she thought that their blubber was grand.
Chin Chin was so shy, when e'er I came by,
She would bury herself in the snow.
But I always found her by her fuzzy wuzzy, fuzzy fur,

This quaint little Eskimo.

Chorus 1:

My Chin Chin Finn Finn maid I want you for my bride

Now don't you be afraid, but come with me outside.

She answer'd with a smile, In native Eskimo:
Wuggle, wuggle guggle, I much prefer the snow.

Verse 2:

Little Chin Chin never knew a thing of sin,
Or the ways of a man with a maid.
This Eskimo miss, she had never been kissed,
Or at least that was what she said.
My jewels and gold meant naught to her,
And my suit it was hard to handle,
But I schemed a little while one day, and found a happy way
She was won by a tallow candle.

Chorus 2:

My Chin Chin Finn Finn maid I want you for my bride
Now don't you be afraid, but come with me outside.
She answer'd with a smile, In native Eskimo:
Wuggle, tallow candle, My love with you I'll go.

COMPOSITION 13

Hot Eskimo
Words and Music by Fay Meisel,
Spencer Williams and Bob Schafer
Published by Denton & Haskins, New York, 1925

Verse 1:

'Bout a real sweet mama let me "get you told"
She's a combination of red hot n' cold
Vamping is this baby's middle name
Met her in Alaska 'bout a year ago.
When it comes to lovin' she's the Eskimo
Now my brain's a whirl she's the one I blame.

Verse 2:

All you would be vampires better fade away
Cause my sweet sweet baby is with me to stay
I don't want no other Mama now
She's got all this ever lovin' daddy needs
Lots of style and lots of grace with pep and speed
I'm just wild about her, she's a perfect wow.

Chorus:

Hot Eskimo
And I want the whole wide world to know
she's hot stuff,
Cause she's such a sweet loving child,
Gee she's got me actin' like wild
I was safe and sound, Until she came around,
And when she lamped me how she vamped
Now I'm like a baby crawlin' on the ground
Red hot lips, But she's cool as any iceberg tips
Some freezer,
She's the kind that get you on the go,
I know,
She's got the kind of lovin' that's red hot I'll say,
When she's around the ice and snow just melt away,
She's some sweet Mama, Yama Yama,
She's my red hot Eskimo.

COMPOSITION 14

Chong: He Come from Hong Kong
Words and Music by Harold Weeks
Published by Leo Feist, Inc., New York, 1919

Verse 1:

Little Allee Fo Chong played all day in an oriental way,
In a swell Chinese Café,
But Allee loved his rag the same as you,
And ev'ry evening when his work was thru,
Alley layed his TomTom down,
Pretty soon you'd hear this sound:

Verse 2:

Little Allee Fo Chong sailed away on the liner "Sakoshay,"
For his home port far away,
He said "When I come back I bringee bride,
You see a China maiden by my side,
Allee know she wait for he,
Ev'ry day so patiently."

Chorus:

Chong, he come from Hong Kong
where Chineeman play allee day on a drum
Chong, no likee that song,
where Chineeman cry way up high,
singee sungay, mungay, chick-a-lick-a-fungay,
Chong, go back to Hong Kong,
I betcha he teachee his Chinagirl how to dance,
like in a trance,
Teachee peachee Melican song,
All day long to his China girl in old Hong Kong.

COMPOSITION 15

My Honolulu Bride
Words and Music by Harold Weeks
Published by Jerome H. Remick, New York, 1915

Verse 1:

Out upon an ocean blue, Far, far away;
Flashing jewel of varied hue, Hawaii lays

Where the treefern proud unfurls
Over dark skinned Hula girls,
Lives my Honolulu Pearl, I sing to her.

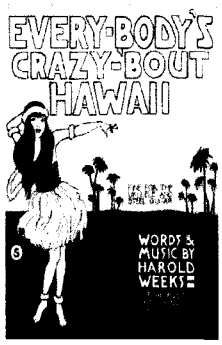
Verse 2:

When the sun is setting red, At close of day,
Bright plumed birds have gone to bed, Across the bay.
Ukaleles softly play, Hula girls begin to sway,
Hula girls begin to sway,
Comes my little pearl so gay, To her I say.

Chorus:

You're my little Honolulu hula hula, Nestle to my side.
Come and dance for me a little, Honolulu Hula Hula, oriental guide.
I'll build a bungalow for you in Honolulu Hula, By its sapphire tide.
If you'll be my Honolulu Hula Bride.

COMPOSITION 16



Everybody's Crazy 'Bout Hawaii
Words and Music by Harold Weeks
Published by Echo Music Publishing Co., Seattle, 1917

Verse 1:

Down Hawaii way, Hear the music sway
Those tunes Hawaiian They love to play
And sing Aloha The livelong day.

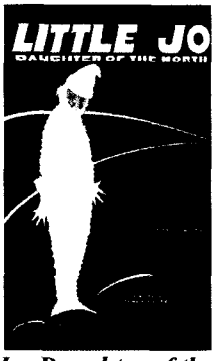
Verse 2:

Down Hawaii way, In the U.S.A.
Its ordinary To hear them play
Those tunes Hawaiian Have come to stay.

Chorus:

'Cause ev'rybody's crazy 'bout the lazy Honolulu loos
Ev'ry one is sighing for Hawaiian wicki wacki woos
And I can't make out what's all the shout about a Hula hula dance
With Ukaleles and brown skin babies they take an awful chance
I can't understand why this big land should sing a foreign song 'bout a Banyan tree,
Or the maidens on the beach at Waikiki
Now there's a song for you and me "My country 'tis of thee"
Let's sing America ev'rywhere It's the land, sweet land of Liberty

COMPOSITION 17



Little Jo: Daughter of the North
Words and Music by Harold Weeks
Published by Echo Music Publishing Co., Seattle, 1919

Verse 1:

Somewhere on the frozen Yukon tide,
Lives an Eskimo,
Daughter of the raw-ribbed snow-blown north
And I want her for my bride.
Many nights, Northern lights, not so long ago,
Saw this maid as she played with her big Sourdough,
So I've made my pack, and I'm going back,
To the land of the Eskimo.

Verse 2:

Once again the lonely sunset flare,
Finds me all forlorn,
Longing for my little Eskimo,
While the mountains frown in scorn.
Diamond bright as the light, of the noonday sun,
Is the fire of desire, for my little one,
And I dream once more, of the Yukon shore,
And the one girl that I adore.

Chorus:

Where the polar bear
Has made his lair,
I'm goin' to go,
Where with livid glare
The tundras meet the glist'ning snow,
Where the mountains bare their silver fang unto the moon,
Where the Sundogs glaring
In the snow bright light of noon,
There with northern lights above, I'll find my love,
There in that far frozen land, I'll win her hand,
There without a care, We'll spend a happy honeymoon,
Little Jo, Eskimo, I want to be with you.

COMPOSITION 18

Oogie Oogie Wa Wa (Means I Wanna Mama to an Eskimo)
Words by Grant Clarke and Edgar Leslie
Music by Archie Gottler
Published by Stark and Cowan, New York, 1922

Verse 1:

Where it's Zero, all the year-o
Lives an Eskimo
He looks funny with his honey
Sittin' in the snow
They're a happy couple, all dress'd up in furs
Warm as an oven, While they are lovin'
Here's what occurs.

Chorus 1:

He sighs and whispers Oogie oogie wa wa!
Oogie oogie wa wa,
She sighs and answers Oogie oogie wa wa too.
Don't that sound absurd, Just a crazy word,
It don't mean much to you I know
But it means an awful lot to an Eskimo
And oh! Boy! They love that Oogie oogie wa wa,
Oogie oogie wa wa,
It makes a person curious to know
But you'll get fooled, just the way I was
cause the word don't mean what you think it does
Oogie Oogie wa wa means I wanna Mama,
To an Eskimo

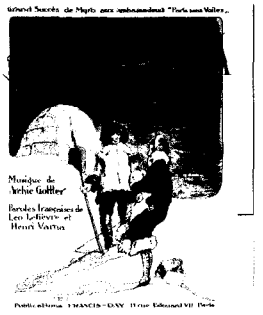
Verse 2:

It's all snow there still men go there
Find the pole and then
For some reason ev'ry season
They go back again
Yet these same explorers, often lose their way
While they are tramping, Maybe the vamping
Leads them astray.

Chorus 2:

He sighs and whispers Oogie Oogie wawa!
Oogie oogie wa wa,
She sighs and answers Oogie oogie wa wa too.
Girls like simple things, Beads and ten cent rings,
They kiss you for a choc'late drop
Just imagine if a fellow had a candy shop
And oh! Boy! They'll holler Oogie oogie wa wa,
Oogie oogie wa wa,
They live the life of Riley, don't you know
Imagine women, wine and song
on a night up there that is six months long
Oogie oogie wa wa it's nice to be the Papa,
Of an Eskimo

COMPOSITION 19



Amoureuse de Nanouck (Oogie Oogie Wa Wa) Fox-Trot Chanté
Words by Léo Lelièvre and Henri Varna
Music by Archie Gottler
Published by Francis-Day, S.A. 11, rue Edouard-VII, Paris, 1923

Verse 1:

Nanouck, depuis qu'au cinema
Tu brill's plein d'éclat
Je rêve d'aller en traineau
Te r'trouver la hàut
Tu m'diras: Je t'aime!

J'sais qu'en Esquimau
Tout un pomème
D'amour extrême
S'dit endeux mots.

Verse 2:

Mon Esquimaux ces mots exquis
Quand nous f'rons du ski
Mu m'les r'diras près des pingouins
Et moi sans témoins
Chaque soir jte ljure

Dtonnez roug comm'tout
J'soign'rai l'eng'lure
Que la froiduere
A mis au bout.

Chorus:

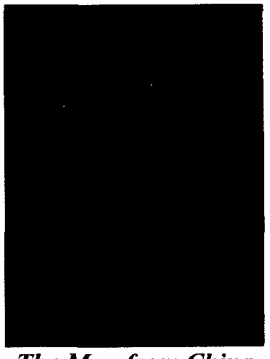
Nanouck! Tu m'diras Ogli! Ogi! Oua! Oua!
Ogi! Ogi! Oua! Oua! Nanouck!
Tumprendras Ogi! Ogi! Oua! Oua! Oua!
Des baisers d'amour
Des longs et des courts
Sous la neig'qu'important les flacons
Pour vuque j'aie l'ivress'de tes frissons
Mon Lapon.

Nanouck tu m'feraas ogi! Ogi! Oua! Oua!
Ogi! Ogi! Oua!
Nanouck! mon âm's'ouvrira quell bonheur!
T'voyant brander ton harpoon vainqueur
Sur les p'tits phoqu's qui nous chant'ront en chœur
Ogi! Ogi! Oua! Oua! Ah! Viens beau sé'ducteur
Harponner mon cœur!

COMPOSITION 20

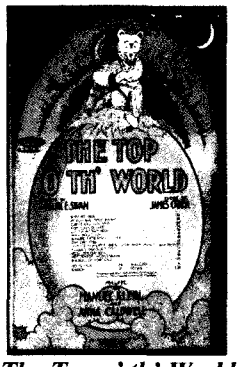
The Explorers
Lyrics by Bert Leston Taylor
Music by Walter H. Lewis
Published by M. Witmark, New York, 1901

COMPOSITION 21



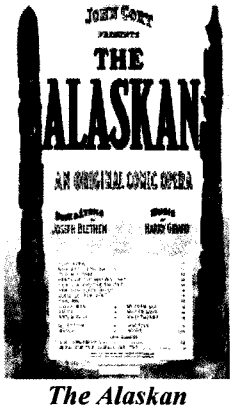
The Man from China
Book and Lyrics by Paul West
Music by John W. Bratton
Published by M. Witmark, New York, 1904

COMPOSITION 22



The Top o' th' World
Book by Mark E. Swan
Lyrics by James O'Dea
Music by Manuel Klein and Anna Caldwell
Published by M. Witmark & Sons, New York, 1907

COMPOSITION 23



The Alaskan
Book and Lyrics by Joseph Blethen
Music by Harry Girard
Published by M. Witmark & Sons, New York, 1907

COMPOSITION 24

Sigloo Bigloo
Words and Melody by Joe J. Marx
Musical Arrangement by Ted Shapiro
Published by the Monitor Stove Co., Cincinnati, 1921

Verse 1:

Sigloo Bigloo had an igloo in the Klondyke Valley,
Bigloo loved a Southern gal named high Brown Sally,
So when this fur-lined Eskimo struck paydirt in Juneau,
He wrote a note and popped the question to his Pally
But Sal was a gal that liked a lot of warmth you see,
And that is why her reply was not a mystery.

Chorus 1:

When it's forty below outside,
And that Eskimo love has died,
Who's goin' to keep sweet lovin' Sally warm,
Eatin' gumdrops and blubber's all right,
But be Caloric in earnest
Keep me warm like a furnace
And I'll want to go to Juneau,
Do you know there's a
hot time in the old town ev'ry night?

Verse 2:

Sigloo Bigloo sold his igloo to a grizzly miner,
It behooved him to move in a home a whole lot finer,
So when he swapped his long green roll for a home and a totem pole,
He fired up for Sal and vowed he'd wine and dine her
His "Brown" rolled around one very happy Christmas morn,
Now ev'ry day Sal will say just as sure as you are born.

Chorus 2:

When it's forty below outside,
And that Eskimo love has died,
Who's goin' to keep sweet lovin' Sally warm,
Sigloo Junior's some baby all right,
But much obliged to Caloric
He don't need paregoric
I'm sho' glad I came to Juneau
Do you now there's a
hot time in the old town ev'ry night.

COMPOSITION 25

Cliquot: Fox Trot March
Music by Harry F. Reser
Published by Harry F. Reser, New York, 1926

COMPOSITION 26

Igloo Stomp
Music by Bill Wirges
Published by Alfred & Company, New York City, 1927

COMPOSITION 27

O! My Eskimo Pie
Words and Music by Dale Wimbrow
Published by Eskimo Pie Corporation, Louisville, 1930

Verse:

Way up in the land of ice and snow. Oh. Oh.
There's a place you really ought to go. Oh. Oh.
All explorers could tell
If they only would tell,
Of a dish made by the Eskimo.

Chorus 1:

What will ev'rybody eat today
When they want to keep the 'Doc' away
Oh my
It's Eskimo Pie
People like it and it's just because
They got the recipe from Santa Claus
Oh my
This Eskimo pie

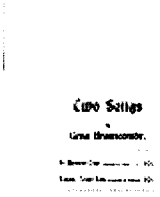
Take some creamy chocolate a pinch of snow
Add some sugar flavor and some cream and O-o-oh
Put together in an icy pot
Stir it up an' then what have you got
Oh my
It's Eskimo pie.

Chorus 2:

There's a melody we sing today
If you're well and want to keep that way
Oh my
Eat Eskimo pie
When you smoke if you should crave a sweet,
You can't go broke if you will only eat
Oh my
Just Eskimo pie

They took some vim and vigor and vitality
and wrapped them up together for the family
Papa never walks the floor at night
Since the baby got an appetite
Oh my
For Eskimo pie.

COMPOSITION 28



Eskimo Cradle Song
Words by Sara E. Branscombe
Music by Gena Branscombe
Published by Whale, Royce & Co., Toronto, 1901

Verse 1:

The tempest's abroad and lone firs on the hill,
gaunt bouts to its fury are bending,
And caves that the spirits of cruel winds fill,
fierce gales o'er the cliff side are sending,
fierce gales o'er the cliff side are sending.

Verse 2:

The berg in the fjord answers back the wild cry,
of hunters for home wildly steering,
But daddy is mending his fish nets close by,
and never the wild wind is hearing,
and never the wild wind is hearing.

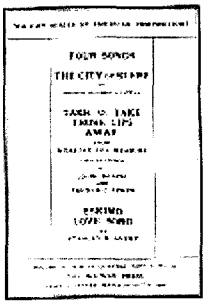
Verse 3:

What sound that comes in thro' the thick ice pack'd wall,
Don't tremble, good children are sleeping,
'Tis only the seabird's wild frightening call,
and mother a sure watch is keeping,
and mother a sure watch is keeping.

Chorus:

Hug close then my little brown baby hug close,
a next mother's warm arms are making,
where witches that borrow the wings of the storm,
where witches that borrow the wings of the storm,
can never my darling be taking, be taking.

COMPOSITION 29



Eskimo Love Song
Words by Frances C. Lamont
Music by Stanley R. Avery
Published by The Wa-Wan Press, Newton Center, Massachusetts 1906

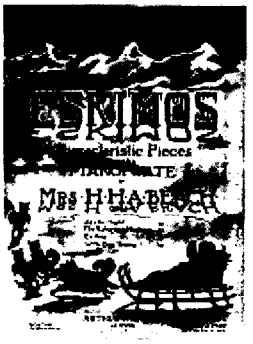
Verse 1:

The cold wind has not ceased to blow
Over the land of ice and snow,
The reindeer packs still onward go.
Angoonank, my own.
Still hunt the whalers by the sea;
The wind still moans on the frozen lea.
And still my sad heard pines for thee,
Angoonank, my own.

Verse 2:

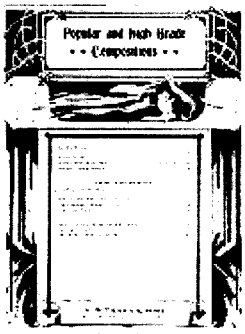
The foam flakes freeze on the traveller's reins,
The seaspray freezes on the plains:
Thy blood is frozen in thy veins,
Angoonank, my own.
The white bird sleeps o'er the dashing wave:
The great bear sleeps in his icy cave.
Would I were sleeping in my grave.
Angoonank, my own.

COMPOSITION 30



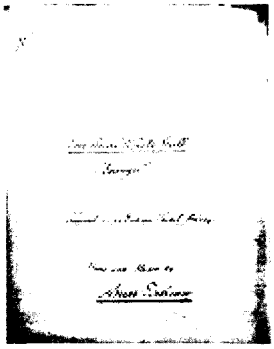
***Eskimos*, Op. 64**
Music by Amy Beach
Published by Arthur P. Schmidt, New York, 1907

COMPOSITION 31



Polar Suite
Music by George J. Trinkaus
Published by M. Witmark & Sons, New York, 1912

COMPOSITION 32

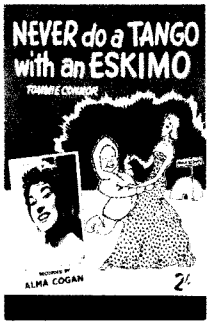


The Snow White Gull ("Isunga") Founded on an Eskimo Tribal Melody
Words and Music by Anice Terhune
Published by Arthur P. Schmidt, 1915

Verse:

Round the fair Awia maid
Daily flew a seagull white.
'Tis my lover's soul, she said!
Then her cheek grew blanched with fright!
Long she searched the sea in dread
By the treach'rous frozen shore;
There she found her lover, dead!
The snow white gull returns no more.

COMPOSITION 33



Never do a Tango with an Eskimo
Words and Music by Tommie Connor
Published by Michael Reine Music Pub. Co., London, 1955

Verse 1:

You can do it with a Latin from Manila to Manhattan,
You can do it with a Gaucho in Brazil.
But if once those Eskimoses
starts to wiggle with their toeses
You can bet your life you're gonna get a chill. (Brrr!)

Chorus 1:

You must never do a tango with an Eskimo
No, no, no, Oh dear no,
When a lady from Nebraska's
At a party in Alaska
She must never do a tango with an Eskimo.
No no no no no no no no no. (Brrr!)

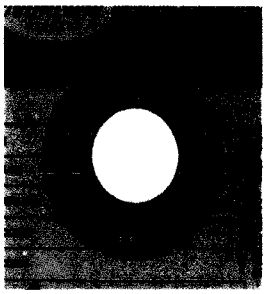
Verse 2:

You can do it with a sailor from Peru or Venezuela,
You can do it with Apaches in Paree.
But if once an Eskimosey
starts to cuddle up so cosy
You will find your passion calling, yes sirree.

Chorus 2:

You must never do a tango with an Eskimo
No, no, no, Oh dear no,
If you do you'll get the breeze up
And you'll end up with a freeze up
So you never do a tango with an Eskimo
No no no no no no no no no. (Brrr!)

COMPOSITION 34



Eskimo Pie
Words and Music by George Jones
Recorded by Starday-Mercury Records 71257x45, 1958
Published by Fort Knox Music, BMI/Trio Music, BMI, 1957

You can talk about your Frauleins and your pretty Geisha girls
And about the one you got in the USA
But I found myself a sweetheart in Alaska way up high
She's my Eskimo baby she's my Eskimo pie

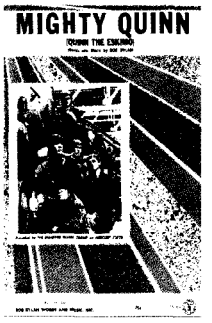
Well she's my Eskimo baby she's my Eskimo pie
She lives south of the North Pole and I know the reason why
She's my Eskimo baby and I'll love her till I die
She's my Eskimo baby she's my Eskimo pie

Crossing o'er the frozen river to a valley filled with snow
I lost all my directions and I knew not where to go
When a warm hand fell upon me and a voice said with a sigh
I would take you to my igloo Mister I won't let you die

Well she's my Eskimo baby she's my Eskimo pie ....
And there came the day of parting and we had to say goodbye
As I crossed back o'er the river I could think I hear her cry
I know that someday I'll return I must before I die
Cause she's my Eskimo baby she's my Eskimo pie

Well she's my Eskimo baby she's my Eskimo pie ...

COMPOSITION 35



Mighty Quinn (Quinn the Eskimo)
Words and Music by Bob Dylan
Arranged by the Manfred Mann Group
Published by Dwarf Music, New York, 1968

Verse 1:

Ev'rybody's building the big ships and boats,
Some are building monuments,
Others jotting down notes.
Ev'rybody's in a despair, Ev'ry girl and boy, limb
But when Quinn the Eskimo gets here,
Ev'rybody's gonna jump for joy.

Verse 2:

I like to do just like the rest, I like my sugar sweet,
But guarding fumes and making haste
It ain't my cup of meat.
Ev'rybody's 'neath the trees, Feeding pigeons on a

But when Quinn the Eskimo gets here,
All the pigeons gonna run to him.

Verse 3:

A cat's meow and a cow's moo, I can recite 'em all,
Just tell me where it hurts
And I'll tell you who to call.
Nobody can get no sleep, There's someone on ev'ryone's toes,
But when Quinn the Eskimo get here, Ev'rybody's gonna wanna doze.

Chorus:

Come all without, Come all within,
You'll not see nothing like the Mighty Quinn.
Come all without, Come all within,
You'll not see nothing like the Mighty Quinn.

COMPOSITION 36

Corky and the Juice Pigs
Words and Music by Phil Nichol, Greg Neale, and Sean Cullen
Debut album featuring "Eskimo" a.k.a. "I'm the Only Gay Eskimo", 1993

Chorus:

I'm the only gay Eskimo
I'm the only one I know
I'm the only gay Eskimo in my tribe.

Verses:

I go out seal hunting with my best friend Tarka,
But all I want to do is get into his parka,
I'm the only gay Eskimo in my tribe.

Well, me and Nukflukchukbuk, we both like blubber,
But me I've got this crazy fetish for rubber,
I'm the only gay Eskimo in my tribe (man making whipping noises).

I make a wish on the Northern Lights,
That I could find a decent pair of whaleskin tights,
I'm the only gay Eskimo in my tribe.

And the seals they sing now (seal sounds).

These cold winter nights are taking their toll,
I even get excited when I see the North Pole (see the North Pole),

Chorus:

I'm the only gay Eskimo,
I'm the only one I know,
I'm the only gay Eskimo in my tribe.
Now like the Proclaimers would sing it:
I'm the only gay Eskimo,
I'm the only one I know,
I'm the only gay Eskimo in my tribe.

Like Bob Dylan:
I'm the only gay Eskimo,
I'm the only one I know,
I'm the only gay Eskimo in my tribe.

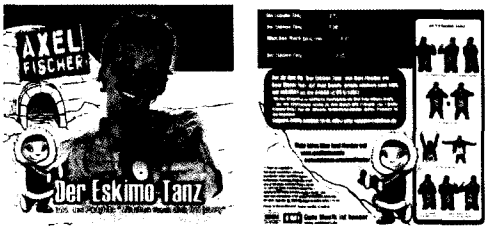
Like Rick Ocasek from The Cars:
I'm the only gay Eskimo,
I'm the only one I know,
I'm the only gay Eskimo and she used to be mine.

Like Oasis:
I'm the only gay Eskimo (fighting).

Like Van Morrison:
I'm the only gay Eskimo,
Well you see me coming around the street I'm a turning... uh,
And Jesus Christ fits in there somehow as well,
And the crack was good.

I'm the only gay Eskimo (only gay Eskimo),
I'm the only one I know (I'm the only one I know),
I'm the only gay Eskimo in my tribe.

COMPOSITION 37



Der Eskimo-Tanz
Recorded and performed by Axel Fischer
EMI Records, 2008

Der Eskimo Tanz

Chorus:

Wenn Eskimos tanzen
ist ihnen nicht kalt
sie wärmen ihr Herz
sie verlieren die Zeit
und weil dieses Lied
ein jeder singt
gehen Eskimos tanzen
bis der Sommer beginnt.

The Eskimo Dance (approximate English translation)

Chorus:

When Eskimos dance
they don't feel the cold
it warms their heart
they lose track of time
and while everyone's
singing this song
the Eskimos go dancing
until Summer starts.

Verse 1:	Verse 1:
Auf der Reise Richtung Nordpol da hab ich viel gesehen wie Sonne, Mond und Sterne am Himmel untergehen.	On my travels toward the North Pole I've seen a lot how the sun, moon, and stars sink below the horizon.
Auf der Reise Richtung Nordpol da hab ich viel gesehen doch eines hab ich nicht gewusst das muss ich Euch erzählen...	On my travels toward the North Pole I've seen a lot but one thing I didn't know about I must tell you…
Chorus:	Chorus:
Verse 2:	Verse 2:
Auf der Reise Richtung Nordpol da hab ich viel gesehen wie Eisbären Liebe machen und das im kalten Schnee.	On my travels toward the North Pole I've seen a lot how polar bears make love Even in the cold snow.
Auf der Reise Richtung Nordpol da hab ich viel gesehen doch eines hab ich nicht gewusst das muss ich Euch erzählen...	On my travels toward the North Pole I've seen a lot but one thing I didn't know about I must tell you…
Chorus:	Chorus:

COMPOSITION 38

Silam Inua
Music by Craig Coray
Published by Craig Coray, 1992

APPENDIX 4:

TITLES OF ESKIMO-THEMED MUSIC

Polka des Esquimaux (1878): music by Charles du Grosriez
Esquimau Polka (1887): music by Georg Asch
Esquimaux Slumber Song (1896): words by Richard Henry Buck, music by Adam Geibel
Rory, Bory, Alice (1898): words by George Bowles, music by William Potter Brown
Eskimo Cradle Song (1901): words by Sara E. Branscombe, music by Gena Branscombe
"Northward Ho," *The Explorers* (1901): lyrics by Bert Leston Taylor, music by Walter H. Lewis
My Little Eskimo (1902): by Raymond A. Browne
Out from the North an Iceberg Came (1902): by John Lewis Browne
"Eskimo Song," *The Commandant* (1903): by F. George.
Under the Polar Star (1903): words by W.K. Weisiger, music by George A. Nichols
"The Amorous Esquimaux," *The Man from China* (1904): book and lyrics by Paul West, music by John W. Bratton
Eskimo (1904): words and music by Benjamin R. Ticknor
I'm Building an Ice House for You (1904): words by Jack Francis Cremer, music by W. Mortimer Jones
My Gal's an Esquimau (1904): words and music by Richard Teal
"My Little Laplander," *The Talk of the Town* (1904): lyrics by Harry Castling, music by C.W. Murphy
My Sweet Little Eskimo (1904): words by C. L. Hertzman, music by Harry Cooper
Dodo, My Little Eskimo (1905): words and music by Richard Peters
The Eskimo Glide (1905): words and music by Joseph Lamb
The Polar Ball Six Months Long (1905): words by Albert W. Smith, music by James S. Ford
Will You Be My Eskimo? (1905): lyrics and music by Alf J. Lawrance and Tom Mellor
Sweet Little Caraboo (1905): words by Edward Laska, music by Thomas W. Kelley
Eskimo Love Song (1906): words by Frances C. Lamont, music by Stanley R. Avery
Reindeer: Indian-Eskimo Song (1906): words and music by Robert P. Skilling
Eskimos, Op. 64 (1907): music by Amy Beach
"Esquimo," *The Alaskan* (1907): book and lyrics by Joseph Blethen, music by Harry Girard
Kiwo: An Eskimo Serenade (1907): words and music by Walter G. Wilmarth
"Cupid and You and I" and "The One Girl," *The Top of the World* (1907): book by Mark E. Swan, lyrics by James O'Dea, and music by Manuel Klein and Anna Caldwell
Danse des Esquimaux: Morceau Humoristique (1908): music by Robert Vollstedt
Eskimo Cradle Song (1908): by Henry Burr with Orchestra (record)
In My Little Hut of Snow (1908): words and music by T. F. Robson and Archer Gibbon
Aurora Borie Alice (1909): words by Walter Peirson Jr., music by Samuel K. Stinger Jr.
Cocheco: An Alaskan Love Dance (1909): music by Ernest Reeve
Eskimo (1909): words by James Perry, arranged by George E. Castello
"The Face of the Girl I Love," *The Alaskan*" (1909 revised): words by Richard F. Carroll, music by Phil Schwartz
Little Snowflake (1909): words and music by Herman Timberg
My Own Sweet Eskimo (1909): words by Robert J. Moore, music by A. Lorne Lee

Polar Bear Man (1909): words by C. F. "Zit" Zittel, music by S. R. Henry
Take Me Up to the North Pole (1909): words and music by Halsey K. Mohr
Come Back, White Man Jack (1910): words by Fred W. Leigh, music by C.W. Murphy
My Fairy Iceberg Queen (1910): words by Murray Wood, music by Joseph F. Lamb
My Pretty Eskimo (1910): by Gunnerson and Hilton
"It's Great to be a Sailor," *The Girl at the Gate* (1912): play and lyrics by William M. Hough and Frederick Donaghey, music by Ben M. Jerome
My Sweet Alaskan Maid (1912): words and music by Eugene Ellesworth
A Polar Suite (1912): by George J. Trinkaus, George J.
That Polar Rolly-Poly Roll (1912): words by E.L. McKinney, music by F.R. Hancock
"Eskimo Love Song," *The Castaways: A Music Play* (1912): book and lyrics by John Northern Hilliard, music by George Minges.
The Eskimo Rag Song (1912-1913): words by Jean Havez, music by George Botsford
My Eskimo Queen (1913): words and music by Jack Smith and Moe Kraus
When the Ice Worms Nest Again (1913): words and music by Robert Service and Frank Young
The Shy Little Eskimo: An Alaskan Idyll (1914): words by Robert Goodman, music by Theodore H. Northrup
The Snow White Gull ("Isunga") Founded on an Eskimo Tribal Melody (1915): words and music by Anice Terhune
My Eskimo Doll (1917): words by H.R. Eldridge, music by W.R. Brashear
Eskimo Shivers (1919): music by Freddie Carter
Little Jo: Daughter of the North (1919): words and music by Harold Weeks
My Lovin' Eskimo (1919): words by Robert E. Lee, music by Dan E. Laurie
My Own Sweet Eskimo (1919): words by J. Moore, music by A. Lorne Lee
In My Igloo (1920): by L. Gilbert
Koolemoff (Cool 'Em Off) (1920): words and music by Herschel "Kismet" Henlere
Oh, My Eskimo (1920): words by Eugene West, music by Otis Spencer
Canadian Capers (1921): words by Earl Burtnett, music by Gus Chandler, Bert White, and Henry Cohen
Eskimo Baby (1921): words and music by Hazel M. Lindoft, arranged by Harold G. Lindoft; [1915] instrumental version
Eskimo Shivers (1921): by Frank E. Hersom
Oh! Oh! Miss Eskimo (1921): words and music by Ted Rollet
On Our Eskimo Honeymoon (1921): words and music by Claude S. Allan
Sigloo Bigloo (1921): words and melody by Joe J. Marx, musical Arrangement by Ted Shapiro
Song of the Mush On: (1921): words by William Robertson, music by W. Rhys-Herbert
Nanook (Of the North) (1922): words by Milt Hagen and Herb Crooker, music by Victor Nurnberg
Oogie Oogie Wa Wa (1922): words by Grant Clark and Edgar Leslie, music by Archie Gottler
Amoureuse de Nanouck (Oogie Oogie Wa Wa) Fox –Trot (1923): words by Léo Lelièvre and Henri Varna, music by Archie Gottler; [French arrangement]
The Eskimo Song (1923): by Fulcher's Novelty Orchestra (record)
Alaska Song: Alaska and a South Sea Isle (1924): words by Elizabeth Evelyn Moore, music by Victor Young
Yiddisha Eskimo (1924): words and music by Irving Berlin (unpublished and unfinished)
Eskimo Shivers (1925): music by Billy Mayerl

Hot Eskimo (1925): words and music Fay Meisel, Spenser Willliams, and Bob Schafer
Clicquot Fox Trot March (1926): music by Harry F. Reser
The Frozen North (1926): arranged and harmonized by Joseph W. Crosley
The Eskimo (1926): words by Mildred Merryman, music by Helen Wing
Three Eskimos, "Weather Incantation", 1st mov. (1927): by Léo-Pol Morin
Novelty Piano Solos: "Igloo Stomp", "Aurora", "Polar Pep", "Snow Shoes", "Over the Ice" (1927): music by Bill "Eskimo" Wirges
Humoreskimo (1928): words by Alfred Bryan, music by Pete Wendling & Henri Berchman
O! My Eskimo Pie (1930): words and music by Dale Wimbrow
Eskimo Love (1931): by Young and Travers
Icicle Joe (The Eskimo) (1931): words and music by Leslie Sarony
I'm Loving an Eskimo (1931): by Joyce Erma Joslyn
I Want a Date with an Eskimo (1931): by Cromwell Hammack
Eskimo Melodies and Incidental Music from the Motion Picture Igloo (1932): by Val Burton, Corynn Kiehl, et al.
Five Songs from the Tundras: An Eskimo Song Cycle (1932): by Derrick Norman Lehmer
Don't Be Like An Eskimo (1934): by Joe Haymes and his Celebrated Orchestra (record)
Eskimo Baby (1934): words by Floyd W. Osgood, music by Bertram Shield
Eski-O-Lay-Li-O-Mo (1934): by Brown and Hollander
"Song of the Returning Hunter" and "Eskimo Song of Play", *North American Tunes for Rhythm Orchestra* (1934): collected and arranged by Elizabeth Gest
Let's Rub Noses Like the Eskimoses (1935): by Al Silberman and J. Meyer
The Squaws along the Yukon (The Oogah Oogah Song) (1936): words and music by Cam Smith
If You Were an Eskimo (1937): by Robert Wells and Fred Karger
"Eskimo", *Alaskan Sketches* (1939): music by Genevieve Lake
Igloo (1939): by Irving Taylor, Irving and Mizzy V.
Eskimo Land (1942): by Gloria Foreman
Animal Magic (1945): music by Henry Cowell
Eskimos Win By a Nose! Three New Themes (1948): words and Arrangement by Elbern H. "Eddie" Alkire
An Aleut Lullaby (1949): words and music by "Nutchuk" Simeon Oliver
If You Were an Eskimo (1952): words by Robert Wells, music by Fred Karger
Little Eskimos (1955): by Kimble and Martin
"Eskimo Prayer" from *Ten Folk Songs for Four Hands Vol. 2 No. 8* (1955): by Violet Archer
Never Do a Tango with an Eskimo (1955): words and music by Tommie Connor
The Funny Eskimo (1956): music by Everett Stevens
Eskimo Pie (1958): by George Jones
Eskimo Sweetheart (1958): by Al Sims
When It's Springtime in Alaska (It's Forty Below) (1958): by Tillman Franks
Motifs from Exotic Lands, Op. 38 (1958-1959): music by Miloslav Kabeláč
Eskimo Boogie (1959): by Betty Jo and Johnny Starr
Kiss an Eskimo (1959): by Harry Lee
Rockin' Little Eskimo (1959): by Bobby Swanson
Toto the Eskimo (1960): by Herb Henson
Arctic Eskimo (circa 1959-1967): by Al Oster
"Eskimo Dance" No. 4 from *Holiday in Alaska* (1962): music by Paul McIntyre
Mighty Quinn the Eskimo (1968): words and music by Bob Dylan

Home by the Bering Sea: A Ballad of the Arctic (1969): words by Bob Stevens, music by Henry Shavings, commentary by Paul Roseland
"Eskimo Hunting Song" (Baker Lake) from *Six Canadian Folk Songs* (1973): arranged by Derek Healey
Don't Eat the Yellow Snow (1974): words and music by Frank Zappa
Eskimo Baby (1976): words and music by Robert Watson Schmertz
Rankin Inlet Eskimo Song for Piano – Four Hands (1978): by Murray Adaskin
Silam Inua (1992): music by Craig Coray
Eskimo (1993): words and music by Corky and the Juice Pigs
Der Eskimo-Tanz (2008): by Axel Fischer
Inuksuit (2009), et al.: music by John Luther Adams
The Totem Pole Polka (n.d.): words and music by Victory Sullivan

APPENDIX 5:

Gaultier's Recital Program

FOLK SONGS *of* CANADA

FRENCH
INDIAN *and* ESKIMO

RECITAL BY

JULIETTE GAULTIER DE LA VERENDRYE

FRIDAY EVENING
FEBRUARY TENTH
EIGHT-THIRTY O'CLOCK
AT THE
LITTLE THEATRE, OTTAWA

Northern Alaskan and Copper Eskimo Songs

Collected on the Stefansson Canadian Arctic Expedition for the National Museum of Canada, by Diamond Jenness. Transcribed by Helen Roberts. Stage Setting by W. Langdon Kihn.

SONGS OF NORTHERN ALASKA ESKIMOS

1. AKSIATAK AI YAYANGA (*Sleeping Song*)
2. THE SEAL-POKE (*Cat's cradle chant*)
"The seal-poke down there, The sea is tossing it about down
The seal-poke down there, there,
Down there, down there, The sea is bringing it to shore
down there."
3. SPARROW SONG (*Children's game song*)
"Her little nest break it up Take the nest away,
Her little children rend them, Take the children away,
Her little nest break it up, Let us take her little children away
Her little children rend them, Break them, break them, break
them."
4. SONG OF ASETSAK (*Homesick song*)
"How many winters, how many
Will you forsake your home here in Tikirark?
How many winters ere you return in the big ship?
Yonder in the east, alas, three winters must I linger."

SONGS OF THE COPPER ESKIMOS

5. DANCE SONG (*Ancient*)
Translation: The Spirit of the Ghost.
"Let me go and watch it vanishing,
Let me go and watch it vanishing."
6. DANCE SONG
"A clod of earth it tripped me,
It laid me flat on my face. He turned to look at me.
On slippery ground it made me slip."
7. DANCE SONG
"What the eastern people are accustomed to expect,
They are accustomed to expect both Kuskotak and Ingaluiuyok.
His comrade in summer, his comrade in spring.
I am going to spend the summer with them and with Torakangyuak also."
8. LULLABY
"Falling tears, (*bis*)
The old knee down there, (*bis*)
They splash on it." (*bis*)
9. OLD WEATHER INCANTATION (*against evil spirits*)
"He made it flee, he made it flee, he made it flee.
To the little sun, to the place where it re-emerges, he made it flee."
10. WEATHER INCANTATION
"The people they worked hard, the people they worked hard,
Sealskin objects, fillets for the head." (*bis*)

11. AN INCANTATION FOR HEALING THE SICK
"For thou madest me shiver with fear, (*repeated*)
It made me return home.
Me thou didst make me shiver with fear.
When thou didst gaze on me, (*bis*) .
Me thou didst cast thine eyes on me."
12. WEATHER INCANTATION (*to allay a storm*)
"My great companion, my great guardian spirit. (*bis*)
Our fine incantations, our fine cries.
There is no snow hut; it is empty of people,
He is not a real man; it is empty of people.
Underneath it down there let us search."

MOTION PICTURES ILLUSTRATING NATIVE DANCES AND SONGS AMONG THE NASS RIVER INDIANS. BY DR. J. S. WATSON OF ROCHESTER, N.Y., WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF MARIUS BARBEAU. (*By courtesy of the National Museum of Canada.*)

INDIAN SONGS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
ALBERTA AND ONTARIO

Recorded for the National Museum of Canada by Marius Barbeau, James Teit and Edward Sapir, and D. Jenness. Transcribed by Marius Barbeau, Dr. Ernest MacMillan and Helen Roberts. Stage setting by W. Langdon Kihn.

1. BLACK BEAR CHANT (*Carrier, Northern B.C.*)
Among the Carrier Indians of northern British Columbia the hunter who has mortally wounded a black bear should intone, slowly and very solemnly, this song. Thus will he please the spirit of the dying bear and gain power to shoot many others thereafter. (Recorded by D. Jenness.)
2. TAMA SONG (*Red-headed Woodpecker and the Thunderbird*) (*Nootka*)
"Do not be afraid,
I shall be green salmonberry shoots and look again for you,
I shall be a salmonberry and look again for you.
I shall be a blueberry and look again for you."
3. "I WILL BE A SEAL-HUNTER" (*Lullaby*) (*Nootka*)
"I, little one, will be a seal-hunting person, because I am a little Tsishaath person, because I am a little Tsishaath person. Ihl, eho."
(Nos. 2 & 3 recorded by E. Sapir and transcribed by Helen Roberts.)
4. DANCE SONG (*Kwakiutl—North West Coast, B.C.*)
(Collected by Juliette Gaultier at Beaver Harbour.)
5. NADUDU (*Lullaby—Nass River, Northern B.C.*)
"Darling, O my son, so small, darling.
(The child is supposed to sing to his mother:)
Sit up at night, O sister, sit up with me, my dear, to raise me, to make me grow, that I may be a big man, that I may resort to the wide streams of my forefathers, that I may catch the large spring salmon, that I may fish at Echo-cliffs. That is where I will get fish backbones for Thunder-woman, she who now nurses, me when she has grown too old to work."
6. DIRGE SONG OF THE SKATEEN (*Nass River*)
"Hano hiye. . . . They proclaim him the head-chief." Sung after the death of Skateen, head-chief of the Wolf clan, at Gitlarhdamks, on the upper Nass River.
(Nos. 5, 6 recorded by Marius Barbeau in 1927 and transcribed by Dr. Ernest MacMillan.)
7. LOVE SONG OF THE SEKANAIS (*Telegraph Creek, Yukon*)
"O my sweetheart, sweetheart of mine."
(Recorded by James Teit and transcribed by Marius Barbeau.)
8. GAME SONG (*Kootenay—South-eastern B.C.*)
Redthorn tells his listeners that he obtained this song in a dream for good luck at the *lahal* game (a gambling game with sticks.)
9. PARTING SONG (*Kootenay*)
"He has done an evil thing to me because he has forsaken me. Poor and to be pitied am I. I will follow him till I see him again."
(Nos. 8, 9 recorded by James Teit and transcribed by Marius Barbeau.)
10. SONGS OF THE STONY INDIANS (*Alberta*)
(a) Lullaby
(b) Deer dance.
(Collected by Juliette Gaultier, on the Morley Reserve).
11. OJIBWAY SONG (*Of North-western Ontario*)
Corn Dance.
(Collected by Juliette Gaultier, near Sault-Ste-Marie.)
12. THE WHITE DOG SACRIFICE (*Cayuga Iroquois*)
A native white dog was sacrificed in mid-winter, among the Iroquois. It was the most important feast of worship to "the Father". The first and second of the three songs were used when the dog was sacrificed and burnt, the third, when the people gathered the ashes with packles and scattered them to the winds for a blessing.
(Recorded and translated by Marius Barbeau.)

MOTION PICTURES

FOLK SONGS OF FRENCH CANADA

From the collections of Ernest Gagnon, Marius Barbeau and E.-Z. Massicotte. Cello accompaniment by Marion Bauer, performed by Carl Lund. Stage setting by Arthur Lismer.

1. Sainte Marguerite (*Lullaby*).
2. Au bois rossignolet (*dance song*).
3. J'ai cueilli la belle rose (*English translation by John Murray Gibbon.*)
4. Isabeau s'y promène (*rowing song*).
5. Sept'ans sur mer (*song of the sea*).
6. A'la claire fontaine.
7. Je'is mène bien mon dévidoir (*spinning song*).
8. Avoine, avoine (*round dance*).
9. Lève ton pied!
10. V'là l'bon vent.
(Nos. 7, 8, 9, 10 with table-harp accompaniment.)

"Folk Songs of Canada, French, Indian and Eskimo, Recital by Juliette Gaultier de la Verendrye." Little Theatre, Ottawa, 10 February 1928. Northwest Coast Files. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Archives, Hull, QC. Photocopy image from Keillor 1995: 193.

As mentioned in the text, the first four songs in the program correspond to the ones presented in Jenness's 1922 article *Eskimo Music in Northern Alaska.* (Jenness 1922a) The remaining **8** are Copper Inuit. They respectively correspond to selections in Roberts and Jenness's book *Songs of the Copper Eskimo* in the following way: No. 5 = No. 67, No. 6 = No. 76, No. 7 = 50b, No. 8 = 85, No. 9 = 83, No. 10 = 91, No. 11 = **88**, and No. 12 = 104.

APPENDIX 6:

Confirmations Granting Permission to Use Copyrighted Images

Re: Image in Figure 5.2

Paul Krejci <prkrejci@alaska.edu>

Re: Permission to use image in dissertation

Paul Krejci <prkrejci@alaska.edu> **Wed, Dec 15, 2010 at 12:11 PM**
To: Paul Krejci <prkrejci@alaska.edu>

From: **Dave Ogden** <mech9999@gmail.com>
Date: Mon, Dec 13, 2010 at 6:16 PM
Subject: Re: Permission to use image in dissertation
To: Paul Krejci <prkrejci@alaska.edu>

Hi Paul!
Yes, you can use the image of the 8" Regina.
Dave

On Mon, Dec 13, 2010 at 5:31 PM, Paul Krejci <prkrejci@alaska.edu> wrote:
Hello,

I'm writing to request permission to use an image of your REGINA 8" MAHOGANY DISC MUSIC BOX in my Ph.D. dissertation. (see link: http://www.reginamusicboxcenter.com/lookup.php?id=196 The image is the second picture on left, top row.

Thank you for your consideration.

Paul Krejci

Paul Krejci
Ph.D. candidate
University of Alaska Fairbanks

Re: Images in Figure 6.4

Paul Krejci <prkrejci@alaska.edu>

Re: WWW Form Submission - Organette illustrations.

Paul Krejci <prkrejci@alaska.edu> **Wed, Dec 15, 2010 at 12:04 PM**
To: Paul Krejci <prkrejci@alaska.edu>

From: **John Wolff** <ajw@internode.on.net>
Date: Tue, Dec 14, 2010 at 12:17 PM
Subject: Re: WWW Form Submission - Organette illustrations
To: Paul Krejci <prkrejci@alaska.edu>

To Whom It May Concern:
I grant Paul Krejci permission to use the images of the Organettes featured in my John Wolff's Web Museum website for his Ph.D. dissertation.
Sincerely,
John Wolff
Melbourne, Australia
www.vicnet.net.au/~wolff
14 December 2010

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